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FIGURAL MOTIFS ON HALAF POTTERY: AN
ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF LATE NEOLITHIC
SOCIETY IN NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

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FIGURAL MOTIFS ON HALAF POTTERY: AN ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF LATE NEOLITHIC SOCIETY IN NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara
August 2019

To my father and my family



FIGURAL MOTIFS ON HALAF POTTERY: AN ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY
OF LATE NEOLITHIC SOCIETY IN NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University



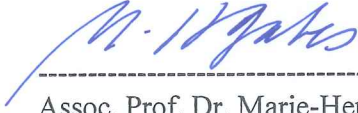
by
BAHATTİN İPEK

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
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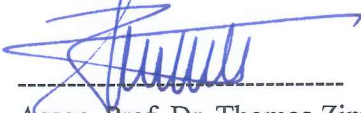
AUGUST 2019

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Archaeology.



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ABSTRACT
FIGURAL MOTIFS ON HALAF POTTERY: AN ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY
OF LATE NEOLITHIC SOCIETY IN NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

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Information about the lifestyles of ancient cultures, their daily activities, religious beliefs, close or long distance trade relations, or cultural interactions come from their products. Ancient material productions can be briefly mentioned by examples such as stone tools, pottery, and secular or religious buildings. Thanks to excavations or socio-cultural surveys, we are able to make comments on the ancient societies' materials. Wall paintings, motifs or scenes on pottery provide us important information about the lifestyles or religious beliefs of ancient cultures. The aim of this thesis is to give information about the motifs on Halaf pottery, which belongs to the Late Neolithic period and spread over a wide area in Northern Mesopotamia. First, the socio-cultural structure of the Halaf culture will be examined. It will turn to animal motifs, human motifs or narrative scenes on Halaf pottery for the information about Halaf culture that it presents to us. It also examines the role of dancing figures and feasting in the Halaf culture.

Keywords: Halaf Culture, Halaf Iconography, Halaf Painted Pottery, Late Neolithic Society.

ÖZET

HALAF ÇANAK-ÇÖMLEĞİ ÜZERİNDEKİ FİGÜREL MOTİFLER: KUZEY MEZOPOTAMYA'DA İKONAGRAFİK (BETİMSSEL) ÇALIŞMALAR

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Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates

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Yazıdan önceki kültürlerin yaşılan tarzları, günlük aktiviteleri, dini inanışları, yakın veya uzak mesafe ticari ilişkileri veya kültürel etkileşimleri hakkındaki bilgiler o dönem kültürlerinin ürettiği ürünlerden gelmektedir. Üretilen malzemeler kısaca: taş aletler, çanak-çömlekler, gündelik veya dini amaçlı yapılar ve benzeri şeyler örnek olarak söylenebilir. Kazılar veya sosyo-kültürel araştırmalar sayesinde geçmiş dönemlere ait toplumların ürettiği malzemeler veya toplumlar hakkında yorumlar yapabilmekteyiz. Duvar resimleri, çanak-çömlekler üzerindeki motifler veya sahneler bizlere eski kültürlerin yaşam tarzları veya dini inanışları hakkında önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Bu tezin amacı, Kuzey Mezopotamya'da geniş bir alana yayılan Geç Neolitik döneme ait Halaf kültürüne ait üretilen kaplar üzerindeki motifler veya sahneler hakkında bilgi vermektir. İlk önce Halaf kültürünün sosyo-kültürel yapısı incelenecektir. Daha sonra Halaf kültürüne ait kapların özerinde olan hayvan motifleri, insan motifleri veya bir olayı anlatan sahnelerin bize Halaf kültürü hakkında ne tür bilgi sunulacağı araştırılacaktır. Ayrıca dans eden figürlerin ve şölenin/ziyafetin Halaf kültürü için ne anlam taşıdığını incelemektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geç Neolitik Kültürü, Halaf Boyalı Kapları, Halaf İkonografisi, Halaf Kültürü.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The prehistoric periods in the Near East are examined in three eras: the Paleolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. The Neolithic period has been termed as a 'revolution' period from thousands of years hunter-gather life to new subsistence and production of food economy which included agriculture activities, domestication of wild animals, new settlement patterns, new burial traditions, and new material culture (Akkermans, 2013b: 63; Özdoğan, 1999: 234; Özdoğan, 2004: 44-45). Since the first Neolithic nomenclature was proposed, the meaning of this word has changed constantly since 1865 (Özdoğan, 2004: 44). The beginning of this process started with Thomson's division of Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages (the Three-Age system) and the subdivision of the Stone Age into "new" and "old" terms (Atakuman, 2015a: 54; Özdoğan, 2004: 44). The milestone of the theories defining prehistory began with the theories of Gordon Childe after the 1920s (Atakuman, 2015a: 47-48; Özdoğan, 2004: 45; Tekin, 2015: 99). He introduced the terms 'Neolithic Revolution' and 'Urban Revolution' to archaeology (Atakuman, 2015a: 48). His concept of a Neolithic Revolution was used and affected scholars for long time (Tekin, 2015: 99). In the archaeological sense, according to him, if no metal finds were found in a settlement and no sign of painted pottery was used in this layer, it should be considered as a Neolithic settlement (Tekin, 2015: 101). On the other hand, if there was evidence for the use of copper, if the majority of the tools were made of stone and painted ceramics had a traditional stone age, then it should have been described as the Chalcolithic settlement (Tekin, 2015: 101). It is only necessary to look at two important materials in order to understand whether a settlement for Childe is Neolithic or Chalcolithic; copper and painted pottery (Tekin, 2015: 101).

Until the 1950s, Neolithic communities were thought to be simple farmers struggling for survival (Özdoğan, 2004: 47; Özdoğan, 2007: 448). With the increase in the new

excavations in Anatolia, a very intensive flow of information about the Neolithic period has started and a new and very different picture has been formed (Özdoğan, 2007: 441). Braidwood's studies in Iraq, Iran and later studies in southeastern Anatolia with naturalists and scientists give new information about prehistoric Near East (Özdoğan, 2004: 47; Tekin, 2015: 97). Braidwood and his colleagues began interdisciplinary research with the attempt to answer the questions of where, under what conditions, and how the Pre-Pottery Neolithic first developed as one of their primary goals (Esin, 1999: 16). Also, F. Hole, and K. Flannery have focused all their work on the Neolithic Revolution and beyond (Tekin, 2015: 89). Uncovered Pre-Pottery sites such as Jericho, Çayönü, Göbeklitepe, Jerf el-Ahmar, with their enormous finds such as the temples, statues, prestige and ornaments found in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic settlements led us to reinterpret the Neolithic period (Özdoğan, 2004: 49). At sites of the the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period such a Göbeklitepe, Nevali Çori, Çayönü, Aşıklı Höyük, we see that sacred edifices were distinct from residences of the inhabitants in both architecture and location (Esin, 1999: 19). Also recovered new sites for example Göbeklitepe, where there is no data indicating the existence of agriculture or animal husbandry, have revealed the necessity of new definitions for Neolithic period (Özdoğan, 2007: 448). New findings have shown that in some Neolithic settlements, feeding tradition was almost exclusively based on hunting, and in others, hunting, agriculture and animal husbandry were performed together (Özdoğan, 2007: 448-449). It was understood that food production was not a prerequisite for permanent settlements, and food production was not very important for the Neolithic Age (Özdoğan, 2004: 50). It is clear that when describing the Neolithic period, we can talk about unequal, stratified communities, an active and complex commercial system between distant regions, an efficient transfer of knowledge and technology, and expert craftsmen (Özdoğan, 2004: 49-50). We also see the presence of craftsmen specializing in different industries, for example in plastic arts, stone tools from the beginning of Neolithic to the end (Özdoğan, 2007: 452). The Chalcolithic definition was first mentioned by F. von Pulski at the archaeological symposium held in Budapest, the capital of Hungary in 1876 and used in Hungary (Tekin, 2015: 104). The use of the term Chalcolithic or Copper Age became widespread and this period was set between the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age (Urban Revolution), where urbanization emerged (Atakuman, 2015a: 51; Özbal 2011: 174). This period was dated to the sixth, fifth, and fourth millennia

BC (Özbal 2011: 174). These subdivisions of prehistoric periods or cultural phases are based on differentiations in lithic industry and pottery technology (Yakar, 2011: 58) or metal technology. For Mesopotamia, the Neolithic and Chalcolithic phases are referred to as a sequence of cultures: Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf and Ubaid cultures where their names come from type sites in modern northern Syria, central and northern Iraq. These prehistoric Mesopotamian cultural identities or subdivisions are based on changes in ceramic technology, shapes, decorations (Campbell, 2007: 104-105) or diagnostic features in their ceramic tradition (Cruells, 2008: 672). Therefore, they do not necessarily indicate "cultures" in the anthropological sense of the word, but varieties of communities that use similar elements of material culture. For the ease of communication, I will continue to use the term "Halaf Culture" throughout this thesis.

One of the most important of these cultures in northern Mesopotamia¹ is Halaf. Halaf culture is known for its fine and elaborate decorated or painted pottery, round buildings (so-called tholoi) (Akkermans, 1991: 121; Hijara, 1997: 1), stamp seals (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 692), figurines (Akkermans, 1991: 121) and long-distance exchange trade in obsidian. The beginning of this culture was associated with a spread of elaborated painted pottery across both northern Iraq and Syria, and also into southeastern Turkey around 6100-5300/5100 BC. In general, Halaf sites are small and ranging from under 1 hectare to 6 to 8 hectares in area. However, there are exceptional sites such as Domuztepe, ca. 20 ha, and Takyan Höyük, ca. 12 ha, in modern Turkey² (Campbell, Carter, Healey, Anderson, Kennedy, & Witcher, 1999: 396-397) or Kazane Höyük and Tell Mounbateh. The Halaf economy is based on dry-farming activities (Hijara, 1997: 82, 85). The Halafians were both farmers and pastoralists. Their consumption is based on both cultivated cereals and wild plants (Hijara, 1997). In addition, they exploited domesticated and wild animals (Hijara, 1997). On the other hand, there are many questions about this culture such as setting Halaf into the Chalcolithic or Late Neolithic period, its origin, its social structure, Halafian religion/ritual activities, pottery classification and trade. Setting Halaf in a prehistoric period and its origin are two major issues for previous scholars. The Halaf

¹ Scholars use both terms of Upper or northern Mesopotamia for the geographic distribution of Halaf culture. In my thesis I will use northern Mesopotamia.

² The question is whether these Halafian sites are really more than 10 ha in size, I will discuss this issue in Chapter 3.

culture was considered Chalcolithic by researchers in the past, and to some extent is still considered so today in Near Eastern archaeology. However, in the last decades excavations such as, especially, at Tell Sabi Abyad (in northern Syria) and at Domuztepe (in Anatolia), and surveys with new studies and conferences have reclassified this culture into the late Neolithic period ca. 6100-5300/5100 BC by some specialists³. The origin of the Halaf culture and its social and political organization are still subject to speculation. For the origin of Halaf arguments are made for southeastern Anatolia, northern Iraq or northern Syria. Was this culture a result of local development in the core area in northern Mesopotamia or a result of non-local people who dispersed over different regions?

My thesis will discuss the Halaf culture, its origin, its social structure, and focus on figural representations on the Halaf pottery. Chapter 2 will introduce the general context of my thesis, such as the history of excavations at Halaf sites, the geographic distribution of Halaf culture, Halaf chronology and its subdivision, and finally the origin of the Halaf culture. Chronological issues to be addressed include when the Halaf period began, why this culture, in the last decades, was moved from the Chalcolithic period to the Late Neolithic period and where the roots of the Halaf culture are.

The Late Neolithic subsistence economy was varied exploiting both cultivated cereals and wild plants, and consuming domesticated and wild animals. Geographic conditions affected the settlement patterns, burial practices, economy and life style of ancient cultures. In Chapter 3, I will discuss Halaf culture and its lifestyle, such as their environment and their subsistence economy, its structure types and settlement tradition, burial practices and social and political organization.

The early industry of firing plain or fine pottery at the beginning of the Late Neolithic period presented many challenges: to find suitable clay deposits, to give shape to pottery, to paint pottery or to heat pottery in a simple fire pit or complex pottery kilns. Chapter 4 will discuss general features of Halaf pottery, Halaf pottery techniques such as clay, temper, firing, painting techniques. In addition, I will discuss, briefly, studies on Halaf pottery and its distinctions.

³ See Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003; Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013; Cruells, Gómez, Bouso, Guerrero, Tornero, Saña, ... & Tunca, 2013; Gessner, 2011.

In Chapter 5 I will turn to my actual thesis topic, figural motifs with their depiction on Halaf pottery. The Halaf culture, generally, is known for its elaborately painted and decorated pottery. The majority of the decoration during the Halaf period is geometric. On the other hand, some decorations on the pottery are very different, with more naturalistic depictions of people, animals, structures and artifacts in scenes. These figural representations are occasionally arranged in scenes consisting of headless bodies; dancing ladies; houses with trees standing between them and birds perching on the roofs; and naturalistic human scenes. For this chapter, I will roughly divide Halaf culture into five regions: Northern Tigris Valley, Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle, Balikh Valley, Middle Euphrates Valley and Maraş and Amuq Plains. Especially, I will look at key Halaf sites which have yielded pottery decorated with figural scenes.

Chapter 6 will be about the classification of figurative scenes on the Halaf pottery. The classification will present plants, animals, people and building motifs. I will briefly describe these figural motifs.

Chapter 7 will be a general conclusion of my thesis and about the Halaf culture, their origin, economy, trade, social hierarchy, pottery, figural scenes and their meaning or purpose in the Halaf world. And, finally, I will consider whether these figural designs in the Halaf world are meaningful. Generally, figurative designs carry important social or ritual meanings. I will try to explain whether there is a correlation between these scenes and daily life of Halaf culture, and whether or not they have social/hierarchical or ritual meanings. Especially, I will summarize new excavations, new data, and new approaches about the Halaf world and figural scenes on the pottery.

CHAPTER 2

CHRONOLOGY AND PERIODISATION OF THE HALAF CULTURE

"The answer to the popular question 'when did the Halaf start as a cultural phenomenon?' should probably be in the 20th century." (Campbell, 2007: 105).

Since the first identification of the Halaf culture in the archaeological world at the beginning of the 20th century, with its elaborately painted pottery, many questions have risen about this culture until recent decades. Where is the origin of this culture based? What are the differences between previous or contemporary cultures (Hassuna and Samarra cultures) and Halaf culture? In this chapter, I will consider early excavations and studies on the Halaf culture, its geographic distribution, its chronological problems and subdivisions, and finally, its origins.

2.1 First Excavations and Studies on the Halaf Culture

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the Mesopotamian Neolithic and Chalcolithic chronological frame is based on type site excavations such as Hassuna, Samarra, and Ubaid, key sites in Iraq, and Tell Halaf in northern Syria (Campbell, 2007: 104; İpek, 2018: 31). These chronologies or terminologies were based on ceramic typology and were created by archaeologists in the early 20th century (Atakuman, 2015a; Campbell, 1999: 575; Campbell, 2007: 104-105; Tekin, 2015: 89, 99, 104) for prehistoric Mesopotamia.

When we consider the Halaf culture⁴, the first information about it comes from three prehistoric sites excavated in the beginning of the 20th century (Frankel, 1979: 2): in Turkey at Sakce Gözü/Coba Höyük by John Garstang in 1908, and at Tell Yunus by C.L. Woolley in 1913; and in northern Syria at Tell Halaf in 1911-1913 and 1927-1929 by Max von Oppenheim (Frankel, 1979: 2-3; Gessner, 2011: 780-781; İpek, 2018: 31; Tekin, 2015: 96). In the 1930s, Tell Arpachiyah, excavated by Max

⁴ Tell Halaf had been designated as the eponymous site for this cultural phase by 1930 (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 115; Campbell, 2007: 105; Frankel, 1979: 2; Gessner, 2011: 777; İpek, 2018: 31).

Mallowan, became another important Halafian site for the Halaf world in northern Iraq (Campbell, 1992: 182; Gessner, 2011: 781). Tell Arpachiyah gives the first long sequence of Halaf culture for the early, middle and late periods. Its chronological sequences were used for a long time by archaeologists for stratigraphy at other Halaf sites and for setting Halaf chronology (Davidson, 1977: 8, 25; Gessner, 2011: 781; Tekin, 2015: 97). Since the 1960s however, other sites such as Yarım Tepe I-II, and Banahilk in northern Iraq, Tilkitepe, Girikihacıyan, and Kazane Höyük in southeastern Anatolia, and Tell Halula, Tell Sabi Abyad, and Tell Aqab in northern Syria are among the many which supply significant new information about the Halaf culture, its distribution and its origin in northern Mesopotamia (Gessner, 2011: 782).

2.2 Geographic Distribution of the Halaf Culture

Mesopotamia roughly can be separated into two major geographic areas: Upper Mesopotamia (northern part of Great Mesopotamia, which is based on rain-fed agriculture) and Lower Mesopotamia (southern part of Great Mesopotamia, based on irrigation for agriculture) (Wilkinson, 2000: 222); or south and north Mesopotamia which are based on different material culture (Alizadeh, 2008: 57). The Northern/Upper Mesopotamia artificial border is roughly associated with the Taurus Mountains in the north (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 19; Gessner, 2011: 778), the Euphrates below Tabqa in the south, the Mediterranean coast in the west (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 19) and, finally, the Zagros in the east (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 19; Gessner, 2011: 778).

The Halaf cultural border is related to Upper Mesopotamia (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 19) or the northern Mesopotamian region (Gessner, 2011: 777). Halaf cultural materials were recovered from the Zagros mountains in western Iran in the east (Becker, 2013: 455; Gessner, 2011: 778; Hijara, 1997: 91; Sarialtun, 2013: 504), to the Mediterranean Sea (Becker, 2013: 455), and south of the Taurus Mountains in the west (Gessner, 2011: 778), in southeastern Anatolia (Akkermans, 2013a: 22; Özdoğan, 2013: 380) to the Lake Van region (Gessner, 2011: 778; Sarialtun 2013: 504) the Muş-Elazığ plain in the north (İpek, 2018: 31-32; Özdoğan, 2013: 380; Sarialtun, 2013: 504) and, finally, the foothills of the Hamrin in eastern central Iraq (Gessner, 2011: 777) to northern Syria in the south (Figure 1) (Watson, 1983: 232). In addition to these regions, Halafian pottery was

reported from Transcaucasia by Merpert and Munchaev (Davidson, 1977: 9; Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: 129; Watson, 1983: 232, 238).

2.3 Chronology and Periodisation of the Halaf Culture

The chronology and phasing of the Halaf culture are other issues to be considered. After the excavations and surveys of the last decades, new chronological frames and phases have been formulated by archaeologists. However, there is no agreed terminology accepted by researchers. This created a major problem for the field (Tekin, 2015: 92). I will briefly summarize recent modifications to Halaf chronology and their proponents.

2.3.1 Chronology of the Halaf Culture

The foundation for chronology and information about the Halaf culture is based on painted pottery studies from key Halaf sites (Cruells, 2008: 679; Gessner, 2011: 783), old and new surveys and excavations at Halaf sites in the northeastern Syria and surrounding regions (Cruells, Gómez, Bouso, Guerrero, Tornero, Saña, ... & Tunca, 2013: 467) and recent analytical studies. The chronological dates have been transformed by recent contributions of radiocarbon dating. In general, the Neolithic period for Syria and Levant is ca. 9600-5300 cal. BC (Akkermans, 2013b: 63). The Late Neolithic phase is distinguished by making pottery with clay and firing. This phase is called Pottery Neolithic⁵ and started ca. 7000 cal. BC in the northern Mesopotamia world (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 18; Gallet, Montaña, Genevey, García, Thébault, Bach, Goff, Robert, & Nachasova, 2015: 90). Dating Late Neolithic chronology in Upper Mesopotamia varies among researchers from ca. 6900 to 5300 cal. BC (Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 47; Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 691-692) or from ca. 6800 to 5300/5200 cal. BC (Akkermans, 2013a: 17; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 99).

As mentioned above, setting up a framework of the chronological periods in northern Mesopotamia is problematic. According to some researchers, the Chalcolithic period starts from the beginning of the sixth to fourth millennium cal. BC (Özbal, 2011:

⁵ The Pottery Neolithic is also referred to as the Late Neolithic period (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 18; Gallet et al., 2015: 90).

174). In addition, until the last decades Halaf culture was incorporated into the Early Chalcolithic period (Hijara, 1997: 1). Some scholars, when comparing the Early Chalcolithic regional chronology, put Halaf culture into their Early Chalcolithic period. For example, according to Özbal, the beginning of the Chalcolithic period in the southeast of Anatolia is parallel with the beginning of Halaf culture in northern Mesopotamia and started ca. 6000 or 5900 cal. BC (Özbal, 2011: 177). Abdi compares the Early Chalcolithic period (J-Ware) of the Central Zagros with Halaf culture (Abdi, 2003: 418). Yakar's chronology of Early Chalcolithic Anatolia corresponds to the Halaf culture in Mesopotamia or Amuq C in Syria (Yakar, 1991: 28). The idea of placing the Halaf culture in the Chalcolithic period was based on relative stratigraphic dating and early radiocarbon analysis, before improvements in calibration techniques revised all prehistoric Mesopotamian chronologies upwards by 1,000 or more years. By the 1980s, new radiometric results were transforming Neolithic phasing throughout Mesopotamia, beginning with Tell Oueili (Tekin, 2015: 106) and the earliest presence of Ubaid culture in southern Iraq. In consequence, at ICAANE conferences from 2000 onwards, researchers began to prefer the term "Late Neolithic" in place of the cultural labels Hassuna, Samarra and Halaf (Tekin, 2015: 106). A 2009 conference at the National Museum of Archaeology in Leiden and 46 papers presented at the conference later published as *Interpreting the Late Neolithic of Upper Mesopotamia* (2013), made a significant contribution towards bringing together these many new results and synthesizing them. Today, it is very clear that the criteria for the Neolithic and Chalcolithic foundations at the beginning of the last century remain completely changed (Atakuman, 2015a: 51; Tekin, 2015: 103). Perhaps foremost among them, the claim that painted pottery was only seen in the Chalcolithic Age is no longer valid (Tekin, 2015: 103). This is because almost all Near East prehistoric sites yielded a few painted fragments during the Early Pottery Neolithic period (Tekin, 2015: 104). However, it is interesting that the use of copper (beads or similar objects produced by a raw-copper forging method) has been seen from the beginning of the settled lifestyle (Atakuman, 2015a: 51; Tekin, 2015: 104). Thus, to use "Chalcolithic" for the Halaf period is wrong, because it is difficult to find data on advanced mining activity in this period (Atakuman, 2015a: 51). Recent studies show that the time period between 6000-5000 B.C. is in fact the Neolithic period and many researchers claim that this period should be studied as Late Neolithic (Atakuman, 2015a: 51).

To conclude, comparing new information and recent studies such as Akkermans & Schwartz (2003), Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse (2013), Cruells et al. (2013), and if the Proto-Halaf/Transitional period started ca. 6100 cal. BC (Cruells, 2008: 680; Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 47, 48), we can place Halaf culture into the Late Neolithic period from ca. 6100 to 5300/5100 cal. BC in the northern Mesopotamia region. So, the life span for this culture is about 900-1000 years.

2.3.2 Phasing the Halaf Culture

The Halaf chronology was firstly divided by Mallowan into Early, Middle and Late Halaf periods based on his Tell Arpachiyah excavations (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 23; Campbell, 2007: 106; Gessner, 2011: 783; İpek, 2018: 32; Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 49; Sarialetun & Özdoğan, 2011: 39; Sarialetun, 2013: 505). This tripartite division was very popular for long time (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 23; Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 49) and continues to be used by some specialists. In the 1970s, excavations by Davidson at Tell Aqab in northern Syria (Gessner 2011: 783) led him to add the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (HUT) into the threefold Halaf chronology (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 23; Campbell, 2007: 106; Gessner, 2011: 783; Sarialetun & Özdoğan, 2011: 39; Sarialetun, 2013: 505)

In the last decades, research on Late Neolithic chronology has increased (Nieuwenhuyse, 2000: 155). S. Campbell proposed a modified Halaf sequence in 1992 (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 23; Gessner, 2011: 783). This chronology is Halaf Ia (earlier than Mallowan's original Early Halaf), Halaf Ib (traditional Early Halaf), Halaf IIa (traditional Middle Halaf) and Halaf IIb (traditional Late Halaf) (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 23; Campbell, 2007: 106; Gessner, 2011: 783; Sarialetun & Özdoğan, 2011: 39; Sarialetun, 2013: 505). Walter Cruells more recently added a new phasing for the Halaf culture: 'Formative phase,' or Halaf A, and a 'Developed phase,' or Halaf B (Figure 2) (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 23; Cruells et al., 2013: 467).

New excavations, such as at Tell Sabi Abyad and surveys in the northern Syria, added an earlier phase to the Halaf called the 'Transitional Period' or the Proto-

Halaf period between Pre-Halaf and the Early Halaf period⁶, ca. 6100-5900 BC (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 26; Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 10; Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 83; Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 47, 48). The most recent model for Halaf chronology is a 'six-stage' chronology (Campbell, 2007: 106; Gessner, 2011: 783; Nieuwenhuyse, 2000: 156; Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 49). Finally, for their provisional Late Neolithic chronology of Upper Mesopotamia, Bernbeck and Nieuwenhuyse divided this period into 7 stages (Figure 3) (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 27; Tekin, 2015: 106). According to Bernbeck and Nieuwenhuyse, the Halaf culture is placed in Late Neolithic stages 4 to 5 (Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 27).

2.4 Origin of the Halaf Culture

Another question about the Halaf culture is its origin. Mallowan first proposed, in the 1930s, an Anatolian origin, in the mountains of southern Anatolia (Akkermans, 2000: 49; Hijara, 1997: 97) or the Khabur and Jaghjagh steppes (Hijara, 1997: 97). His argument was based on relationships of decoration with burnished wares which were found along the Taurus range (Akkermans, 2000: 49) and in northern Syria (Hijara, 1997: 97). Ann Perkins (in the 1940s) suggested northern Iraq, especially the Mosul region for the root of Halaf culture (Akkermans, 2000: 49; Davidson, 1977: 243; Hijara, 1997: 97). She considered that this culture spread from there to neighboring regions (Akkermans, 2000: 49). Another of the Mosul origin supporters is Dabbagh⁷ (in 1950s and 1960s) (Davidson, 1977: 243; Hijara, 1997: 97). In the 1970s, the Anatolian origin was revived by J. Mellaart (Akkermans, 2000: 49; Davidson, 1977: 245, 248; Hijara, 1997: 97) and Bogoslavskaja, too (Akkermans, 2000: 49). Mellaart, firstly, put the Halaf origin into the Khabur triangle or areas between the Euphrates and Jaghjagh rivers to south of the Taurus Mountains (Hijara, 1997: 97). Later, he put the Halaf roots in the mountains between the Assyrian steppe and Lake Van area (Hijara, 1997: 97). According to Mellaart, Halaf originated in Anatolia, not Mesopotamia (Hijara, 1997: 97). However, finally, he changed his

⁶ "The term of 'Proto-Halaf/or Transitional Period' means a distinct ceramic assemblage characterised by the introduction of painted Fine Ware within the later Pre-Halaf ceramic assemblage. Although these new wares represent changes in ceramic technology and production, other cultural aspects continue without abrupt change." (Cruells, 2008: 671).

⁷ See Dabbagh, T., 1958: *Pottery of Early Prehistoric Iraq*. (Unpublished PhD Thesis) Harvard University; 1966: Halaf Pottery. *Sumer* 22.

source to the site of Umm Dabaghiyah in northern Iraq (Hijara, 1997: 97). In the 1970s, Davidson also placed the Halaf origin in the Upper Jezirah between the Tigris and Khabur rivers (Davidson, 1977: 341; Hijara, 1997: 4, 98).

Recent surveys and excavations, such as by the University of Amsterdam at Tell Sabi Abyad in the Balikh valley of northern Syria, surveys by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq in the northern plains of the Iraq (Nieuwenhuyse, 2000: 153) and surveys by Gülriz Kozbe and her team in the 1990s and 2000s in the Şırnak region in southeastern Anatolia (Cruells, 2008: 678; Erdalkıran, 2008: 756; Kozbe, 2013) show that the origin of Halaf culture is very different from previous proposals. The first noteworthy evidence about the origin of Halaf culture came from the Tell Sabi Abyad excavations in the 1980s (Campbell, 1992: 183; Cruells, 2008: 674; Le Miére & Picon, 2008: 729). Excavations at this site show that it was inhabited from the Pre-Halaf to Proto-Halaf/'Transitional Period' and Early Halaf periods (Akkermans, 1991: 123; Akkermans, 2000: 44-45; Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 49-50). After the Transitional stage level was identified at Tell Sabi Abyad, this stage was recognized at many Halaf sites in both northern Syria and Iraq, and in southeastern Anatolia (Cruells, 2008: 674, 679). Other sites include Tell Halula, Tell Boueid II, Tell Chagar Bazar and Tell el-Kerkh in northern Syria (Cruells, 2008: 674; Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 49); Takyan Höyük, Grike Keşe, and Gizers in Şırnak region surveys (Cruells, 2008: 678; Erdalkıran, 2008: 756; Kozbe, 2013); and Domuztepe, Sakce Gözü (Cruells, 2008: 679) Kazane Höyük, and Hakemi Use (Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 49) in southeastern Anatolia; and at Yarım Tepe I, Tell es-Sawwan (Cruells, 2008: 680), Khirbet Garsour, and NJP 72 in northern Iraq (Akkermans, 2000: 51; Campbell, 1992: 183; Nieuwenhuyse, 2000: 155). Until the recovery of a Proto-Halaf/Transitional archaeological phase in northern Mesopotamia, it was thought that the Halaf culture, especially its pottery, was entirely distinct from its contemporaries or previous cultures such as Hassuna and Samarra cultures (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 83), or from local regional cultures. However, the Transitional period documented a gradual cultural transition from local Pre-Halaf to Early Halaf in northern Mesopotamia (Nieuwenhuyse, 2000: 153; Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 83). Changes between Mesopotamia cultures, such as Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf or Ubaid, were not abrupt, but were instead gradual (Campbell, 1999: 575; Campbell, 2007: 105). The whole evidence shows that this culture evolved from

Hassuna/Samarra predecessors (Hijara, 1997: 96), as a gradual process of local culture and development in northern Mesopotamia (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 116; Le Miére & Picon, 2008: 729). The Halaf culture was not a new culture introduced by newcomers (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 116). According to Nieuwenhuyse, in northeast Syria (northern Jezirah), southeastern Anatolia and northern Iraq, we can follow the gradual emergence of the Halaf culture (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 692). He claims that, "there was no singular locus of origin of Halaf [...] Halaf emerged gradually from a variety of earlier groups, known with terms such as the Proto-Halaf, Pre-Halaf and Proto-Hassuna." (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 136).

2.5 Conclusion

Excavations, surveys or analytical studies show Halaf cultural materials recovered over a very broad region in northern Mesopotamia. This culture is roughly dated between ca. 6100 and 5300/5100 cal. BC in northern Mesopotamia. We can say that it is a Late Neolithic culture in northern Mesopotamia. Recent fieldwork shows that the Halaf culture resulted from a gradual transformation of local traditions from previous cultures. It was not introduced from the outside. The Halaf culture instead produced and disseminated a ceramic tradition of higher quality throughout northern Mesopotamia.

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL FEATURES AND LIFESTYLE OF HALAF CULTURE

Chapter 3 is aimed to focus on aspects of Halaf culture such as environment and subsistence economy, settlement patterns, architecture, and burial practices, as well as social/political organizations.

3.1 Halaf Environment and Subsistence Economy

Environmental conditions are important for prehistoric societies. For example, prehistoric economy, lifestyle, architecture, and religious activities were, directly or indirectly, based on environmental conditions. As I mentioned previously, in contrast to southern Mesopotamia, the northern Mesopotamian economy was based on rain-fed agriculture (Wilkinson, 2000: 222). Nearly all Halaf sites were situated on the deep brown Mediterranean soils or on the alluvial plains where self-renewing soils for agriculture are available in Iraq, Syria and Southern Turkey (Davidson, 1977: 12). Halaf sites lie in areas where annual rainfall is sufficient for farming activities without irrigation (Campbell, 1992: 184). In addition, Halaf mounds are generally close to water sources (Akkermans, 2013a: 22; Gessner, 2011: 778) or close to natural resources (Hijara, 1997: 85, 109). Sites, generally, lay in areas above 200/250⁸ mm isohyets where cereals grow without any irrigation (Gessner, 2011: 778; Watson, 1983: 238; Yakar, 1991: 96).

When we consider Halaf subsistence economy, Halafian societies were consuming both cultivated cereals and wild plants, and exploiting domesticated and wild animals (Gessner, 2011; Hijara, 1997; İpek, 2018: 32; Yakar, 1991). They were consuming cultivated wheat (emmer, einkorn), barley or lentils, vetch and flax (Akkermans, 2013a: 24; Davidson, 1977: 14; Gessner, 2011: 779; Hijara, 1997: 92, 94, 110; Watson, 1983: 238; Yakar, 1991: 96). As supplements, they were collecting wild

⁸ In general, the ratio of 200 mm rainfall is very low for successful farming activities in a dry area like the Near East (Davidson, 1977: 11).

pistachios, almonds, plums, raspberries and figs as well as many other wild plants (Akkermans, 2013a: 24). They were consuming domesticated animals such as cattle, sheep, goats and pigs (Akkermans, 2013a: 24-25; Gessner, 2011: 779; Hijara, 1997: 92, 110; Watson, 1983: 238). Besides, they hunted wild animals such as aurochs, onager, boars, birds, fish, foxes and hares (Akkermans, 2013a: 25; Gessner, 2011: 779; Hijara, 1997: 92, 110). On the other hand, some Halaf sites were settled in marginal regions (Akkermans, 2013a: 22). Their subsistence economy was different from other Halaf sites. For example, exploitation of wild animals, especially onager and gazelle, were dominant at Umm Qseir (on the Khabur), Shams-ed-Din (on the Euphrates) (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 127; Akkermans, 2013a: 25; Frangipane, 2007: 160; Frangipane, 2013: 91) or at Khirbet esh-Shenef (on the Balikh) and Boued II (on the middle Khabur) (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 127; Akkermans, 2013a: 25). At these Halafian sites, exploitation of wild animals was higher than other Halaf sites. For examples, at Umm Qseir, the percentage of wild fauna and flora species is very high compared to other Halaf sites (Gessner, 2011: 787). At Khirbet esh-Shenef, Shams ad-Din or Umm Qseir, the ratio of wild animals is higher than at other Halaf sites, for instance up to 40 to 60% of the faunal remains (Akkermans, 2013a: 25).

3.2 Halaf Settlement Pattern

The densities of Halaf sites varied from region to region. Although there were permanent settlements during the Halaf period, there were short-lived sites too. Halaf settlement patterns consist of less planned and scattered structures with open areas around the villages (Figure 4) (Frangipane, 2013: 95). There were no exact boundaries for the inhabited areas of Halaf sites (Frangipane, 2013: 95). The accumulated height of Halaf sites ranged from 6 to 8 m (Hijara, 1997: 85, 109). In addition, many sites accumulated no more than 4 m of deposit, representing seasonal or semi-permanent occupations (Hijara, 1997: 85, 93). Finally, short-lived sites consist of less than one or two meters of deposit. During the Halaf period, there are both long sequence and short-lived occupations (Akkermans, 2013a: 22-24). In this part, I discuss short-lived and permanent Halaf settlement patterns.

3.2.1 The "Mega Halaf Sites" - Really Big or Segmented?

Most Halaf sites are very small, 1 ha or less (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 119; Akkermans, 2013a: 22), to 3 ha (Gessner, 2011: 778; Hijara, 1997: 85, 109). In contrast to these, some Halaf sites such as Mounbatah (in northeastern Syria), Nisibis Höyük, Kazane Höyük or Domuztepe (in southeastern Anatolia) have been considered much larger centers (Akkermans, 2013b: 71). Among them, Domuztepe (ca. 20 ha) (Campbell et al., 1999: 396-397; Gessner, 2011: 778-779), Takyan Höyük (ca. 18 ha) (Campbell et al., 1999: 396-397) or Kazane Höyük (between 15-20 ha) (Gessner, 2011: 778-779) have been thought exceptional Halaf sites because of their size. Such regionally important sites were associated with the emergence of social hierarchy in the Near East (Akkermans, 2013b: 71), consequently 'megasites' or 'anchor' sites (Bernbeck, 2013: 57). However, it has yet to be determined whether the entire site area was occupied at one time, or whether residents shifted from one part of the area to another during the occupational period.

Recent research shows that during the Late Neolithic period, these big sites were not densely occupied (Gessner, 2011: 779) and did not extend more than 10 ha. Instead, there were 'intra-site movements' over various mounds or from one mound to another mound in the course of time, after one settlement phase or the span of a single generation (Akkermans, 2013b: 69). According to Akkermans, 'segmentation' is one of the key features of Late Neolithic communities (Akkermans, 2013b: 72). People were shifting to other parts of settlements (Akkermans, 2013b: 69; Gessner, 2011: 779). Excavations and studies show that most of these mega sites occurred as a result of dispersed or shifting of occupation from closer mounds (Akkermans, 2013b: 71). For example, Tell Sabi Abyad consisted of four small sites from Tell Sabi Abyad I to IV (Figure 5) (Akkermans, 2013b: 65). Tell Sabi Abyad I is ca. 5 ha, but consists of 4 small prehistoric mounds (two mounds are from early 7th millennium cal. BC and one dates ca. 6200 cal. BC) (Akkermans, 2013b: 66; Bernbeck, 2013: 57). These four mounds give an illusion of a single site, but are ca. 0.5 ha to 1 ha each (Akkermans, 2013b: 66). The cluster of mounds at Tell Sabi Abyad was used continually for many hundreds of years (Akkermans, 2013b: 69). Other large Halaf sites show similar problems: Tell Mounbatah (ca. 20 ha) consisted of at least six individual mounds, and Kazane Höyük (ca. 15 to 20 ha) is a similarly dispersed settlement (Akkermans, 2013b: 71). Akkermans claims that these big dispersed sites

were formed as a result of replacement, relocation or reuse throughout long periods of time, and did not occur as a result of single or stable big unchanged occupations (Akkermans, 2013b: 71; Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 31). Frangipane agrees with these assessments (Frangipane, 2007: 155). Evidence shows that during the Halaf period, the movement of settlements was cyclical between abandonment and resettlement (Bernbeck, 2013: 57). This type of movement occurred at small Halafian sites, as well as in big settlements (Bernbeck, 2013: 57).

3.2.2 Short-Lived Halaf Sites

Some short-lived Halaf sites in northern Syria (such as Khirbet esh-Shenef, Damishliyya, Umm Qseir) (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 127; Akkermans, 2013a: 25; Özbal, 2011: 178), and some southeastern Anatolian Halaf sites (such as Çavi Tarlası, Girikihacıyan, Fıstıklı Höyük) show evidence of semi-nomadic, seasonal or short seasonal life (Özbal, 2011: 178-179). Umm Qseir is a good example for a short-term Halaf site (Gessner, 2011: 787). Khirbet esh-Shenef is a single level site dating to c. 5600-5500 BC with simple architecture (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 119). Fıstıklı Höyük is another short lived site. At Fıstıklı Höyük, Halaf occupation lasted about 100 years with more or less 30 to 35 years per phase (Bernbeck, 2013: 52-53). The site is not more than 0.5 ha large, and its depth is 1.4m with five phases (Bernbeck, 2013: 52). Except for a few residential and storage structures, the site is like a small hamlet or a camp place (Bernbeck, 2013: 52-57). General thought about these small Halafian sites is that Halaf settlements less than one or two meters high were seasonal or semi-permanent settlements used by a few dozen people (Akkermans, 2013a: 22; Hijara, 1997: 85, 93). According to Akkermans and Schwartz, cultural features at Umm Qseir or Damishliyya sites in northern Syria show that the sites were used as camp sites which were visited recurrently over a number of years (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 120).

3.3 Halaf Architecture

Buildings with a circular shape and sometimes with rectangular annexes are the best known Halaf structural types (Figure 6) (Frangipane, 2007: 155). This type is referred to as "tholos" (in plural tholoi), but has no connection with Mycenaean tombs of similar plan (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003; Akkermans, 2010: 22;

Akkermans, 2013a; Campbell, 1992: 182; Hijara, 1997: 16; İpek, 2018: 32). The tholos derives from pre-and Proto-Halaf architecture (Nieuwenhuys & Cruells, 2004: 51; Nieuwenhuys, 2008: 694; Tekin, 2015: 105), but characterises the full Halaf period.

The size and function of circular structures varied (Figures 7) (Hijara, 1997: 17-18; Frangipane, 2007: 155; Frangipane, 2013: 96). Structures were used for different activities such as housing, storing foods (with thick layers of plaster on the floors and walls) and cooking (Figure 8) (Akkermans, 2010: 26; Frangipane, 2007: 155; Gessner, 2011: 779; Hijara, 1997: 17-18). Residential tholoi could only house a single person or small family (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 151; Akkermans, 2010: 27). Their size varies from 1.5 to 4 m (Frangipane, 2013: 96) or even 10 m (at Tell Arpachiyah) in diameter (Hijara, 1997: 17). They were made of mudbrick or pisé with or without stone foundations (Akkermans, 2010: 22; Gessner, 2011: 780). Generally, Halaf circular structures have only one circular room, but there are examples where the circular room was enlarged by a rectangular annex (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 105; Akkermans, 2010: 22; Akkermans, 2013a: 19). The round roof may have been beehive-shaped (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 103; Akkermans, 2010: 22; Akkermans, 2013a: 19), domed (Campbell, 1992: 182) or flat (Akkermans, 2013a: 19; Campbell, 1992: 182). The vaulted roof, made with mudbricks, would resemble beehive buildings of villages in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia (Figure 9) (Akkermans, 2010: 26). However, Tell Sabi Abyad examples had roofs made of timber and reeds, instead of a beehive shaped mud brick cover (Akkermans, 2010: 26).

Although circular buildings were most popular during the Halaf periods, rectangular structures also were present (Akkermans, 2013a: 22; Frangipane, 2013: 96). Their size and finds show that they were used for different purposes such as communal activities (large rectangular structures with series rooms), dwellings (multi-roomed structures with small rooms), and small rectangular structures for auxiliary functions generally attached to tholoi (Figures 10-11) (Frangipane, 2013: 96). The elongated multi-chambered type was used for grain storage (Munchaev, 1997: 70). Large rectangular structures with a series of rooms are understood to be a chief's building or pottery workshop or storage buildings, such as, the 'Burnt House' at Tell Arpachiyah with its elaborate contents (Frangipane, 2007: 157; Frangipane, 2013:

96; Hijara, 1997: 19). A big structure subdivided into small rooms at Tell Sabi Abyad is interpreted as a community storage building (Frangipane, 2007: 157; Frangipane, 2013: 96). Rectangular buildings became more prevalent during the Late Halaf period (Hijara, 1997: 18-19).

3.4 Halaf Burial Practices

There was no common burial custom in the Halaf communities. Halafian burial practices varied from single and double pit inhumations, mass burials, single and multiple skull burials to individual or mass cremations (Akkermans, 1989a: 83; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 145; Campbell, 2008b: 134; Campbell, Kansa, Bichener, & Lau, 2014: 30; İpek, 2018: 32; Pollock, 2011: 36). The first Halaf burial examples were recovered at the Tell Arpachiyah excavations in the 1930s (Akkermans, 1989a: 75). Later excavations at many sites uncovered cemeteries which give information about Halaf mortuary practices⁹. My discussion will focus on general Halaf mortuary practices such as mass burials, cremation and skull treatments.

3.4.1 Mass Burials

Mass burials have been recovered at Tepe Gawra, Yumuktepe (Mersin) (Akkermans, 1989a: 84; Pollock, 2011: 40) and recently at Domuztepe in the referred so-called Death Pit. At Tepe Gawra, a well or cistern was reused as a burial pit for some 24 individuals, deposited in four separate episodes (A-D) (some with burial gifts) (Akkermans, 1989a: 76, 84; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 148; Hijara, 1997: 77). These dead bodies were, simply and without any attention, thrown down the well (Akkermans, 1989a: 76-77, 84; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 148; Campbell, 2008b: 134). At Mersin level XIX, there are mass cremations of unknown numbers of adults (Akkermans, 1989a: 81, 86). Whether these mass burials at Yumuktepe were the result of disease (epidemic or famine) or warfare is not clear (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 148).

Domuztepe is another site which has yielded information about mass burial practices in the Halaf world. In Operation I, there is a terrace which occurred as a result of

⁹ For more details about Halaf burial practices see Akkermans, 1989a; Hijara, 1997; Campbell, 2008b; Pollock, 2011.

filling with white lime plaster and a reddish clay matrix (Campbell, 2008b: 127; Gauld et al., 2003: 118). This terrace took shape as a result of long phases of a series of repeated acts of construction and deposition (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 145; Campbell, 2008b: 127; Campbell, 2012: 315; Campbell et al., 2014: 47; Gauld et al., 2003: 118-119). Because of its red color, excavators of Domuztepe termed this area the 'Red Terrace' (Campbell, 2008b: 127). This terrace lies east-west across the southern part of Domuztepe (Campbell et al., 2014: 38), and has been dated between ca 6100 (beginning of Halaf period) to around 5500 cal. BC (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 145; Campbell, 2012: 316; Campbell et al., 2014: 50). The deposition period of the terrace was about six hundred years, and its deposit is about 2m high (Campbell, 2012: 315; Campbell et al., 2014: 50). Until now, about 50m has been excavated, but its total length is near 100m (Campbell, 2012: 316; Campbell et al., 2014: 38). The architecture of the site was concentrated during the first periods to the north and later to the south of the exterior line of the terrace (Campbell, 2008b: 127). The terrace was annually refurbished and renewed (Campbell et al., 2014: 50).

On the other hand, around 5.575 BC, a pit was dug on the southern edge of the Red Terrace, and this place was used for a massive funerary deposit which is called the 'Death Pit' by the Domuztepe team (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 146; Campbell, 2008b: 128; Campbell, 2012: 316). The large mass burial "Death Pit" was cut into the red clay terrace¹⁰(Gauld et al., 2003: 119). Funerary activities were carried out in and around the Death Pit (Campbell et al., 2014: 31). About 3000 identifiable human bone fragments have been found (Carter, 2012: 99), and mass burials of 35 or 40 individuals were recovered (Atakuman, 2015a: 52; Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 146; Campbell, 2008a: 69; Erdal & Erdal, 2012: 79; Gauld et al., 2003: 117, 120). The processes in the Death Pit are different (Gauld et al., 2003: 121) The Death Pit is not a one phase pit or a simple hole for disposal of human remains (Campbell et al., 2014: 31). For example, for early periods (Phase I), there are only deposits of animal bones such as cattle, dogs, etc., in the pit (Campbell et al., 2014: 31; Gauld et al., 2003: 121). Especially, amount of cattle bones suggests feasting or other activities occurred (Campbell et al., 2014: 31). Then in the other phases, burials of disarticulated and heavily processed human bones in the initial pit were recovered

¹⁰ For more details about Red Terrace and Death Pit see Gauld et al. 2003: 121; Campbell, 2008b; Carter, 2012; Campbell et. al. 2014: 31; Atakuman & Erdem, 2015.

(Campbell, 2008b: 128; Gauld et al., 2003: 121). About 35 disarticulated individuals were buried in phases 5a and 6 (Campbell et al., 2014: 31). Large amounts of disarticulated and heavily treated human bones were placed between ash and patches of mud (Campbell, 2008b: 129). In addition, the large quantities of artifacts such as sherds, litchis, stamp seals, and bone tools were recovered at Death Pit, especially in the Phase 5a and 5b (Campbell et al., 2014: 31). In the final phase, Phase 7, the whole Death Pit was covered by a thick layer of ash (Campbell et al., 2014: 31).

3.4.2 Cremation

Examples of cremation come from Yarım Tepe II, Yumuktepe (Akkermans, 1989a: 85; Campbell, 2008b: 134) Chagar Bazar, Tell el-Kerkh and Tell Kurdu (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 148). At Yarım Tepe II, about seven cremation burials were recovered either in open fire-places or in specially built ovens, sunk into lower levels (Akkermans, 1989a: 78, 85). At Yarım Tepe II, some pottery and stone vessels were intentionally broken and thrown into the fire, and during the cremation (Akkermans, 1989a: 78, 85; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 149). The most interesting example of a cremation was found at Yarım Tepe II, for a 12 or 13 year old girl (Hijara, 1997: 78). It took place in a special oven (Akkermans, 1989a: 78; Hijara, 1997: 78). Different objects such as beads, pendants, and shells were intentionally thrown into the burial, as well as clay and stone vessels, found smashed and burnt (Akkermans, 1989a: 78; Hijara, 1997: 78). After cremation, the burnt bones were put into a jar, which was put in the northwestern corner of the oven with some miniature vessels (Akkermans, 1989a: 78; Hijara, 1997: 78). Another mass cremation of an unknown number of adults with broken pottery fragments was recovered at Yumuktepe (Akkermans, 1989a: 81). They include a child cremation without any grave goods (Akkermans, 1989a: 81).

3.4.3 Skull Burials

Skull burials were found at Tell Arpachiyah and Yarım Tepe II (Akkermans, 1989a: 76, 79, 86; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 146; Pollock, 2011: 40). Besides, several decapitated skeletons were recovered in a tholos at Tell Azzo I (Akkermans, 1989a: 80, 86; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 146), Tell Sabi Abyad (Pollock, 2011: 40) and at Domuztepe in the Death Pit. At Tell Arpachiyah, Burial Grave 1 is a skull burial in a large globular and tall-collared jar placed in pit. Two painted pottery bowls and one

stone found next to the jar were burial goods (Akkermans, 1989a: 76; Hijara, 1997: 79). Grave 2 contained four skull burials in four separate pots (three skulls in bowls and one in a squat jar with six ceramic vessels and one stone bowl) (Figure 14) (Akkermans, 1989a: 76; Hijara, 1978: 125; Hijara, 1997: 79). A unique broken pot was decorated with a figural scene¹¹ (Hijara, 1978: 125; Hijara, 1997: 79). At Yarım Tepe II, Burials N49 and N55 each contained one adult skull, and Burial 56 included three skulls in one pit grave (Akkermans, 1989a: 79). None of the skull burials of Yarım Tepe II have any burial goods (Akkermans, 1989a: 79, 86). Skull treatments here were limited to adults (Akkermans, 1989a: 86). At Domuztepe, there are skull burials in and around the Death Pit (Figure 15) (Campbell, 2008b: 131; Campbell, Kansa, Bichener, & Lau, 2014: 34; Carter, 2012: 106-108).

3.5 Social and Political Organization of Halaf Culture

A general question about past societies is whether they show diagnostic features for social hierarchy. One basic answer proposes distinguished buildings for a specific person in the settlement, seals and sealing, luxurious burials gifts, temples, and the like. In the case of this thesis, the questions about the social structure of the Halaf culture are standard. For example, was there any social or political hierarchy in the Halaf culture? Who controlled the society or trade? Were there any signs of social ranking in the Halaf society? In this part, I will refer to previous and current approaches about social and political organization of the Halaf culture.

A general feature of south Mesopotamia is that its economy was based on irrigation, and this system led to the emergence of civilization in that region (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 136). But in northern Mesopotamia, the economy was based on rain-fed cultivation, and because of that, the Neolithic societies emerging there were less complex than in the south (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 136). Among these northern Mesopotamian Neolithic societies, one major question is "[...] the more basic question of whether Halafian society was egalitarian (tribal) or significantly hierarchical (a chiefdom or set of chiefdoms, either ranked or stratified)." (Watson & Leblanc, 1990: 137). Proposals about Halaf social structure were based on different approaches. Until the last decades it was argued that there was a chiefdom system in

¹¹ See Chapters 5 and 6.

the Halaf culture. For example, the Burnt House with its elaborate contents found at Tell Arpachiyah was explained as a chief's house or craft workshop by Mallowan and Rose in the 1930s (Akkermans, 2013a: 29; Gessner, 2011: 784; Watson, 1983: 240). Similarities of Halaf material, such as pottery and architecture, over a very large area led scholars to put the Halaf culture into a chiefdom system or ranked society (Akkermans, 2013a: 29; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 151; Gessner, 2011: 784; Watson, 1983: 241). Craft specialists, such as pottery specialists, or chiefly center sites, with pottery exports, are used to support the idea of Halaf chiefdoms, at a simple stage of development (Gessner, 2011: 784-785; Hijara, 1997: 101). According to Hijara, the Halaf culture was a tribal organization which is not different from the chiefdoms of the previous Hassuna/Samarra cultures (Hijara, 1997: 102-103, 111). He claims that the Halaf culture was organized as one big family or extended families which belonged to a tribe (Hijara, 1997: 93). To sum up, previous approaches for Halaf culture consider it was not egalitarian, and that social order and trade were controlled by a person acting as chief.

New studies argue that there was no hierarchical evidence or symbols for Late Neolithic communities including Halaf culture (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 135). Exceptional painted polychrome pottery, stamp seals and sealings were recovered at Tell Arpachiyah in Level TT6 (late Halaf period) at the Burnt House (Campbell, 1992: 185). However, although this large rectangular building with its distinguished finds was called a chiefly residence, there is not any architectural evidence of social rank, such as elite houses, during the Halaf period (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 150-151; Akkermans, 2013a: 29).

In general, Halaf burial practices, with a few exceptions, show no evidence of social ranking for a chief or elite with intensive grave goods (Akkermans, 2013a: 29; Frangipane, 2007: 162-163; Watson & Leblanc, 1990: 137-138). There is not any strong archaeological evidence for warfare at any Halaf sites such as surrounding walls, ditches or weapons (Hijara, 1997: 102; Watson & Leblanc, 1990: 138). In contrast, Bernbeck claims that the destruction of structures by fire at Tell Sabi Abyad and at the Burnt House of Tell Arpachiyah, mass cremation at Yumuktepe, or the Death Pit at Domuztepe suggest internal conflicts between small 'modular sites' and

focal 'big sites' in the Halaf culture¹² (Bernbeck, 2013: 58). These conflicts might be the result of economic interests, and social relations between families (Bernbeck, 2013: 58). Bernbeck also proposes that violence occurred in short-term events which prevented emergence of hierarchy in the Halaf culture (Bernbeck, 2013: 59). The non-hierarchical social structure is also visible in residential architecture. Differences between houses were based on their different uses for various activities, rather than social scale (Frangipane, 2007: 155). The general thought about seals¹³ is that they are evidence for a bureaucracy, central organization or authority (Duistermaat, 2013: 315, 320) or a standardized system of administration (Akkermans, 2013a: 26). Halaf seals are found in many Halaf settlements, and sometimes in burials (Frangipane, 2007: 159) such as Tell Arpachiyah, Yarım Tepe II (Atakuman, 2013; Hijara, 1997: 73), Tepe Gawra, Chagar Bazar, Banahilk (Hijara, 1997: 73), Domuztepe (Atakuman, 2013; Gauld et al., 2003: 131). On the other hand, studies by Duistermaat on seals from northern Syria show that the origin of seals (also in later periods) is not related to social hierarchy or bureaucracy (Duistermaat, 2013: 315). The first seals are related to changing subsistence conditions and private property in communal activities (Duistermaat, 2013: 315). She claims that, instead of elite groups, different seal impressions were used by an individual or a household, for the protection of private production in large communal store buildings (Duistermaat, 2013: 319). However, Frangipane claims that seal or sealing finds at Halaf sites reflect individuals in administration, who were, probably, connected to one or more persons overseeing the withdrawal of goods (Frangipane, 2007: 159).

Frangipane suggests two kinds of systems, a 'Horizontal Egalitarian System' and 'Vertical Egalitarian System' in ancient Mesopotamian and eastern Anatolian societies (Frangipane, 2007). The 'Horizontal System' is totally egalitarian with no social hierarchy at society, and people had the same status (Frangipane, 2007: 151, 153). Decisions were horizontally based within the group according to sex, age or function, such as elected chief (Frangipane, 2007: 153). On the other hand, 'Vertical System' was based on social and kinship groups who were recognized as more important by the other members in the group or society (Frangipane, 2007: 153). The last group of members or communities is called 'rank societies' or 'chiefdoms'

¹² For Warfare and violence see Chapter 7.

¹³ For more information about Halaf seals and sealing practices see Atakuman, 2013; Duistermaat, 2013.

(Frangipane, 2007: 153). Frangipane sets the Halaf culture into the Horizontal Egalitarian System (Bernbeck, 2013: 58; Frangipane, 2007: 154). The complex and dynamic networks of Halafian sites, led Bernbeck however to explain Halaf culture as a set of 'multisited communities' (Bernbeck, 2013: 56). According to Akkermans, the pattern of short-lived, small and dispersed hamlets or villages show that there was no authorized or social hierarchical life in the Halaf culture (Akkermans, 2013a: 29). Duistermaat claims that, because there is no evidence of central authorities or elites in architecture, settlement layout, material culture, or burial practices, societies were based on an egalitarian system (Duistermaat, 2013: 315, 320).

3.6 Conclusion

Halafian societies were consuming both cultivated cereals and wild plants, and exploiting domesticated and wild animals. New studies show that Halaf sites with more than 10 ha areas were actually a cluster of several small settlements. They occurred as a result of segmentation of residential groups into small interacting units at close proximity to each other. Although previous approaches set the Halaf culture into a hierarchical system, controlled by a chief, new excavations, survey and studies show that there was no ranking among Halaf communities, which had no exceptional buildings, for instance. The varying sizes of structures depended on their specific functions for daily life, and were not related to political power. Although some burials have gifts, no exceptional burial goods were offered. Seals and sealings were not related to chief or elite groups in the Halaf societies. They were related to storing of products for people for the short term.

CHAPTER 4

HALAF PAINTED POTTERY

After Halaf pottery was discovered by the world of archaeology one century ago, much research has examined its origin, typology, painted motifs, regional variation and distribution. This chapter will first describe general features of Halaf pottery and its ceramic technology. I will then discuss early and more recent studies, including archaeometric studies. The last section will concern the evolution of Halaf pottery and its characteristic features.

4.1 General Features of Halaf Pottery

Halaf pottery is hand-made (Akkermans, 1994: 281; Becker, 2013: 455; Frankel, 1979: 15; İpek, 2018: 32; van As & Jacobs, 1989: 229). It is also known for its high quality and colorful painted decoration (Frankel, 1979: 1; Sinopoli, 1991: 115). Halaf potters developed an impressive repertoire of pottery types/forms and motifs over many centuries (Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 109). For example, the painted assemblage is characterized by a variety of bowls, plates (open vessels), and jars (closed vessels) with different shapes, colors, and decorations (Frankel, 1979: 1; Watson & LeBlanc, 1990: 42). Colors include black, browns, red, orange, green, and white, in monochrome, bichrome or trichrome applications (İpek, 2018: 33; Steinberg & Kamilli, 1990: 187-188). Polychrome decoration occurred, especially, towards the end of the Halaf period (Campbell, 1992: 182). The finest examples of polychrome pottery come from the 'Burnt House' in level TT6 at Tell Arpachiyah (Nieuwenhuyse, 2000: 167) with further examples at Tell Aqab and Nineveh (Davidson, 1977: 143, 243). Polychrome painting is otherwise rare (Nieuwenhuyse, 2000: 163).

Decoration on painted pottery is varied. Up to now, more than 350 different Halaf motifs have been recorded (Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: 113; Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: 134). Pottery was painted with geometric and figural/naturalistic designs (Gessner, 2013: 125; Steinberg & Kamilli, 1990: 187), although the dominant motifs were geometric (Campbell, 2010: 147). Most vessels are decorated simply, in

horizontal or diagonal bands (Nieuwenhuys, 2000: 163). The geometric motifs include cross-hatching or parallel zigzag lines, diamonds, chevrons and dots (Gessner, 2011: 780; Nieuwenhuys, 2000: 163; Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 109). Figural stylized motifs include bucrania (bull heads and bull horns) birds, human figures, animals and structures (Gessner, 2011: 780; İpek, 2018: 33; Nieuwenhuys, 2000: 163; Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 109).

These vessels had many functions. Some served for consumption of food and drink, some for storage and food preparation, some were used as gifts for the living and the dead (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 134). Coarse-tempered and thick-walled wares were used for cooking, storage, and food preparation (Gessner, 2011: 780). The finely crafted and thin-walled decorated wares were used for serving the prepared food¹⁴ (Gessner, 2011: 780).

Halaf potters had the ability to control firing temperatures in their kilns. Halaf coarse wares with vegetal inclusions were fired at low temperatures, ca. 700-750°C (Akkermans, 1993: 276). For quality Halaf pottery, the temperature is estimated at 900 °C to 950 °C (Akkermans, 1993: 276; Frankel, 1979: 16), and between 850-1050 °C under oxidizing conditions (Streily, 2000: 76). Halaf potters were therefore attaining and controlling ideal firing temperatures (Sinopoli, 1991: 28). There are different types of firing system such as firing on the ground (bonfire), pit firing or open air firing and kilns, which are the most advantageous firing system (Figure 16) (Sinopoli, 1991; Velde & Druc, 1999). Kilns represent an important technical innovation as the best system to control firing temperature and atmosphere (Sinopoli, 1991; Velde & Druc, 1999). For example, with pottery kilns, potters can change the firing temperature in order to affect the pottery color by reducing or increasing the oxygen rate (Sinopoli, 1991: 30). Types of kilns include updraught kilns and downdraught kilns (Figure 17) (Sinopoli, 1991: 32-33), keyhole-shape kilns (Verhoeven & Kranendonk, 1996) and two-story kilns (Streily, 2000: 72-73). Single-chamber updraught kilns, double-chamber updraught kilns, and keyhole-shape kilns are known from different Halaf sites. At Tell Ziyadeh in a transitional Halaf-Ubaid level (phase A7) a single-chamber updraught pottery kiln was uncovered (Figure 18) (Streily, 2000: 75). Other types were excavated at Yarım Tepe II, in level VIII, a

¹⁴ See below, Part 4.4.

round double-chamber updraught kiln (Figure 19) (Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: 139; Streily, 2000: 74); and at Tell Sabi Abyad in level 2, a keyhole-shaped kiln (Figure 20) (Verhoeven & Kranendonk, 1996: 109). Additional kilns were found at Tell Arpachiyah, Tell Yunus, and many other sites (Frankel, 1979: 15; Hijara, 1997: 20).

4.2 Recent Archaeological Studies and Archaeometric Studies on Halaf Pottery

Halaf potters followed several steps to prepare pots, such as finding high-quality clay, using temper, shaping the clay, finishing the surface and firing the vessel. During the Halaf period and before, Mesopotamian potters produced different fabrics from selected clay sources (Hijara, 1997: 24). They knew which clay was best suited for their pots. From different clay sources, Halaf potters were able to produce different kinds of ceramic (Akkermans, 1993: 277). Analytical studies by Steinberg and Kamilli with a scanning electron microscope (SEM) and X-ray diffraction (XRD) on the Halaf pottery paste from Halaf sites show the chemical composition of the clay and firing process of the Halaf potters (Steinberg & Kamilli, 1990: 188). Knowing which pigment gives a different color for painting on the surface of the pottery requires sophisticated skills, and Halaf potters were skillful craftsmen in mastering these processes. In the following section, I will briefly mention previous and recent studies on Halaf pottery.

4.2.1 Previous Studies on Stylistic Evolution of Halaf Pottery

The first excavations of Halaf sites, at Sakce Gözü/Sakje and especially Tell Halaf (before the 1930s), revealed great amounts of Halaf painted ware (Frankel, 1979: 2; İpek, 2018: 31; Watson, 1983: 231; Watson & LeBlanc, 1990: 2). The first studies about Halaf pottery were made by Hubert Schmidt (Watson, 1983: 231). According to their shape, decoration and technique, he divided this painted pottery into four groups (Frankel, 1979: 2, 10). Later, excavations at Tell Arpachiyah by Mallowan in 1933 recovered further significant amounts of Halaf painted pottery (Hijara, 1997: 1-4), Mallowan divided Halaf pottery into three chronological phases (Davidson, 1977: 26): Early, Middle, and Late Halaf pottery. For a long time, Mallowan's threefold Halaf division has been used for Halaf chronology and pottery studies. In the 1940s,

Ann Perkins again studied Halaf sites such as Tell Arpachiyah, Tepe Gawra, Samarra, Nineveh, Tell Brak and Tell Halaf. Based on the Tell Arpachiyah sequence, she divided Halaf pottery into two regions which she called Eastern and Western Halaf: the Mosul region of northern Iraq (Eastern) and the Khabur region of eastern Syria (Western) (Davidson, 1977: 1; Frankel, 1979, Hijara, 1997: 1; Nieuwenhuyse, 2000: 154; Perkins, 1949: 43-44; Watson & Leblanc, 1973: 117).

After 1950, the Halaf repertoire expanded with excavations, for instance, at Banahilk, Turlu, Girikihaciyan, Yarım Tepe II, Tell Aqab and Shemsed-Din (Davidson, 1977: 8; Watson, 1983: 232). In the 1950s and 1960s, Dabbagh classified Halaf pottery into 48 shapes and 160 designs (Hijara, 1997: 1). In the 1970s, Davidson's dissertation on Halaf ceramics and sites led him to recognize a new Halaf cultural distribution according to more specific geographic zones (Davidson, 1977; Hijara, 1997: 2-3; Watson, 1983). This distribution can be divided into four main regional units: the Mosul region sites, the Jezirah region sites (Habur triangle, Sinjar region, Balikh valley in the Euphrates Valley), northern Halaf sites, and, finally, Halaf- influenced pottery in Syro-Cilician sites (Davidson, 1977; Hijara, 1997: 2-3; Watson, 1983: 23). He used twenty types of Halaf shapes and added new motifs to support his new theory (Hijara, 1997: 2). In the 1970s and 1980s, Hijara carried out new excavations at Tell Arpachiyah. He then divided Halaf pottery into four periods (I- IV) according to their appearance in their sequence of layers (Hijara, 1980: 141-143; Hijara, 1997: 24-25). He divided Halaf pottery into about 48 shapes (Figure 21) and more than two hundred motifs just for bowls (Hijara, 1980: 141; Hijara, 1997, figs. 7-12; Watson & LeBlanc, 1990: 52, fig. 4.5). At the same time, studies by Watson and LeBlanc on painted Halaf pottery from seven Halaf sites¹⁵ from different geographic zones divided Halaf pottery into five forms with subdivisions (Figure 22) and 78 motifs (Figure 23) (Watson & LeBlanc, 1973: 120). Davidson then added new motifs to Watson and LeBlanc's repertoire (Figure 24) (Davidson, 1977, foldout 2). In the 1990s, Watson and LeBlanc recombined Hijara's 48 shapes into six categories (Figure 25) (Watson & LeBlanc, 1990: 53).

¹⁵ From Tell Arpachiyah, Banahilk, Girikihaciyan, Tell Halaf, Tilki Tepe, Tell Turlu, Tell Yunus (Carchemish).

4.2.2 Recent Archaeometric Research

Neutron-activation analyses are an important technical asset for Halaf pottery studies. For example, neutron-activation analysis on ancient pottery gives information not only about pottery manufacture and trade, but also about clay sources, and the origin and place where Halaf pottery was made (Davidson, 1981: 65). Archaeometric studies describe the mineralogical and chemical composition of ceramics, pottery technology, and local or nonlocal pottery production (Spataro & Fletcher, 2010: 95-96). Neutron-activation analysis studies on Halaf pottery are numerous. From 1970 onwards archaeometric studies such as neutron-activation analysis have been carried out by Davidson and McKerrell (Davidson & McKerrell, 1976; Davidson, 1981); petrographic studies on clays and inclusions, and chemical characterization through Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) by Hole (Hole, 2013); and PCA (Principal Components Analysis) and SEM-EDX (scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive X-ray analysis) by Spataro and Fletcher (Spataro & Fletcher, 2010). Other researchers include Akkermans, Campbell, Hijara, LeBlanc and Nieuwenhuyse (Hole, 2013: 77). I will briefly mention some of these archaeometric and statistical studies.

Neutron activation analyses on some varieties of painted Halaf pottery from different Halafian sites in Northern Syria and Eastern Iraq show that there was extensive painted pottery trade between sites (Davidson & McKerrell, 1976: 45). Pottery analysis on clay studies by Davidson and McKrell in 1976 in the Khabur valley show that Chagar Bazar, Tell Brak and Tell Halaf were, probably, pottery trade centers (Davidson & McKerrell, 1976: 47, 52-53; Davidson, 1977: 313-315; Watson, 1983: 240). The neutron-activation analysis of ceramic samples in the Mosul region in northern Iraq show that especially during the late Halaf period, Tell Arpachiyah was a pottery manufacturing and exporting center to other sites in this region (Davidson, 1977: 305; Davidson & McKerrell, 1980: 163; Davidson, 1981: 77).

Statistical studies for similarities or relationships between Halaf sites were carried out by Watson and LeBlanc and Frankel on Halaf pottery between seven Halaf sites in the 1970s (Frankel, 1979: 21; Watson & LeBlanc, 1973). Especially, they studied the absence or presence of design motifs and their location on the vessel (Figure 26) (Frankel, 1979: 21-22; Watson & LeBlanc, 1973). Their studies show that closer sites shared decorative patterns more frequently than distant sites (Frankel, 1979:

23). There appeared to be no strict division between western or eastern sites of Halaf culture (Watson & LeBlanc, 1973: 127). According to Watson and LeBlanc, although the percentage of motifs, similarities of motifs, or proportion of vessel shapes on painted pottery are different from each of the seven Halaf sites, Halaf is one of the most homogeneous prehistoric cultures in the Near East (Watson & LeBlanc, 1973: 120-132). On the other hand, Hole's analysis of motifs on Halaf 'cream bowls' from the widely spaced Halaf sites Umm Qseir, Chagar Bazar (northern Syria), Tell Arpachiyah, Yarım Tepe II (northern Iraq), and Yunus/Carchemish (southeastern Anatolia) show that their pottery was made locally and used for household activities (Hole, 2013: 85). Hole further claims that Halaf was not a homogeneous society, according to differences in combining design elements between sites (Hole, 2013: 85-86).

4.3 The Emergence of Halaf Pottery and Its Diagnostic Features

After the Pottery Neolithic started in the Near East, the earliest painted pottery assemblages from western sites are documented at Tell Sabi Abyad (Balikh Valley), Tell Seker al-Aheimar (Khabur Valley), Akarçay Tepe and Mezraa Teleilat (Euphrates) around 6900-6800 cal. BC (Cruells, 2008: 672). Preceding the Halaf style, regional characteristics in pottery are called Proto-Hassuna pottery, the so-called Pre-Halaf pottery, Dark Faced Burnished Ware and Orange Ware (Figure 27) (Le Mièrè, 2013: 328). Later painted types such as Dark-Faced Burnished Ware, Red Slipped/Painted Ware, and Early Painted Ware gradually continued through the seventh millennium. They evolved into the Proto-Halaf and, subsequently, the Early Halaf pottery technology and style at the end of the seventh millennium (Cruells, 2008: 672-673). Pottery features during the early phase of the Neolithic period included large sized mineral temper and various types of rock (Le Mièrè, 2013: 325). Decoration was rare, in geometric designs (Le Mièrè, 2013: 325). Changes occurred slowly over 800 years (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 135). By 6200 cal. BC in northern Mesopotamia, new technological and stylistic patterns appeared (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 135). This phase is the Transitional/Proto-Halaf period. It was significant for Halaf pottery which saw various innovations: the gradual emergence of Fine Wares, new vessel shapes, complex designs, and changes in morphology of vessels (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 83). We can see an increase in using well-prepared clay, developing firing techniques, more advanced kilns, and painting shifts from

monochrome to polychrome (Cruells, 2008: 672-673). The Transitional period's pottery technology and style are similar throughout northern Mesopotamia (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 85). I will briefly note changes in the chemical ingredients of clay, the increasing ratio of painted pottery, and changes in the morphology of pottery types in the Halaf pottery from the Proto-Halaf onwards.

Nieuwenhuyse calls the Transitional period a "*Painted Pottery Revolution*"¹⁶ (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 137). During this period at Tell Sabi Abyad and at other transitional sites, pottery rapidly changed from mostly plant-tempered wares to well-made, mineral tempered Fine Ware (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 83). Tell Sabi Abyad is especially instructive with its mineral-tempered Standard Fine Ware pottery of the Proto-Halaf/Transitional period (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 694). After its earliest stage, potters preferred finer clay, probably levigating it, and through time potters achieved control of pigments and firing techniques (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 696). The simple shapes and designs of Pre-Halaf pottery were replaced gradually by the later complex shapes, and the proportion of fine ware and painted complex shapes increased (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 694-695). For example, at Tell Sabi Abyad, the proportion of Fine Ware pottery during the Transitional period was less than 5 % of the ceramic assemblage but during the Early Halaf period it rose quickly and over 80 % became Fine Ware (Figure 28) (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 85). Pre-Halaf decorative techniques such as slipping, impressing, incising and *appliqué* decoration gradually disappeared, and were replaced by the single technique of painting (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 87-88). At Tell Sabi Abyad, motifs also become more complex (Figure 29) (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 696-697).

Pottery shapes also changed over time: for example, various types of carinated, collared vessels which are referred to as 'cream bowls' during the early Halaf period (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 696). The 'cream bowl' is a typical form of Halaf pottery (Figure 30) (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 87). At Tell Sabi Abyad and other Transitional Period sites, morphological innovation and changes can be seen on the Fine Ware pottery, especially on open vessels used for serving food and drink (Figure 31) (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 87). For example, the early serving vessels were simple, convex-sided shapes, then they gradually changed into S-shaped bowls, and larger

¹⁶ For pottery technological innovations and changes during this period and onward see Nieuwenhuyse, 2007; 2008; 2009; 2013.

numbers of carinated bowls with either straight or concave walls (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 87).

4.4 Conclusion

Although Halaf pottery is hand-made and there is undecorated pottery, it is especially distinctive for its painted versions with elaborate designs. There is monochrome, bichrome or trichrome pottery in the Halaf pottery repertoire, and a wide range of geometric and figurative motifs on Halaf vessels. The Halaf culture and its pottery have been the subject of considerable study. Archaeometric studies show that there were Halaf pottery producing and exporting centers in northern Mesopotamia. In addition, pottery was locally made. From the Transitional period to the end of Halaf culture, new shapes, new technological developments; new motifs occurred in the Halaf pottery world. Throughout the Halaf periods, potters gradually selected finer clays. Fine Ware pottery ratios increased and the morphology of fine ware changed. Motifs and decorative patterns also became increasingly complex.

CHAPTER 5

NORTH MESOPOTAMIAN SITES WITH FIGURAL HALAF POTTERY

Geometric motifs, as mentioned in Chapter 4 predominate on Halaf painted pottery. In addition to these, however, there are images of four legged animals, birds, reptiles, plants, human beings and structures. From this part onwards, my thesis will focus on this second, figurative category of Halaf painted motifs. The Halaf culture extends over five geographical regions: the northern Tigris Valley, the Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle, the Balikh Valley, the middle Euphrates Valley and the Maraş and Amuq Plains. This chapter begins with a survey of the excavated sites in these five regions that have produced examples of figural motifs on their pottery. I will then classify these motifs according to their chronological and regional distribution. Many Halaf sites and motifs cannot be assigned to a specific phase of the Halaf period. Therefore, for figural dates, I follow the attributions of Davidson (1977), Erdalkıran (2009, 2010, 2017), Hijara (1997), Robert (2010), Watson and LeBlanc (1990) and others.

5.1 The Northern Tigris Valley

The northern Tigris region extends from the Jezirah and Hamrin in north Iraq to the Upper Tigris and Botan valleys.

5.1.1 The North Iraq Jezirah

The eastern Jezirah Halaf sites include Kharabeh Shattani, Tell Arpachiyah, Tepe Gawra and Yarim Tepe I-II-III; and, to the south, Tell Hassan in the Hamrin.

5.1.1.1 Kharabeh Shattani

The site is located north of Mosul, and 2 km east of the Tigris (Watkins & Campbell, 1986: 17). It was excavated by T. Watkins as a part of the Old Mosul Dam Salvage Archaeology Project in 1983 (Watkins & Campbell, 1986: 11). Although some late Middle Halaf materials were recovered, the pottery dates to the Late Halaf period

(Watkins & Campbell, 1986: 13). Figural motifs include vertical and horizontal bucrania, bird and snake (Figure 32).

5.1.1.2 Tell Arpachiyah

Tell Arpachiyah (Tepe Reshwa) is located 6 km northeast of Nineveh in the Mosul region (Campbell, 2000a: 1; Davidson & McKerrell, 1980: 155; Hijara, 1997). The site has 10.5 meters of cultural deposit, and about 8 meters belong to the Halaf period (Watson & Leblanc, 1973: 118). First excavations by Mallowan in 1933 recovered a huge amount of Halaf painted pottery attributed to three phases (Early, Middle and Late) (Hijara, 1997: 1, 4). Excavations restarted in 1976 by Hijara. He recovered four phases with eleven building levels and 42 layers (Hijara, 1980; Hijara, 1997). When we compare both chronologies, Mallowan Halaf TT10-7 levels are equivalent to Hijara Phase Three, levels V-II; and Mallowan Halaf TT6 equals Hijara Phase Four, level I (Hijara, 1980: 131-134; Hijara, 1997: 7-16). Finally, TT1-5 belong to the Ubaid period (Hijara, 1997: 5). Polychrome pottery and the use of white paint characterize Late Halaf here, although some polychrome occurs earlier (Davidson, 1977: 54-55, 74). For figural dates, I apply Watson and LeBlanc's (1990) Table 4.6 and Hijara's (1997) book. Figural motifs include trees and flowers, vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon, winged animals, deer, snake, leopard, undefined animals, stylized 'Dancing Ladies', and a narrative scene (human representations in complex scenes) (Figures 33-38). Horizontal bucrania occur in all Halaf levels. Robert sets the Tell Arpachiyah narrative scene (fig. 38.1) into the Late Halaf period (Robert, 2010: 331, 335; Tableau 51). However, Campbell claims that, although the find spot is dated to Halaf Ila (old Middle Halaf), the vessel shape and its panel are well-known for the Early Halaf period (Campbell, 2012: 312). He puts Arpachiyah figural pottery into his Halaf Ib (old Early Halaf) period (Campbell, 2012: 312). For the Arpachiyah narrative scene, in my thesis, I will follow Campbell's date.

5.1.1.3 Tepe Gawra

Tepe Gawra is located 15 kilometers northeast of Arpachiyah (Davidson, 1977: 72). The site was excavated between 1932-1938 by E.A. Speiser who recovered 20 levels (Erdalkiran, 2010: 133). Halaf pottery comes from Area A and the northeast base sounding in level XX (Davidson, 1977: 72; Tobler, 1950: 4, 48). Levels XX-XVII

postdate the late Halaf phase with Halaf pottery gradually replaced by the Northern Ubaid pottery tradition (Davidson, 1977: 72). According to Davidson and Watson, the Halaf pottery at Tepe Gawra belongs to Late Halaf and the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional period (Davidson, 1977: 72-83; Watson 1983: 234). Designs and shapes closely match examples from Arpachiyah TT6-7 (Late Halaf): beautiful and colorful geometric motifs on plates, and use of white paint (Davidson, 1977: 74; Tobler, 1950: figs. 11-27). Figural motifs include Late Halaf bucrania, and birds with snakes (Figure 39).

5.1.1.4 Yarim Tepe I-II-III

Yarim Tepe I, II and III are among 6 closely situated mounds of the same name in the Sinjar Plain (Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: 94; Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: 1). Yarim Tepe I is a Hassuna settlement with a Halaf cemetery on top (Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: 94, 107-108; Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: 1-2, 17; Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: 129). Yarim Tepe II, 250 m west of Yarim Tepe I, is an important Halaf site, ca. 9 m high with 9 building levels (Davidson, 1977: 193; Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: 94, 108; Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: 1, 20; Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: 129). Nearly the whole cultural deposit belongs to the Halaf period, except for Hassuna materials on the southeastern part (Davidson, 1977: 193; Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: 137). According to Davidson, Yarim Tepe II dates to the Middle and Late Halaf, into the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional phase (Davidson, 1977: 193-196; Hijara, 1997: 2). The last two levels consist of graves and pits of the Assyrian and Hellenistic periods (Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: 135-137). Yarim Tepe III is also 250 m from Yarim Tepe I and has Hassuna, Halaf, Halaf-Ubaid Transitional, and Ubaid deposits (Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: 163, 168, 184). Yarim Tepe III is 12 m high; the lower 8 m are Halaf culture, and the upper 4 m belong to the Ubaid period (Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: 163). Merpert and Munchaev date the Yarim Tepe III Halafian levels to the Late Halaf period (Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: 202). The figural designs, especially the Yarim Tepe II naturalistic designs, have parallels to later Halaf ceramics at the other sites (Davidson, 1977: 195). For example, the bird motif of Yarim Tepe II levels III-IV finds parallels in the late Halaf pottery of Tepe Gawra levels XX-XVII (Davidson, 1977: 195-196). Eldalkıran compares pottery from Yarim Tepe II to early Halaf sites, too (Eldalkıran 2010: 52). Flower motifs from Yarim Tepe II do resemble early Halaf motifs.

Yarim Tepe II and Yarim Tepe III pottery includes over 100 examples of flowers from levels 9 to 8 (Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: 30; Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: 157). Other motifs are naturalistic bucrania, vertical bucrania and mouflon, horizontal mouflon, winged animals, winged animal with structure, deer, fish, snake, cheetah, owl, equidae (probably onager?), undefined animals, and human beings (Figures 40-43).

5.1.1.5 Tell Hassan

Tell Hassan is located in the Jebel Hamrin hills northeast of Baghdad. It is a small Halaf site, 70 m in diameter and 2 m high (Matthews, 2002: 147). Excavations show that the site spans the Late Halaf, Halaf-Ubaid Transition and Ubaid periods (Matthews, 2002: 147). Figural motifs on pottery include birds, mountain goat and scorpion (Figure 44).

5.1.2 The Tigris-Eastern Habur Valley

Tigris-Eastern Habur Valley Halaf sites include Şırnak survey sites.

5.1.2.1 Şırnak Survey Halaf Sites

During the Şırnak survey by Gülriz Kozbe and her team, twelve Late Neolithic sites were recorded, ten of them with Halaf period finds (Kozbe, 2013: 480). Another Cizre-Silopi regional survey was conducted by Algaze and colleagues (Algaze, Hammer, Parker, Brueninger, & Knudstad, 2012). Survey in this region shows regional sites dating from the Pre-Halaf to the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Phase (Erdalkıran, 2008: 756). Figural motifs include trees and flower, vertical bucrania, bird, deer, stylized 'Dancing Ladies' and human representations (Figure 45). In the Algaze article (2012), one motif from Near Nervan Höyük evokes a group of people dated Early Halaf period (Figure 45.11). Published sherds are not attributed to specific sites, however, and the dates of the sherds cannot be determined precisely.

5.1.3 The Upper Tigris Region

The Upper Tigris Region Halaf sites include Boztepe, Karavelyan and Girikihacıyan.

5.1.3.1 Boztepe

The site of Boztepe is located some 8 kilometers east of Bismil in the Diyarbakir province, south of the Diyarbakir Batman highway (Erdalkıran, 2010: 189; İpek, 2018: 34; Parker & Creekmore, 2002: 21). It was recorded by Algaze during his survey in the 1980s and excavated by Bradley Parker in 1999, for the Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project. The site is a small and low mound with 4 m of cultural debris dating to the Hellenistic, Iron Age and Halaf periods (Erdalkıran, 2010: 190; İpek, 2018: 34; Parker & Creekmore, 2002). Erdalkıran determined that Boztepe pottery shapes and motifs are parallel to Early and Middle Halaf periods (Erdalkıran, 2010: 251-252). Figural motifs are limited to a row of birds on a globular hole-mouthed jar from Burial 3 (Figure 46) (Erdalkıran, 2010: 196; İpek, 2018: 34; Parker & Creekmore, 2002: 28, 31). Erdalkıran dates it to the Middle Halaf period (Erdalkıran, 2010: 251-252; İpek, 2018: 35). These birds may be ostriches (Parker & Creekmore, 2002: 28).

5.1.3.2 Karavelyan

The site of Karavelyan is located in Merdan Köyü, near Bismil in Diyarbakir province (İpek, 2018: 36; Tekin, 2011a: 309; Tekin, 2011b: 350). The site has just 1 meter of cultural deposit of the Early Halaf period with two levels (İpek, 2018: 36; Tekin, 2012: 42-43; Tekin, 2013: 68). It was excavated by a Hacettepe University team led by Halil Tekin between 2009-2012 (İpek, 2018: 36; Tekin, 2014: 247). Figural motifs include flowers, vertical mouflon, birds, fish, fox, human beings, buildings, and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' (Figure 47).

5.1.3.3 Girikihacıyan

Girikihacıyan lies at the northeast edge of a broad valley that stretches from Ergani to Diyarbakir (Erdalkıran, 2010: 168; İpek, 2018: 35; Watson & LeBlanc, 1990: 5), and is located 20 kilometers southeast of Ergani (Erdalkıran, 2010: 168; İpek, 2018: 35). The mound is about 175 m in diameter and 3.5 m high (Davidson, 1977; Erdalkıran, 2010: 168; İpek, 2018: 35; Watson & LeBlanc 1973, 1990). The site was surveyed in 1963 by the Joint Prehistoric Project, Istanbul-Chicago Universities, and excavated by Redman and Watson in 1968 and 1970 (Watson & LeBlanc, 1990: 5, 19). There are two occupation levels, now redated to the Middle Halaf period (Erdalkıran, 2010; İpek, 2018: 35). Pottery includes one flare-rimmed bowl with vertical bucrania (Figure 48).

5.1.4 The Botan River Region

Türbe Höyük is the only Halaf site in the Botan region¹⁷.

5.1.4.1 Türbe Höyük

Türbe Höyük is located 27 km from Siirt on the edge of the Botan River (Sağlamtimur, 2004: 463). The site was first recognized by Algaze on a survey in 1988-1990, and excavated by Haluk Sağlamtimur between 2002-2007 (Sağlamtimur, 2012: 402). The site was inhabited from the Neolithic to the Iron Age (Sağlamtimur & Ozan, 2007: 1). However, Prehistoric levels were destroyed by Middle and Late Bronze Age structures (Sağlamtimur & Ozan, 2007: 1). During excavation, huge amounts of Halaf pottery were found in later contexts, without a trace of Halaf architecture¹⁸ (Sağlamtimur, 2004: 465). Studies by Erdalkıran on the Halaf sherds determined that they span the Proto-Halaf to Halaf-Ubaid Transitional periods (Erdalkıran, 2010: 267). Although there are figural designs from Türbe Höyük, they cannot be assigned to specific periods in the absence of stratigraphic contexts. Figural motifs include trees, fish and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motifs (Figure 49). Plant motifs dated to the Ubaid period by Sağlamtimur (Sağlamtimur, 2012: 402, resim 6) belong more likely to the Halaf period, according to me (Figures 49.1-3). These tree motifs are similar to Tell Sabi Abyad and Domuztepe's tree motifs.

5.2 The Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle

The Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle Halaf sites include Chagar Bazar, Tell Aqab, Tell Brak, Tell Halaf, Umm Qseir and Kerküşti.

5.2.1 Chagar Bazar

The site of Chagar Bazar is located on the Wadi Dara, south of Amuda (Cruells et al., 2013: 467; Davidson, 1977: 90). Mallowan's excavations in 1935 found Halaf materials in prehistoric pits from level 6 to 15 (Davidson, 1977: 90). Mallowan compared his Halafian 6-12 levels with Tell Arpachiyah TT6-TT10, and levels 13-15 to the Samarra period (Davidson, 1977: 90-91; Mallowan, 1936: 10). Studies by Davidson show that Chagar Bazar levels 13-15 belong to pre-TT10 (early Halaf period) (Davidson, 1977: 93). Level 12 corresponds with the middle Halaf phase of

¹⁷ Halaf pottery was also recovered at Başur Höyük in this region during the 2015 excavation season.

¹⁸ When I was at the Türbe Höyük excavation, I collected crates of high quality Halaf sherds from later contexts and pits.

Tell Arpachiyah (Davidson, 1977: 95). Finally, levels 11-6 are wholly Late Halaf (Tell Arpachiyah's TT7-6) (Davidson, 1977: 99). Recent studies at Chagar Bazar show that the sequence at Chagar Bazar extends from the Proto-Halaf period through all stages of the Halaf culture to Halaf IIb (Late Halaf) (Becker, 2013: 455; Cruells et al., 2013: 467). Pre-Halaf and Halaf-Ubaid Transitional stages do not occur at the site (Becker, 2013: 455). In this thesis, Mallowan's figural scenes are dated according to Davidson's chronology. Figural motifs include plants (flowers and trees), vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflons, winged animals, goats, ibexs, leopards, undefined animals, stylized 'Dancing Ladies' and human figures (Figures 50-52).

5.2.2 Tell Aqab

Tell Aqab is located about 15 miles north of Chagar Bazar (Davidson, 1981: 65; Davidson & Watkins, 1981: 1) and six km south of Amuda in the western Jezirah (Davidson & Watkins, 1981: 1). The site rises about 9.5 m above the ground surface, but its base levels are deeply buried (Davidson, 1977: 105; Davidson & Watkins, 1981: 3-4). Excavations uncovered about 12 m accumulation of occupation, and almost 10 m belonging to the Halaf culture (Davidson, 1977: 105; Davidson & Watkins, 1981: 3-4). Excavation was carried out by T. Watkins and T.E. Davidson in 1975 and 1976 (Davidson & Watkins, 1981: 1). There is no pre-Halaf occupation at the site, but Early, Middle and Late Halaf are present into the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional period (Davidson, 1977; Davidson & Watkins, 1981). Figural motifs include flowers and undefined animal motifs (probably deer) (Figure 53).

5.2.3 Tell Brak

Tell Brak is located in the Upper Khabur region (Davidson, 1977: 158; Mallowan, 1947: 48). It is a very big site (with a long history) measuring 800 by 600 metres and about 40 metres above the level of the plain (Mallowan, 1947: 48). Mallowan's excavations in the 1930s recovered Halaf finds. Stratigraphic contexts were however not well defined (Davidson, 1977: 158). Davidson compares Halafian pottery at Tell Brak with the late Middle Halaf to Halaf-Ubaid Transitional period (Davidson, 1977: 158-159). In particular, some petal motifs (Mallowan's Plate LXXX.5, 9, 11, 13) indicate the Late Halaf period; and birds figures (Mallowan's Plate LXXX. 17, 18) belong to the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional period (Davidson, 1977: 158). Figural motifs

include flowers, vertical bucrania, horizontal mouflon, birds and gazelle. The stylized 'Dancing Ladies' are of unclear date: they are associated either with Samarra or Halaf (Figure 54).

5.2.4 Tell Halaf

Tell Halaf is located in the western part of the Khabur triangle (Becker, 2013: 455; Davidson, 1977: 160). First excavations at the site were conducted by Max von Oppenheim in 1911-1913 and in 1929 (Becker, 2013: 456; Davidson, 1977: 160). Recent excavations took place in 2006 as a joint mission of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin and the Syrian Antiquities Service in cooperation with the Eberhard Karls-University (Tübingen) and the Martin-Luther-University (Halle, Germany) (Becker, 2013: 455, 460). The prehistoric site was settled from the middle of the 7th millennium (Pre-Halaf) through all phases of the Halaf Period, including the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional phase into the Ubaid period (Becker, 2013: 455-456; Davidson, 1977: 161). The site ceramics were studied by H. Schmidt in 1943 (Davidson, 1977: 160). Schmidt divided the pottery into 4 stages, Halaf A-D¹⁹ (Becker, 2013: 457-459). Groups Ba, Bb and Ca correspond to the Halaf period (Becker, 2013: 457).

Figural motifs include plants (flower and tree), naturalistic bull and mouflon, vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon, various birds (stork, small steppe bird, duck, ostriches, swan, crane), four-legged animals (leopard, Equidae probably horse, deer, Capricorn, goat), snakes, stylized 'Dancing Ladies', and other human figures, in scenes with animals and/or structures (Figures 55-58).

5.2.5 Umm Qseir

Umm Qseir is located on the left bank of the Khabur River, about 13 km south-east of Hasseke (Hole, 2001: 72). Excavations were conducted here by F. Hole in 1986 and by A. Tsuneki in 1996 (Erdalkıran, 2010: 93). The site is dated to the Halaf (middle Halaf), late Chalcolithic, Uruk and Mittani periods (Hole, 2001: 72). Figural motifs include plants (flower), vertical and horizontal bucranium, and vertical mouflon (Figure 59).

¹⁹ See Becker, 2010.

5.2.6 Kerküşti

Kerküşti Höyük is located north of the Şanlıurfa/Viranşehir-Nusaybin highway, southwest of Derik and ca. 3 km north of the village of Alanlı in Mardin province (Sarialtun, 2008: 13; Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: 39; Sarialtun, 2013: 504). The first excavation at the site was a salvage project by the Mardin Museum in 1981 (Sarialtun, 2013: 504). It was followed by a rescue excavation under Aslı Erim Özdoğan in 2005-2006 (Sarialtun, 2013: 504). Their research recorded five periods: Middle Age and later, Roman Period (local), Middle Bronze Age, Late Chalcolithic (Local) and Halaf (Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: 40). Out of a 4.9 m archaeological deposit, the Halaf layers consist of 1.7 m, separated into two main phases: Vb (subphases: Vb1, Vb2 and Vb3) and the earlier Phase Va (Sarialtun, 2008: 16; Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: 39-40; Sarialtun, 2013: 504). The site was occupied from the Early Halaf (phase Va) until more or less the end of the Middle Halaf (phase Vb1-3) (Sarialtun, 2008; Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: 39; Sarialtun, 2013: 504-505). Figural motifs include plants (tree and flower), vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon, bird, naturalistic bull, scorpion, stylized 'Dancing Ladies', and human representations (Figures 60-62). The period for some designs is not clear.

5.3 The Balikh Valley

Balikh Valley Halaf sites include Khirbet esh-Shenef, Tell Damishliyya, Tell Mefesh, Tell Mounbateh, Tell Sabi Abyad and Tell Tawila.

5.3.1 Khirbet esh-Shenef

Khirbet esh-Shenef is located in the upper Balikh valley (Akkermans & Wittmann, 1993: 143). It is a small site about 1.7 m high and 85 m in diameter (Akkermans & Wittmann, 1993: 143). Excavations were conducted over two seasons, in 1988 and in 1991 (Akkermans & Wittmann, 1993: 143). Ceramics belong to the last stage of the middle Halaf and late Halaf periods (Akkermans & Wittmann, 1993: 156-164). Although there are birds, goats, and other animal figures in the Akkermans and Wittmann article (Akkermans & Wittmann, 1993: fig. 10. a-b), their illustrations are unclear. With a few exceptions, they are not included in this thesis. Figural motifs

include tree, vertical bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon, and a row of goats or rabbits (?) (Figure 63).

5.3.2 Tell Damishliyya

Tell Damishliyya is located about 2 km north of Tell Hammam et-Turkman on the west bank of the river Balikh (Akkermans, 1988: 19). It was discovered on survey in 1983, and excavated by the University of Amsterdam's Archaeological Mission to Syria in 1984 (Akkermans, 1988: 19). The site was occupied in the Pre-Pottery and Pottery Neolithic (Periods I and II) (Akkermans, 1988: 19). The Halaf Period III showed no evidence of permanent dwellings, and seems to have been seasonal or a camp site (Akkermans, 1988: 33; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 120). The Halaf ceramics come from at least four pits (squares K 17-K 19) (Akkermans, 1988: 30). Plant, bucrania and mouflon motifs would be early, but the majority of shapes and motifs parallel the middle phase of Tell Aqab ceramics (Akkermans, 1988: 31). With one exception, the bucranium motif is dated to Middle Halaf period (Akkermans, 1988: plate 17.128). Other figures are not clearly attributed. Figural motifs include tree, vertical bucrania, vertical mouflon, bird and naturalistic bull (Figure 64).

5.3.3 Tell Mefesh

Tell Mefesh is located 40 km south of Tell Sabi Abyad and about 10 km west of the Balikh river (Mallowan, 1946: 126). A five-day sounding by Mallowan was conducted in 1938 (Copeland, 1979: 253; Mallowan, 1946: 126). The site is dated to the Halaf and Ubaid periods (Mallowan, 1946: 126). Figural motifs include horizontal bucrania and birds motifs (Figure 65).

5.3.4 Tell Mounbateh

Tell Mounbateh is located in the Balikh valley (Copeland, 1979). A survey in 1978 by CNRS team R.C. P.438, led by P. Sanlaville in the Balikh and Euphrates regions of Raqqa province recovered Halaf sherds on the site (Copeland, 1979: 251). They span the Early, Middle, Late and Transitional Halaf periods (Copeland, 1979: 256). There are examples of stylized 'Dancing Ladies' (or according to Copeland, pendant tassels) at Tell Mounbateh, but their period is not determined. According to Copeland, these figures could even be Samarran (Copeland, 1979: 270). Figural motifs include plants (tree), vertical and horizontal bucranium, vertical mouflon, and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' (Figure 66).

5.3.5 Tell Sabi Abyad

Tell Sabi Abyad is located on the Balikh River and consists of four small prehistoric mounds numbered I to IV by the project (Figure 5) (Akkermans, 2013b: 65; Akkermans & Plicht, 2014: 19; Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 36). Excavations began in the mid-1980s, especially, at Tell Sabi Abyad I, II and III (Akkermans & Plicht, 2014: 19). The most important is Tell Sabi Abyad I because of long excavations at the site, and it gives important information about the Halaf regional sequence. Tell Sabi Abyad I is ca. 5 ha (Akkermans, 2013b: 65; Akkermans & Plicht, 2014: 19), but was inhabited in separate small areas of 0.5-1 ha each (Akkermans & Plicht, 2014: 20). Excavations between 1986 and 1999 at Tell Sabi Abyad in Operation I revealed at least 11 levels (Akkermans, Bruning, Huigens, & Nieuwenhuyse, 2014: 29; Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 36; Nieuwenhuyse & Cruells, 2004: 50). Based on ceramics, the buildings levels were grouped into four main phases: Early Pottery Neolithic phase (or Balikh IIA period in local terms, comprising the lowest level 11), followed by a Pre-Halaf phase (Balikh IIC, levels 10-7), a Transitional stage (Balikh IIIA, levels 6-4), and Early Halaf phase (Balikh IIIB, levels 3-1) (Verhoeven & Kranendonk, 1996: 26; Akkermans et. al., 2014: 30). Figural motifs include plants (trees), vertical bucrania, vertical mouflons, deers, winged animals, goats (Capricorns), undefined animals, stylized 'Dancing Ladies', human representations, and animal representations with a structure (Figures 67-70).

5.3.6 Tell Tawila

Tell Tawila is located about twelve kilometers south of Tell Chuera (Becker & Helms, 2013: 24; Becker, 2017: 54). The site measures about 400 x 300 meters and rises ca. 9 meters above the ground (Becker & Helms, 2013: 24; Becker, 2017: 54). It was excavated in 2005 and 2006 as a joint German-Syrian project, directed by J.-W. Meyer (Becker & Helms, 2013: 24). The site was occupied during the Halaf, Ubaid, and local Late Chalcolithic periods, EBA I, and early Iron Age to early Islamic times (Becker & Helms, 2013: 25). The Halaf period extends from Early Halaf to the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional phase (Becker & Helms, 2013: 25-27). Figural motifs include plants (trees), vertical bucrania, stylized 'Dancing Ladies', naturalistic bulls, gazelles, and birds (Figure 71).

5.4 The Middle Euphrates Valley

The Euphrates Valley Halaf sites include Tell Amarna, Tell Halula, Tell Turlu, Tell Yunus, Fıstıklı Höyük, Gentare, Kazane Höyük and Kılıçlı (Tel Seyf).

5.4.1 Tell Amarna

Tell Amarna is located about 8 km south of Jerablus, and was first recognized by Woolley in 1914 during his excavations at Carchemish (Cruells, 1998: 1; Cruells, 2009: 95). Excavation were carried out by Ö. Tunca in the 1990s, and Cruells dates the Tell Amarna pottery to Middle Halaf (Campbell' Halaf IIa) and Late Halaf (Campbell' Halaf IIb) (Cruells, 1998: 1, 8, 11). More recently, the period has been defined as Intermediate Halaf, which corresponds to traditional Early and Middle Halaf periods (Cruells, 2009: 99, fig. 15). The figural designs would belong to either the Middle or Late Halaf periods, without being differentiated. They include plants (flowers and trees), vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical mouflons, gazelles, and human figures (narrative scene) (Figure 72).

5.4.2 Tell Yunus

Tell Yunus (Eminik Köyü) is outside the walls of the historic site of Carchemish, southeast of Gaziantep (Dirvâna, 1944: 403; Woolley, 1934: 146). Halaf pottery sherds were found in kilns excavated by Woolley in 1913 (Davidson, 1977: 215; Dirvâna, 1944: 403; Woolley, 1934: 146). Davidson dates vessel forms and decorations in the later Middle Halaf and Late Halaf phase (Davidson, 1977: 215). Figural motifs include vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical mouflons, naturalistic bulls, deers, Feline, winged animals, undefined animals, stylized 'Dancing Ladies', and human representations (Figures 73-74).

5.4.3 Tell Halula

Tell Halula is located 80 km west of Raqqa city and 85 km east of Aleppo (Molist, Anfruns, Bofill, Borrell, Buxó, Clot,... & Vicente, 2013: 443; Gallet et al., 2015: 90). Excavation started in 1991 under M. Molist (Erdalkıran, 2010: 46; Molist et al., 2013: 443). The site covers 8 ha and has about 40 occupation phases (Erdalkıran, 2010: 46; Molist et al., 2013: 443). New excavations show that the site was continuously occupied from the Middle and Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B, Late Neolithic or Pre-Halaf, Proto-Halaf and Early, Middle to Late Halaf periods (Molist

et al., 2013: 443; Gallet et al., 2015: 90). Two different phases have been applied to the Halaf at Tell Halula; the standard Halaf sequence and an alternative one: Proto-Halaf (Halula Phase IV), Primitive (Halula Phase V), Intermediate (Halula Phase VI), Developed (Evolucionado) (Halula Phase VII) and Post Halaf (Halula Phase VIII) (Cruells, 2009; 2013). The Primitive Halaf corresponds to the short duration of Campbells' Halaf Ia (earlier than traditional Early Halaf period) (Cruells, 2009: 99, fig. 15; 2013: 132, tabla 18). Intermediate Halaf parallels with Campbells' Halaf Ib and Ila (traditional Early and Middle Halaf) (Cruells, 2009: 99, fig. 15; 2013: 132, tabla 18). Developed phase corresponds to Campbells' Halaf IIb (traditional Late Halaf) (Cruells, 2009: 99, fig. 15; 2013: 132, tabla 18). Finally, Post Halaf corresponds to Halaf-Ubaid Transitional period (Cruells, 2009: 99, fig. 15; 2013: 132, tabla 18). In addition, recent studies on ceramics led the Halula team to divide the site stratigraphy into seven phases (Gallet et al., 2015: 90-91; Molist et al., 2013: 446): Phase I (Early Pre-Halaf) ca. 7000-6600 cal. BC; Phase II (middle Pre-Halaf) ca. 6600-6300 cal. BC; Phase III (late Pre-Halaf) ca. 6300-6050 cal. BC; Phase IV (Proto-Halaf) ca. 6050-5900 cal. BC; Phase V (Early Halaf) ca. 5900-5750 cal. BC; Phase VI (Middle Halaf), ca. 5750-5550 cal. BC; Phase VII (Late Halaf), ca. 5550-5300 cal. BC. Figural motifs include plant (flower), vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical mouflon, naturalistic bull, bird, fish, goat (Capricorns), stylized 'Dancing Ladies', and human figural representations (Figures 75-76).

5.4.4 Tell Turlu

Tell Turlu is located 45 km east of Gaziantep (Breniquet, 1987: 113; Davidson, 1977: 201). After a survey in 1961, Jean Perrot made soundings at the site in 1962, but there is little information about the place (Breniquet, 1987: 113; Breniquet, 1991: 11-12; Davidson, 1977: 201). Seven architectural levels with small round houses were exposed (I-VII) (Breniquet, 1987: 113). They are dated by Davidson to the Pre-Halaf to Ubaid periods: Levels 1-2 are Pre-Halaf period, 3-4 Halaf, and 5-6 Ubaid (Davidson, 1977: 201). According to its pottery, the Halaf period at the site belongs to the Late Halaf and Transitional Halaf-Ubaid periods (Breniquet, 1991: 11-12; Davidson, 1977: 201-204). Figural motifs include trees, vertical bucrania, naturalistic bull, undefined-quadruped, and a winged animal (Figure 77).

5.4.5 Fıstıklı Höyük

Fıstıklı Höyük is located on the eastern edge of the north Euphrates floodplain, 4 kilometers south of Birecik in Gaziantep province (Pollock & Bernbeck, 2001: 155). It is a small Early Halaf settlement (0.5 ha) (Bernbeck, Pollock & Bucak, 2002: 143; Pollock & Bernbeck, 2001: 155; Pollock, Bernbeck, Ailen, Gessner, Costello, Costello,... & Niebuhr, 2001:39) overlaid with Roman/Byzantine occupation (Pollock et al., 2001: 39). Ceramic from Fıstıklı includes plant (tree), vertical bucranium and mouflon, a winged animal, a human figure with a bird and structure (narrative scene), and a bird-like human (Figure 78). According to Robert, Figure 78.5 belongs to the Late Halaf period (Robert, 2010: 321, Table 51 and Planche 4.36.3). However, according to the excavation team, the figure belongs to the Early Halaf period (Bernbeck, Pollock & Bucak, 2002; Pollock & Bernbeck, 2001; Pollock & Bernbeck, 2010). Figures 78.1-2 are either a bird (skeleton of bird) or a tree. This figure is similar to a representation from Kazane Höyük (Figure 80.1) and Tell Turlu (Figure 77.7). Therefore, it is in all likelihood a bird skeleton.

5.4.6 Gentare

Gentare is located 4 kilometers from the Akçakale road in Şanlıurfa province (Yardımcı, 2000: 102). The survey by Nurettin Yardımcı in 1998 identified this Halaf site, followed by Bronze and Iron Ages, Hellenistic, Roman and Islamic periods (Yardımcı, 2000: 102). Survey pottery included a Halaf sherd with a vertical bucranium (Figure 79).

5.4.7 Kazane Höyük

Kazane Höyük is located at the beginning of the Harran plain, and 3 kilometers southeast of Şanlıurfa (Bernbeck, Pollock, & Coursey, 1999; Coursey, Bernbeck, & Pollock, 1998). The site was occupied for over 4000 years from the Late Neolithic period to the early second millennium BC (Bernbeck, Pollock, & Coursey, 1999: 109; Wattenmaker & Mısır, 1994: 177). So far, the early periods at Kazane Höyük include pre-Halaf, which is called by the excavation teams Late Neolithic, Middle and probably Late Halaf periods (Bernbeck, Pollock, & Coursey, 1999: 110). The survey and excavations show that Kazane Höyük is ca. 15-20 ha to with a high mound and extensive lower town (Bernbeck, Pollock, & Coursey, 1999; Coursey, Bernbeck, & Pollock, 1998). The whole area may not have been occupied at the same time, inhabitants in several small occupations may have shifted over time

(Bernbeck, Pollock, & Coursey, 1999: 110, 125). Figural motifs include an open-winged bird, Caprids (goat), and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' (Figure 80). Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' and open-winged bird motifs are dated to the Late Halaf period (Bernbeck, Pollock, & Coursey, 1999: 120).

5.4.8 Kılıçlı (Tel Seyf)

This site is located in Şanlıurfa province. Yardımcı's survey in 1989 collected ceramic finds from the Halaf period and Bronze Age (Yardımcı, 1991: 401-402). A single figural motif represents a vertical bucranium with upright horn surrounded with dots (Figure 81).

5.5 The Maraş and Amuq Plains

The Maraş and Amuq plains Halaf sites include Sakce Gözü, Tell Kurdu and Domuztepe.

5.5.1 Sakce Gözü

The site is located on the pass from Gaziantep into the Çukurova region. It was identified in 1907 and first excavated by Garstang in 1908 and 1911, and in 1949 by J. Du Plat Taylor (Taylor, Williams, & Waechter, 1950: 53-55). The site was occupied from the Neolithic to the Iron Age and Medieval period (Periods I to XII) (Taylor, Williams, & Waechter, 1950: 56). Halaf levels are Periods II and III (Taylor, Williams, & Waechter, 1950: 56). Figural motifs include bucranium and human representations (archer/hunter) (Figure 82). According to Taylor et al. (1950: 88, fig. 14.6) the bucranium dates to Period II (Early Halaf) but the date of the human representation is not clear.

5.5.2 Tell Kurdu

The site of Tell Kurdu is located in the Amuq valley (Hatay) (Özbal, 2010: 45; Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 107). The site measures ca. 15 ha, but was not simultaneously inhabited (Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 107). A first excavation was conducted by the Braidwoods in 1938 (Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 108). They dated the site according to phases C, D, and E of the Amuq chronology (Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 108). Excavations at the site restarted under Yener in 1999 (Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 108). Tell Kurdu Amuq C corresponds to Halaf, D to the transition with Ubaid, and E to the Ubaid period (Özbal, 2010: 46). More recently, the Halaf period at Kurdu is

considered contemporary with Halaf Ib (end of Early Halaf) and the beginning of Halaf Ila (Middle Halaf) in Northern Mesopotamia (Özbal, Gerritsen, Diebold, Healey, Aydın, Loyet, M., ... & Lahn, 2004: 50-51, 75). The Amuq C figural motifs include trees, vertical and horizontal bucrania, and horizontal mouflon (Figure 83).

5.5.3 Domuztepe

Domuztepe is situated between the modern cities of Kahramanmaraş and Gaziantep 40 kilometers to the south of Kahramanmaraş (Gauld, Campbell, & Carter, 2003: 117; Tekin, 2016: 57). After a 1993 survey, excavations were carried out by Elizabeth Carter and Stuart Campbell from 1996 to 2012 (Belcher, 2014: 184; Tekin, 2016: 57). Since 2013, the excavation continues under the direction of Halil Tekin (Hacettepe University) (Tekin, 2016: 57). Its height is about 14 m (Gearey et al., 2011: 465-466). Studies show that the site covers ca. 20 ha (Atakuman, 2015a; Carter, 2012: 97; Gauld, Campbell, & Carter, 2003: 117; Gearey, Fletcher, Fletcher, Campbell, Boomer, Keen, Reed, & Tetlow, 2011: 465-466). Frangipane claims that Halaf sites over 10 ha in size such as Domuztepe, and Kazane Höyük are not as big as they were once thought, and they were formed as a result of shifting of habitation areas during a long period of occupation (Frangipane, 2007: 155). However, Kansa et al. assert that, "surface ceramics suggest that in the mid-sixth millennium cal. BC almost the entire site was occupied." (Kansa et al., 2009: 899). The whole site may not have been occupied simultaneously during Halaf period²⁰. The site consists of levels expanding from the Ceramic Neolithic to the Late Halaf period (Gearey et al., 2011: 465-466). The site also includes occupation in the Late Roman and post-Roman periods (Gearey et al., 2011: 466) and Islamic periods (Tekin, 2016: 58). Recent studies have identified Pre-Halaf, Early Halaf and Halaf-Ubaid Transitional periods at the site (Campbell & Healey, 2012: 21; Tekin, 2016: 58). Huge amounts of materials such as pottery, stamp seals, bone and lithic tools were recovered in a distinctive feature called the Red Terrace and its associated ditches. Three important figurative pots were recovered in Ditch 3: they represent an architectural scene, a group of headless men ('Death Pot'), and 'Dancing Ladies' (Atakuman & Erdem: 2015; Erdem, 2013: 38-40). The dates of these three narrative figural potteries are problematic: either Late or Early Halaf. According to Robert, the 'Dancing Ladies' pot belongs to Early Halaf, but the other two narrative potteries belong to Late Halaf

²⁰ See Chapter 3.2.1.

period (Robert, 2010). However, "the Ditch" dates to 5850-5750 cal. BC (Carter, 2010: 109) or 5900-5800 cal. BC (Carter & Campbell, 2008: 124). This date corresponds to the Early Halaf period. According to Carter and Campbell, the 'Dancing Ladies' pottery shape is similar to Tell Sabi Abyad Levels 1-3 (Early Halaf) (Carter & Campbell, 2008: 124) or Early Halaf period (Campbell, 2008a: 61). For the 'Architectural Scene', most scholars set this pottery in the Early Halaf period (Campbell, 2010: 153; Carter & Campbell, 2008: 124-15; Kansa et al., 2009: 911). For the 'Death Pot', although Robert dates it Late Halaf, its find spot is the ditch. Therefore, it should be Early Halaf period, too.

Figural motifs include plants (trees and flowers), vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical mouflons, fish, various winged animals, deer, goat (caprids), leopards, stylized and naturalistic 'Dancing Ladies', human representations, and structures of various types (Figures 84-86).

5.6 Distribution Patterns of Figural Halaf Motifs (Tables 1-6)

The reason for composing a set of frequency tables (Tables 1-6) is to show the geographical and chronological distribution of the Halaf figural motifs in five geographical regions in northern Mesopotamia. During the Proto-Halaf, figural motifs are rare (Table 1). They involve only animal (bucranium, deer, goat and winged-animal), tree and stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. The figures cluster in the north Tigris (Şırnak survey sites), Habur (Chagar Bazar and Tell Halaf), Balikh (Tell Sabi Abyad) and middle Euphrates valley (Tell Halula). In the Early Halaf period, there seems to be a significant increase in figural motifs (Table 2). With the exception of gazelle, equidae, snake and cheetah figures, all figural motifs are seen in this period. In addition, figural motifs are restricted to the middle Euphrates sites during Early Halaf. Decreases are observed in the Middle Halaf period (Table 3). There are no figural motifs in the Balikh and Maraş and Amuq sites. During this period, figural motifs include bucranium, mouflon, naturalistic bull, gazelle, winged-animal, tree, flower, stylized 'Dancing Ladies', human and narrative scenes. The ratio of motifs again increased during the Late Halaf period (Table 4). Except for gazelle, fox, scorpion and leopard, all figural motifs are seen in the late period. In particular, naturalistic bull representations increase in the Balikh (Tell Damishliyya and Tell Tawaila) and middle Euphrates sites (Tell Halula and Tell Turlu). Figural motifs in

the Halaf-Ubaid Transitional (HUT) period are dramatically rare. They occur in only two regions (Table 5): the Habur (Tell Aqab and Tell Brak) and Maraş Plain (Domuztepe). Figural motifs include mouflon (Domuztepe), a deer (Tell Aqab), a winged-animal (Tell Brak and Domuztepe), a tree (Domuztepe), a flower (Tell Aqab) and a human figure (Domuztepe). Finally, although some figures appear to be absent during specific subphases of the Halaf period according to Tables 1-5, the general Halaf distribution of motifs in Table 6 shows that nearly all the types of figural motifs occur throughout the five regions.

5.7 Conclusion

The most interesting result from the distribution tables of figural motifs is that nearly all narrative scenes and depictions of structures date to the Early Halaf period (Tables 2). Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motifs generally occur during the Proto-Halaf and Early Halaf periods, and dancing figures cluster in the Early Halaf period. Except during the Halaf-Ubaid transition, the most frequent motifs at Halaf sites are bucranium and mouflon. The identification of some Halaf animal figures is problematic, however. For example, some horned animals on pottery from Tell Halaf (figs. 56.1-3; Erdalkıran, 2009, 2010) and Kerküşti are called deer (fig. 61.17; Sarialtun, 2008, 2010). However, because of their anatomical features (especially the long tail), they must represent naturalistic bulls (see Figure 87). In addition, although this motif is rare during the earlier Halaf periods, naturalistic bull representations increase in the Late Halaf period.

For their geographic distribution, during the Proto-Halaf period, figural motifs occur in north Tigris, Habur, Balikh and middle Euphrates valley, but are very rare. Motifs increase in the Early Halaf period, but are uncommon in the middle Euphrates valley except at Fıstıklı. During Middle Halaf, figural motifs in general decrease, and are absent in the Balikh and Maraş and Amuq sites. Late Halaf period motifs occur in all five regions, but rarely in the Maraş and Amuq sites. The Halaf-Ubaid transition period marks a significant decreasing in figural motifs in the five regions. Figural motifs are only found in a few Habur and Maraş sites. The Halaf distribution patterns were broken down into five regions for this study, but the phasing of individual motifs is often not provided in the publications of Halaf sites. If the dates of these motifs were better known, Table 6 would probably be quite different.

CHAPTER 6

FIGURAL REPRESENTATIONS ON HALAF PAINTED POTTERY

Elaborated painted pottery occurs in two periods in northern Mesopotamia: monochrome-painted Samarran wares during the late seventh millennium BC, and polychrome-painted Halaf ware which succeeded in the sixth millennium BC (Wengrow, 2001: 172). In the earlier Archaic Painted Ware and Hassuna Standard Wares, pottery decorations mostly include geometric motifs (Goff, 1963: 1). During the late stage of these cultures (Hassuna and Samarra), we can see some examples of animal and human figural representations on their pottery (Alizadeh, 2008: 58). Especially during the Samarra period, in addition to abstract geometric motifs including shapes, lines, and recurring patterns, more “natural” figural designs appear on the pottery (Figure 88) (Goff, 1963: 4). Samarran deep plates have examples of female figures (who are named human-shaped demons) (Figures 88.1-3) (Goff, 1963: 4). They are set at right angles to each other so that their bodies form a cross with streaming hair (Goff, 1963: 4). Sometimes, they are represented with scorpions (Figures 88.2-3) (Goff, 1963: 4). There are also examples of fish-like animals on their pots (Figure 88.5). The major Halaf figural motifs on pottery are abstract, however: they are characterized by bucrania and mouflons. Plants (trees and flowers), four-legged animals (naturalistic bulls, gazelles, horses, cheetahs), winged animals (ducks, cranes, storks, ostriches), human representations and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' are other figural motifs that occur. In addition, there are some unique narrative scenes: Examples are the 'Dancing Ladies' pot, 'Death pot' and 'Architectural representation pot' from Domuztepe, the depiction of a building on pottery from Karavelyan; a unique narrative figural motif on pottery from Tell Arpachiyah, and a figural scene from Tell Halaf. Because of their exceptional narrative scenes, they make an important contribution not only to the Halaf world, but also to ancient Near Eastern art. Halaf figural motifs can be subdivided into botanical motifs, four-legged animals, winged creatures, stylized 'Dancing Ladies',

dancing figures, human representations, and finally, narrative scenes. These figural motifs are discussed in the following section²¹.

6.1 Botanical Motifs

Halaf botanical motifs include trees, tree limbs, shrubs (Gessner, 2013: 128), tree-like motifs and flowers (Figure 89). Flowers are represented with or without dots, with animals and with stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. There are also examples of trees with structures, as represented on a vessel from Domuztepe.

6.2 Animal Motifs on Halaf Pottery

Animal motifs include four-legged animals, other creatures (such as scorpion, snake and fish) and winged animals.

6.2.1 Four-Legged Animals

Four-legged animals include the stylized bull's head with horn (bucranium) (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 136; Gessner, 2011: 780; Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: 109), mouflon, onager, horse, deer, gazelle, mountain goat, leopard and cheetah. As mentioned previously, bucrania and mouflon motifs are the most common figural representations on Halaf pottery. There are various representations of bucrania motifs on Halaf pottery (Figure 90). For instance, there are examples of both vertical and horizontal bucrania and mouflon motifs. They generally represent the animal with its head turned back, upright standing horns, and bent legs (Schmidt, 1943: 40). Single or multiple, joined back to back, overlapping, side by side bucrania motifs are other versions. In addition, there are examples of bucrania motifs with motifs such as surrounding dots, and vertical or horizontal lines, or 'Tree of Life'. Deer, gazelle, goats, horse, fox, cheetah and leopard are other animal motifs on Halaf pottery (Figure 91).

6.2.2 Other Creatures

Less frequently represented creatures at a restricted number of sites are fish (Domuztepe, Karavelyan, Türbe Höyük, Yarım Tepe II, Tell Halula), scorpion (Kerküşti, Tell Hassan) and snake (Kharabeh Shattani, Tell Arpachiyah, Tell Halaf, Yarım Tepe II) (Figure 92).

²¹ All examples of these motifs are illustrated in figs. 89-99, 102, and presented in Chapter 5.

6.2.3 Winged Creatures

Birds are illustrated as a variety of species: duck, crane, stork, ostriches, swan, flamingo, owl and vulture (Figure 93). Winged creatures are showing as single or multiple sets of birds in a standing position, in flight, and in the moment of departure (Schmidt, 1943: 41). Birds of prey attacking a flock of deer and feeding birds are other motifs. Two unique jars from Tepe Gawra Area A and the northeast base sounding in Level XX dating to the Late Halaf period represent a combination of geometric and naturalistic birds' designs together (Tobler, 1950: 130). On the jars multiple birds are depicted flying, standing on the ground, turning their head back, and one bird holding a snake (Figures 39.2-3 and 93.16) (Tobler, 1950: 130).

6.3 Human Representations on Halaf Pottery

Figural human representations with or without buildings, with animals, with exaggerated heads, flowing hair or a headdress, headless figures, and so-called 'Dancing Ladies' and dancer figures also occur on Halaf pottery. Human related motifs are found at Tell Arpachiyah and Yarım Tepe II in northern Iraq; Chagar Bazar, Tell Amarna, Tell Halaf, Tell Halula, Tell Sabi Abyad in northern Syria; and Boztepe, Domuztepe, Fıstıklı Höyük, Karavelyan, Kerküşti, Near Nervan, Sakce Gözü, and Tell Yunus in Anatolia. Compositions fall into two groups: standing figures or faces, and human beings in action (Figures 94-95).

Action scenes show a row of walking figures, winged anthropomorphic figures, hunting scenes and dancing figures (Figure 95). Rows of walking figures occur at Yarım Tepe II, Chagar Bazar, Tell Halula, and Tell Sabi Abyad (Figures 95.1-4). Winged anthropomorphic figures come from Domuztepe (Figure 95.7) and Fıstıklı Höyük (Figure 95.8). At Fıstıklı Höyük, "bird-like beings" or "bird-persons" are depicted with feathered arms (Pollock & Bernbeck, 2010: 44). A sherd from Domuztepe shows part of a male animal, and above the animal a human figure climbs on a pot (Figure 95.6) (Campbell & Carter, 2007: 275). The pot is very large, and the figure holds on to its rim and side (Campbell & Carter, 2007: 275). The position of the figure next to the large jar can be compared to two figures depicted on a bowl from Arpachiyah; they appear to be peering into or possibly drumming on top of a huge pot (Campbell & Carter, 2007: 275; Carter, 2012: 119). A schematic human figure is painted on the external surface of a piece of lid from Tell Amarna

(Figure 95.13) (Cruells, 2004: 52). The human figure is painted in mat monochrome black color over a cream slip (Cruells, 2004: 52). It faces front, with a triangular shaped body, bent legs and the arms turned upwards showing three fingers on both hands (Cruells, 2004: 52). According to Robert, the man is holding something in his hand, a scene shows the figure suppling clay for making pottery (Robert, 2010: 331-332; Planche 4.32.1; 4.33.1-2; 4.34).

Hunter (or archer) representations come from Domuztepe, Sakce Gözü, Tell Arpachiyah, Tell Sabi Abyad, and Tell Yunus (Figures 95.17-21). For example, there is a human depiction with a bow, a tasseled quiver, pointy hat, and a waist sash from Tell Arpachiyah (Figure 95.21). He is shooting a feline (for the entire scene, see below p.57) (Costello, 2013: 122). Other hunting-related scenes appear on an Early Halaf Fine Ware sherd (the body of a jar, from level 3) from Tell Sabi Abyad (Figure 95.17). It shows two stick figures and a figure opposite them (Costello, 2013: 122; Nieuwenhuyse, 2007). They seem to wear short skirts, hold an object, like a bow; and perhaps a quiver on their backs (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007).

During the Samarra period or the earliest stages of Halaf culture, some stylized motifs became common on the interior rims of Fine Ware pottery. These motifs are called 'Dancing Ladies' by some archaeologists (Figure 96) (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 21). The figures are very stylized, often depicted as filled triangles representing the head, linked arms indicated by V's, and vertical lines for legs (Campbell, 2008a: 60). There is no evidence for their gender (Campbell, 2008a: 61). Some suggestions for the origin of the motifs, especially for the 'Dancing Ladies', have been proposed. For example, Mallowan claims that Samarran pottery designs derive from a basketry prototype (Wengrow, 2001: 178). Also, he asserts that the geometric and figural motifs on pottery come from imitation of woven designs (Wengrow, 2001: 178). Evidence for early basketry is preserved by negative impressions of coiled bases at early Neolithic Zagros sites (Wengrow, 2001: 178). In agreement with Mallowan, Wengrow argues that vertical linear motifs, like the 'Dancing Ladies' on rims, and many other motifs on the Samarra and Halaf pottery are representations of woven fringe around the mouth of a basket, which is tied over the rim or converted into decorative tassels (Figure 97) (Campbell, 2008a: 60; Wengrow, 2001: 180).

In contrast to the stylized 'Dancing Ladies', there are naturalistic dancing motifs on Halaf pottery. Dancing-related figures come from many Halaf sites such as Chagar Bazar, Tell Halaf, Tell Halula, Tell Sabi Abyad, and Domuztepe (Figure 98). Dancing figures are generally represented with their hair flying back behind their heads. For example, a fragment of thick-walled jug from Tell Halaf (Figure 98.3) shows four men in a line, the last one incomplete (Schmidt, 1943: 43). They have a high elongated head covering or flying hair (Schmidt, 1943: 43). They are in profile in lively movement one after the other (Schmidt, 1943: 43). From Sabi Abyad, a group of dancers (human figures) are processing or dancing in a row (Figure 98.5) (Costello, 2013: 122). The gender of these three human figures is not clear (Costello, 2013: 122), but they are probably male (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007). They also have streaming hair or headdresses or oval-shaped heads with long, 'dread-lock' hair (Costello, 2013: 122; Nieuwenhuyse, 2007). All three stand in a similar posture with the right arm on the hip and the left arm held up (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007). Other dancing motifs on Halaf pottery are single examples. A unique jar from the Early Halaf 'ditch' cut in the 'Red Terrace' at Domuztepe (Figure 98.6) (Carter & Campbell, 2008) has a line of women with upraised arms and joined hands as if dancing towards the right around the pot (Costello, 2013: 121). The women stand below rosettes and wear long transparent skirts (Campbell & Carter, 2007: 272; Carter & Campbell, 2008: 125-126). They are depicted frontally with breasts showing that they are women (Campbell, 2008a: 61; Costello, 2013: 121). They have stylized heads and long hair-or perhaps even animal masks with horns and long streamers (Campbell & Carter, 2007: 272; Campbell, 2008a: 61; Carter & Campbell, 2008: 125-126). Hair style or headdress and their distorted faces suggest these figures are masked or costumed (Costello, 2013: 121).

6.4 Narrative Scenes on the Halaf Pottery

In addition to the figurative motifs, listed above, single narrative scenes also occur on exceptional vessels from a small number of sites. I will briefly describe these narrative scenes here.

6.4.1 Domuztepe Narrative Scenes on Pottery

An Early Halaf vessel from Domuztepe decorated with scenes of buildings with trees and birds is one of the unique figural scenes for the Halaf culture (Figure 99.1) (Campbell & Fletcher, 2013: 46). It was recovered in the Early Halaf "ditch" cut into

the Red Terrace (c. 5800-5900 cal. BC) (Carter & Campbell, 2008). In this figural scene, we see structures which are different from the traditional architecture known from excavated Halaf settlements²². The structures have at least two storeys and a triangular and boat/bowed ridgepole-shaped roof (Carter & Campbell, 2008: 125; Carter, 2012: 114). According to Kansa et al., the birds sitting along the roof ridge are storks (Kansa, Kennedy, Campbell, & Carter, 2009: 911). The building materials give the appearance of reeds or wood. We also see that the structures are on a platform. Also, there are large-sized vessels among the structures. The building complexes are divided by a tall tree. According to Carter and Campbell, the arrangement of the structures might indicate that the buildings were placed around an open space or courtyard (Carter & Campbell, 2008: 125). Atakuman (2015b: 775) suggests that these house pots may have functioned as a way to connect the social history of the settlement to a particular place, offering as evidence the find spots and particular cross-hatching technique employed on the pots.

A second fragmentary vessel from the same context was decorated with a complex narrative scene involving human figures (Figure 99.2) (Carter & Campbell, 2006: 313-314). From left to right, next to a tree lie two headless bodies on the ground surrounded by standing birds; a partially preserved standing figure faces away from the bodies on the far right (Carter & Campbell, 2006: 313-314; Carter, 2012: 112). This standing figure does have a head, in contrast to the prone figures who are headless (Carter & Campbell, 2006: 314; Carter, 2012: 112-113). The large standing figure may be clothed and holds something in his hand (Carter & Campbell, 2006: 314; Carter, 2012: 112). He/she is shown in profile; his/her head is crescent-shaped with a pointed chin (Carter & Campbell, 2006: 314).

6.4.2 Fıstıklı Höyük Narrative Scenes on Pottery

A body sherd from an early Halaf vessel found at Fıstıklı Höyük shows the torso of a human figure beside a building on which a bird perches. The human figure has wild hair or a headdress, a beard, and faces left (away from the building), his arm bent and hands upraised, as if praying (Figure 99.3) (Costello, 2013: 121). The structure is depicted with crosshatched walls such as woven reeds or matting, like examples with birds at Domuztepe (Costello, 2013: 121). The bird's plumage resembles the man's

²² See Chapter 3.3.3

hair or headdress. The bird and man look in the same direction (Costello, 2013: 121). According to Costello, this crosshatched structure may represent a dovecote or columbarium (Costello, 2013: 121). Costello also proposes that the man's position evokes a shaman (Costello, 2013: 121). The structure and/or bird would have both a sacred and functional meaning (Costello, 2013: 121).

6.4.3 Karavelyan Narrative Scenes on Pottery

Multi-storey wood or reed buildings are also represented on Early Halaf painted pottery from Karavelyan (Figure 99.4) (Tekin, 2011a: 309). On one vessel neck, a woman stands in front of a building (Tekin, 2011a: 310; Tekin, 2012: 44). It is understood that the building has three floors (Tekin, 2012: 44) and the roof is supported by a post (Tekin, 2011a: 310). On the roof is an eagle that has opened its wings to cover the entire roof (Tekin, 2011a: 311; Tekin, 2012: 44). The structure shares all its architectural features with the buildings illustrated at Domuztepe (Tekin, 2011a: 311). On a second sherd, according to Tekin, two women (only the feet of the left figure are seen) depicted with long torso and long hair walk from the trees to the building (Figure 99.5) (Tekin, 2012: 44). The roof of the building is reminiscent of a tent, supported by thin wooden poles (Tekin, 2012: 44), though because the whole figural scene is not seen on the sherd, it is hard to definitively say this structure is a tent.

6.4.4 Tell Arpachiyah Narrative Scenes on Pottery

Another exceptional representational bowl comes from Grave 2 dated to the early Halaf period at Tell Arpachiyah (Figures 99.6-7) (Breniquet, 1992: 69; Hijara, 1978: 125; Hijara, 1997: 79)²³. The bowl is decorated with bucrania, a snake, humans (male and female), a hunting scene, and a building. It was broken and repaired with gypsum in antiquity (Breniquet, 1992: 69; Hijara, 1978: 125). On the outer surface of the bowl are five panels each separated by four vertical bands (Breniquet, 1992: 69; Hijara, 1978: 125). From left to right (Figure 99.7.1), the first panel depicts a very big high-necked carinated jar. Two figures stand to the left and right on the jar and lean on its rim (Breniquet, 1992: 70; Hijara, 1997: 33), as if dropping something into the jar (Hijara, 1978: 125; Hijara, 1997: 33). The jar is nearly twice their height. The

²³ Grave 2 was dug 50 cm below Grave I (Level VII, outside antechamber of TT8 tholos) (Hijara, 1978: 125). The Grave 2 is a collective burial with four skulls buried inside separate pots, three skulls in bowls and one in a large squat jar (Hijara, 1978: 125; Hijara, 1997: 79).

figures are schematic, and wear shoes with upturned ends (Breniquet, 1992: 70; Hijara, 1997: 34). Above their heads is a pot-like figure (Hijara, 1997: 34). The left person wears a horned headdress (Breniquet, 1992: 70). The second panel consists of two cross motifs resembling Maltese crosses with a stippled background (Breniquet, 1992: 70; Hijara, 1997: 34). Above the crosses are two (or three?) animals like birds (Breniquet, 1992: 70; Hijara, 1997: 34). The third panel consists of two bucrania with a stippled background (Breniquet, 1992: 70-71; Hijara, 1997: 34). The lower bucranium is framed by six vertical lines (Breniquet, 1992: 71; Hijara, 1997: 34). Panel four consists of cross-hatched bands (Breniquet, 1992: 71; Hijara, 1997: 34). The fifth panel portrays two scenes separated by a vertical line (Breniquet, 1992: 71; Hijara, 1997: 34). The left part shows a large sinuous snake with a triangular head and two hairs protruding from its head (Breniquet, 1992: 71; Hijara, 1997: 34). On both sides of the snake, are two "Maltese crosses" and stippling (Breniquet, 1992: 71; Hijara, 1997: 34). The right side of the panel has two bucrania with stippling (Breniquet, 1992: 71; Hijara, 1997: 34). On the upper bucranium are two solid triangles, and the lower one fits between pairs of lines (Hijara, 1997: 34).

Inside the bowl is a scene which covers its entire surface (Figure 99.7.2) (Breniquet, 1992: 71; Hijara, 1997: 34). From left to right, the first scene is a hunting scene (Breniquet, 1992: 71). A hunter wears a pointed headdress with a quiver on his back, and a mace hangs from his waist (Hijara, 1997: 34). According to Breniquet, his headdress or mask has horns, which have a magical purpose (Breniquet, 1992: 74). He attacks a wild animal (according to Hijara, perhaps a leopard) with his bow and arrow (Breniquet, 1992: 74; Hijara, 1997: 34). The animal crouches his mouth open, and pins down a small figure (Hijara, 1997: 34). According to Hijara, the small figure is human (Hijara, 1978: 125; Hijara, 1997: 34), but it could be an animal or mythological creature. Behind the hunter are two women with long wavy hair, wide hips, and pubic triangles (Hijara, 1997: 34). They are holding a fringed border rug (Breniquet, 1992: 74; Hijara, 1978: 125; Hijara, 1997: 34) or piece of cloth (Breniquet, 1992: 74) or stand on either side of a doorway. An animal stands to the right of the women, facing them and turning its back to the hunted feline. Breniquet associates it with the two women, and reorganizes the sequence of figures on her illustration to show this different arrangement of the scene (Breniquet, 1992: 74; Hijara, 1997: 34). According to Hijara, it may be a deer (Hijara, 1997: 34), but the

long tail of the animal shows that it is a natural bull or ox. Finally, on the base of the bowl, a schematic motif may be an architectural drawing or a cult object to evoke an altar or libation stand (Hijara, 1978: 126; Hijara, 1997: 34).

6.4.5 Tell Halaf Narrative Scenes on Pottery

The first of several figural scenes from Tell Halaf occurs on a large, thick-walled vessel (Figure 99.8) (Schmidt, 1943: 43). On the right, a man sits with his arm placed on his bent knees, and faces a hatched panel with white overhang (Schmidt, 1943: 43). On the other side of the panel is a standing man with arms raised.

Other figural scenes are illustrated on the outside of a conical deep bowl, as several scenes side by side (Figure 99.9) (Carter, 2012: 115; Schmidt, 1943: 43). A man stands in frontal pose, and raises his arms beside a circle motif with eight spokes (Schmidt, 1943: 43). The next panel depicts an armchair/chair-like structure and a horned quadruped. To the left of this scene, there is a lattice-like motif of unclear purpose (Schmidt, 1943: 43). Another scene has two standing men (with bird-like heads) and both arms raised (Carter, 2012: 115; Schmidt, 1943: 43). The last scene depicts a seated human figure with bowed arms, turned to the left (Schmidt, 1943: 43). In front are two upright rods supporting a transverse bar (Schmidt, 1943: 43). Schmidt claims that, this object is a harp-like musical instrument, later known on seals and reliefs (Schmidt, 1943: 43). A funnel-necked jar next to it is similar to jars on Tell Arpachiyah and Domuztepe figural scenes (Carter, 2012: 115).

6.5 Conclusion

Although the dominant motifs on the Halaf pottery are geometric motifs, there are also many figural motifs taken from the natural and human world of the Halaf culture. Figures combined into narrative scenes from different Halaf sites and regions show how the Halaf world and its potters constructed a wide imaginary world through their artwork during the Late Neolithic period. Thanks to figural motifs on the Halaf pottery, we can understand not only daily life of the Halaf culture, but also the Halaf imaginary world. It is clear that, wild and domesticated animals, plants, human-beings, structures, dancing figures, archers and narrative scenes on the pots give information about how Halafians lived and how they perceived the world of the Late Neolithic period. It will be defined in the following Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The geographic distribution of Halaf culture over a broad region is bigger than previous or contemporary cultures such as the Hassuna and Samarra cultures. On the other hand, although the Halaf culture expands over a very broad area from northern Syria and Iraq, to southeastern Anatolia and western Iran, there are some differences between Halaf culture materials or lifestyle which are the result of local practice. In addition, the entire region was not wholly occupied by Halafian people. Halaf site densities change from region to region. The surveys and excavations show that some regions were more settled than others and areas were not occupied in their entirety at the same time. The Halaf culture, until recently, was thought to originate from hill peoples of Anatolia, northern Iraq or northern Syria. However, new excavations, surveys and studies show that the Halaf culture formed as a result of a gradual transition already present earlier local cultures. It was not a new culture in the region and, in the words of Nieuwenhuyse (2013: 136) "there was no singular locus of origin of the Halaf ". It is now roughly dated between ca. 6100 to 5300/5100 cal. BC. We can say that it is a Late Neolithic culture in northern Mesopotamia. The life span is about 900 hundred years for the Halaf period.

Halaf communities settled down in areas where annual rainfall was sufficient for agricultural activities. There was not just one economic package for Halaf communities. Although Halaf economy was mainly based on agriculture activities and consuming domesticated animals or cultivated cereals, they consumed wild animals and plants as well. Moreover, exploitation of wild animals was dominant in some Halaf sites compared to other Halaf settlements. Most Halaf sites are small, ranging not more than 1 to 3 ha or 5 ha. Although previous approaches claimed that some Halaf sites such as Kazane Höyük, Takyan Höyük, Nisibis Höyük, and Tell Sabi Abyad were more than 10 ha, new evidence shows that habitation shifted at the same site within generations. Halaf sites with more than 10 ha areas were actually a group of small settlements.

Circular structures called tholos/tholoi did not originate with the Halaf period. Circular structures occurred earlier, though this was the dominant structure type during the Halaf period. At the end of the Halaf, the rectangular type structure reemerged. The shifts of round to rectangular or rectangular to round structures were a result of slow changes and innovations (Akkermans, 2010: 26). It is not clear why communities returned from rectangular structures to circular/round structures after a long time, from the middle of the 7th millennium BC (Akkermans, 2010: 27) and in the Late Halaf period. The different dimensions or construction features were not because of importance or hierarchy between houses, the differences between houses were based on their different uses for various activities such as cooking and storage (Frangipane, 2007: 155).

Halaf burial custom includes single and double pit inhumations, mass burials, single and multiple skull burials, and individual or mass cremations. There are not any strict rules for orientation and position of the body, grave contraction or burial gifts (Akkermans, 1989a: 83-84). Nearly all Halaf burials are within the settlement (Akkermans, 1989a: 77, 83; Campbell, 2008a: 69; Campbell, 2008b: 136). Except at Yarım Tepe I (with at least six burials belonging to the Yarım Tepe II Halaf settlement), no Halaf extramural cemetery has been recovered until now (Akkermans, 1989a: 77, 83; Campbell, 2008a: 69; Hijara, 1997: 77). Generally, Halaf burials are located in the deserted parts of settlements (Akkermans, 1989a: 83). There are some examples of burials situated within the tholos area such as at Tell Arpachiyah (Hijara, 1978: 125; Hijara, 1997: 77). Burials within settlements can be correlated with individual status or social custom (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 145; Campbell, 2008b: 126). In the settlements there was, probably, a highly significant selection of people who could be buried there (Campbell, 2008b: 134). According to Campbell, although there are so many Halaf sites, only a small proportion of population was recovered in Halafian burial finds (Campbell, 2008a: 69). Some burials have grave goods while others have not (Campbell et al., 2014: 30). Especially, grave goods in adults' burials include pots and ornaments (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 145), and burials for children of older age include miniature vessels (Akkermans, 1989a: 77, 84). Overall, burial gifts include miniature vessels, pottery (sometimes painted pottery) or stone vessels, bone, obsidian, flint or other stone (such as a mace from Yarım Tepe I) implements, shell beads (Akkermans, 1989a), shells, spindle whorls, pendants, and bull's head amulets

(Hijara, 1997: 78). At Yarım Tepe I, a burial contained the skull of an enormous bull (buffalo), 200 astragalus bones, jars, stone vessels, and a mace head (Akkermans, 1989a: 77; Hijara, 1997: 77). This burial was interpreted as belonging to a hunter (Akkermans, 1989a: 77, 84; Hijara, 1997: 77). To sum up, there is no evidence of social ranks (Akkermans, 1989a: 84; Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 145) or status either in Halaf sites but also in Halaf burial practices (Frangipane, 2007: 162-163). Different treatments of the dead probably referred to age, sex, ethnicity, cause of death, and other factors (Akkermans, 1989a: 83).

Although previous approaches set Halaf culture into a social hierarchical system, and it was thought that Halaf societies were controlled by a chief or close-range system, new excavations, survey and studies show there was no social hierarchy among Halaf communities. According to Hijara, it is not easy to understand social class in the archeological finds of Halaf culture (Hijara, 1997: 101). There are no distinguished buildings at Halaf sites. Different dimensions of structures depended on purposes of use such as living, cooking or storing, and they were not related to political power. Although some burials have offering goods, there are no exaggerated burial goods seen in Halaf culture. Seals and sealings are not related to chief or elite groups in the Halaf societies. They are related to storing of products for people for a short time. On the other hand, the Halaf culture does not seem to me to be characterized by totally egalitarian communities. For example, according to some scholars Late Neolithic societies, including the Halaf, were too small, leadership was temporary, and societies were controlled by some individuals, groups, or families (Akkermans, 2013b: 71-72; Campbell, 2012: 307). For small villages, leadership relied on an elderly person (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: 151). Also, archaeometric studies on Halaf pottery show that some Halaf sites exported pottery to other sites. Also, Tell Sabi Abyad Plaza was used for feasting activities, and Domuztepe ritual activities were probably carried by a chief or specialist religious leader. In the modern village in southeastern Turkey or northern Mesopotamia, trade or other activities and problems of the village are solved by an aged man or a village council or 'Köy Ağası'. These whole evidences show that Halaf culture was not wholly egalitarian, but rather they had a heterogenous political system.

To prepare pottery from today's viewpoint looks simple. However, it needs sophisticated craftsmanship, such as finding quality clay sources, using temper to shape the clay, painting the pottery with pigments, using different types of kilns and controlling firing temperature. Although Halaf pottery is hand-made, Halaf potters developed the ability to make high-quality pottery and different styles of decoration. Controlling of firing condition and using different pigments by Halaf potters led them to develop polychrome or colorful pottery during Halaf period (Frankel, 1979: 16). The recent studies, scanning electron microscope (SEM) and X-ray diffraction (XRD) were used to find color of ancient pottery and how the potters used these colors. In addition, archaeometric studies show that there are some Halaf pottery producing and exporting centers in the northern Mesopotamia.

Questions remain about the changes or spread of Halaf pottery. How did the Halaf culture (especially painted pottery) spread throughout North Mesopotamia? Did the pottery move from one site to another or were styles copied by others? (Hole, 2013: 77). Previous approaches about Halaf painted pottery circulation proposed that the Halaf culture was pastoral and they carried pottery with them; others claim that growing population caused the diffusion of Halaf culture (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 139). Pottery trade between sites or regions is another explanation for the spread of Halaf pottery. Davidson's idea is that during the Halaf period, there was extensive pottery trade, and this led potters to technical and stylistic innovations (Davidson, 1981: 77). Davidson claims that neutron activation analysis on pottery shows that there were local, regional, inter-regional and non-Halaf sites trade between Halaf communities during the Halaf period (Davidson, 1977: 298-336). Also he claims that the reason for the spread of painted Halaf pottery beyond the Euphrates to the west is trade and not population movements (Davidson, 1977: 292).

Marriage activities, feasting, and emulation are more recent ideas about pottery changes and its circulation. Jean-Daniel Forest claims that Halaf women carried knowledge of pottery with them, when they married out of their village (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 139). According to Frangipane, the expansion of Halaf culture over a large territory shows the close relationship between original communities and newly created communities (Frangipane, 2007: 161). Especially, painted vessels in open shapes for drinking and eating activities were important for Halaf communities (Frangipane, 2007: 162; Frangipane, 2013: 97). This kind of pottery played an

important role, and was probably used for gift or exchange at meetings, ceremonies or other activities (Frangipane, 2007: 162; Frangipane, 2013: 90, 97). Hole asserted that generally Halaf sites were very small and potters emulated one another (Hole, 2013: 84). He claims that exogamy between Halaf sites is one of the reasons for the wide spread of Halaf motifs and vessel forms over regions (Hole, 2013: 84). Especially, mobility for herding and hunting activities is a trigger for marriage or other interaction (Hole, 2013: 84). Nieuwenhuyse supports feasting activities and emulation for the changes and the spreading of painted Halaf pottery (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008; 2009; 2013). He asserts that innovations in the pottery were a result of collective eating, drinking, and sharing in community gathering (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 135).

As for the meaning of figural motifs for the Halaf world, they played an important role for this culture and the Near East in general. Before the Halaf culture and Late Neolithic period, large ritual buildings, plastered human skulls, stone masks, stelae decorated with animal reliefs, and large human statuary were prominent in Near Eastern sites, such as Ain Ghazal and Jericho in the Levant, Dja'de in Syria, and Nevali Çori, Çayönü and Göbeklitepe in Anatolia (Verhoeven, 2002: 6). In addition, the earliest images such as snakes, scorpions, quadrupeds, birds (with outstretched wings) on stone and ceramic palettes occurred in this period, as at Jerf el Ahmar and Mureybet in Syria (Figure 100.1) (Costello, 2013: 119), Göbeklitepe (Atakuman, 2015b: 769; Costello, 2013: 119), and Körtik Tepe in Turkey (Figure 100.2) (Atakuman, 2015b: 769). Also, before Halaf culture in northern Mesopotamia, there are few examples of wall paintings from northern Mesopotamia Late Neolithic sites. One example is the wall of painted birds (eighteen long-legged cranes or ostriches) from Building 17 at Tell Bouqras (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 207).

However, these ritual or religion-related examples during the Pottery Neolithic (c. 7000-5000 BC) are nearly absent (Figure 101) (Verhoeven, 2002: 6). Also, there is no evidence so far for religious activities such as special places/buildings or prototypical temple types at Late Neolithic sites, except the 'Death Pit' at Domuztepe or some Halafian burials (Costello, 2013: 117). Why can we not see ritual buildings, plastered human skulls, large human statuary or gigantic T-shaped pillars at the Pottery Neolithic sites, including the Halaf sites? Verhoeven (2002) asserts that the ritual activities change from the Pre-Pottery to Pottery Neolithic period as a result of

crises such as climatic changes or economic stress which caused the reduction or abandonment of sites. He relocates ritual practices to domestic activity. Finally, Verhoeven asserts that Late Neolithic religious activities might be fit into three systems: village meetings, pottery decoration, and occasional ritual practice at the community level (Verhoeven, 2002: 11). Also, Studies by Atakuman show that, by reducing the visuals of monumental art into small objects, stamp seals also played an important role for Late Neolithic communities. There are examples of abstract, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic themes (Atakuman, 2015b: 762). Horned animals, such as oxen, goats, rams and gazelles, as well as water birds, scorpions (or spiders?), snakes, and splay-legged animals are examples of zoomorphic imagery on stamps (Atakuman, 2015b: 762). Phallic shapes, full body forms or upper torsos with specific arm gestures, as well as 'heads' with emphasized 'eyes' are examples of anthropomorphic imagery of stamps (Atakuman, 2015b: 762). According to Atakuman, "the stamps of the Later Neolithic may have brought together a number of communities under a common symbolic code through ritualized distribution mechanisms, which functioned to structure social identities around common understandings of personhood." (Atakuman, 2015b: 765). The image of concentric circles which were present in the seventh-millennium BC were nearly absent, but occurred on stamps and anthropomorphic female vessel/figurine from Yarım Tepe (Atakuman, 2015b: 770). Painted pottery is thus evidence which show social transformation during the Late Neolithic period (Atakuman, 2015b: 775).

On the other hand, abrupt climatic change not badly affected the Late Neolithic communities. There was a climatic degradation which is called the "8.2 ka event" 8200 yr ago (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 150; Nieuwenhuyse & Akkermans, 2019: 122; Plicht, Akkermans, Nieuwenhuyse, Kaneda, & Russell, 2011: 229) across the globe showing dry and cold conditions for ca. 160 years (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 150; Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 67; Roffet-Salque, Marciniak, Valdes, Pawłowska, Pyzel, Czerniak, ... & Evershed, 2018: 8750) between 6200-6000 cal. BC. (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 67). In general, scholars claims that this short-lived climate anomaly only had disastrous repercussions on Neolithic communities (Nieuwenhuyse & Akkermans, 2019: 122) and caused economic disruption and social collapse among Late Neolithic societies (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der

Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 67). Another claims about this period is that, during this period dramatic socioeconomic downfalls, massive population migrations, increases in violence and warfare affected Europe and the Near East (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 67; Plicht, Akkermans, Nieuwenhuyse, Kaneda, & Russell, 2011: 229). This cold and dry period affected livelihood strategies and forced communities to search for new resources, to mixed economies and nomadism, and ultimately started the domestication of cattle and production of secondary animal products (Atakuman, 2015a: 52; Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 150). However, new studies at Tell Sabi Abyad and in the Balikh valley refute previous views on climate change. Studies at Tell Sabi Abyad show that the population at Sabi Abyad just shifted the location of their village from the high western part of site rather than abandoning the area entirely (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 70; Plicht, Akkermans, Nieuwenhuyse, Kaneda, & Russell, 2011: 229). Also, during the 8.2 event, site abandonment in the Balikh region did not significantly increase (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 78, 86). There is evidence of sheep and goats being used for milk and fiber production as secondary products (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 80; Plicht, Akkermans, Nieuwenhuyse, Kaneda, & Russell, 2011: 231). Studies also show that, there were significant changes in the social-symbolic roles of ceramics (Plicht, Akkermans, Nieuwenhuyse, Kaneda, & Russell, 2011: 231). For example, there were the sudden introduction and subsequent rapid increase of ceramics decorated with abstract, geometric motifs on pottery (Plicht, Akkermans, Nieuwenhuyse, Kaneda, & Russell, 2011: 231). These innovations were made, especially, on serving vessels suitable for presenting and consuming food and drink (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 85). However, decorated pottery was not a pure innovation during the 8.2. event, "rather people adapted preexisting practices to give new meaning to the medium of decorated pottery vessels." (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 85). Also, containers were made stronger and more durable to adapt to climate conditions (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 82). Finally, the changes at Balikh valley were not a result of the 8.2. event, but rather occurred both before and after the event (Nieuwenhuyse, Akkermans, van der Plicht, Russell, & Kaneda, 2016: 86). Collapses of cultures, instead, Neolithic

communities had ability to adapt to variations in weather and climate (Plicht, Akkermans, Nieuwenhuyse, Kaneda, & Russell, 2011: 237).

In the case of decreasing visible religion-related activities, figural representations on Halaf pottery emerge in the Late Neolithic period in northern Mesopotamia. Halaf motifs on pottery, as discussed earlier, include geometric, botanical, animal, human motifs, and narrative scenes. The figural motifs and complex scenes may relate to social narratives and mythologies. Some human depictions evoke shaman or dancing figures, others refer to feasting activities. These motifs have received much attention, and are summarized here.

Architecture represented on the Halaf pottery comes from Domuztepe, Fıstıklı Höyük, Karavelyan, Tell Sabi Abyad and Tell Arpachiyah (Figure 102). Amulets resembling structures on Halaf pots have been found at Tell Arpachiyah (Figure 102.12) (Atakuman, 2013: 257, fig. 21; Campbell & Fletcher, 2013: 46; Carter, 2012: 114), and Tell el-Kerkh (Campbell & Fletcher, 2013: 46). As I mentioned in Chapter 5, all the examples of building representations belong to the Early Halaf period. In addition, these buildings are very different from typical Halaf structures. For example, general information about Halaf dwellings is that they are rectangular or circular structures erected on the stone (or mud) foundation with mud-brick walls. However, all the structures on Halaf pottery are made of wood or mats. There is more than one storey. Their roofs are not flat or beehive. They are represented in two ways: one in the shape of boat and the other as a triangle. Studies at Domuztepe show that some plant species with their leaves and stems were recovered from there. They are suitable for both making various tools such as baskets, containers, and using as temper for buildings (Kansa et al., 2009: 909). Also, there are remains of plant and animal products, used as parts of buildings, from a burned structure in Operation I from Domuztepe (Gearey et al., 2011: 477; Kansa et al., 2009: 909). According to Gearey et al., these remains confirmed the images of houses painted on pottery from Domuztepe (Gearey et al., 2011: 477). Kansa et al. also suggest that the big jars between the buildings may represent large baskets (Figure 102.10) (Kansa et al., 2009: 909). In examples from Domuztepe and Karavelyan birds are represented on the roof or about to land on the roof. One example from Domuztepe shows big trees that separate the houses. Representations of houses, whether domestic or special, in combination with trees and other figurative motifs from Domuztepe

probably carried particular symbolic meanings, perhaps relating to social narratives and mythologies (Campbell & Fletcher, 2013: 46; Campbell et al., 2014: 49). In my opinion, when we look at Karavelyan and Tell Arpachiyah structural representations, they are very similar to Domuztepe structures. Therefore, they should have the same narrative meaning.

Others have commented on the human figures. According to Costello, on the sherd from Fıstıklı Höyük, the distorted head with exaggerated eyes are the features of a shaman (or a specialist) (Figure 95.9) (Costello, 2013: 120). She claims that human figures on pottery and glyptic in prayer (frontally shown with arms bent and outstretched, hands open), are shown in a ritual activity (Costello, 2013: 120). In addition, she considers that the structure and/or bird both have sacred and functional meaning (Costello, 2013: 121). Tekin agrees with the shaman identification (Figure 95.7) (Tekin, 2016: 66). Nieuwenhuyse considers such figures ritual specialists, rather than chiefs or local big men (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 135). In the context of shamanism, according to Costello, repeated representations of raptors, snakes, humans with distorted or bird head, quadrupeds, and vegetal elements can be seen in terms of a cosmological significance (Costello, 2013: 122-123). For example, the vulture or eagle feeds on carrion, bridging the gap between death and life; birds are associated with the gods; or snakes shed their skin and represent a death-rebirth cycle (Costello, 2013: 121). Hijara claims that Halaf snakes, bucrania or Maltese crosses on pottery may represent Halafian religion activities such as a bull or bucranium cult (Hijara, 1997: 34).

Dancing figures related to feasting activities is another theme proposed for Halaf motifs. What does the feast mean? Communal activities with a gathering for special events such as birth, marriage, war or death and sharing food are called a feast (Helwing, 2003: 65). Feasting means special occasions such as sharing food or special activities by two or more people (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 223). According to Nieuwenhuyse, although feasts have some ritual component, not all rituals are feast or not all feasts involve ritual (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 223). Nieuwenhuyse considers that feasting was significant from an early stage of the Late Neolithic period (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 224). How can we set feasting and dancing in the Halaf world? Feasting did not start in the later sixth millennium (Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 698). But especially during the Late Hassuna/Samarra and Halaf periods, painted

designs were made on some special types of pottery such as bowls, jars, beakers and dishes which are suitable for serving and the consumption of food and drink (Wengrow, 2001: 173). From 6200 BC onwards, technological and stylistical changes on the ceramic wares increased (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 214) on specific vessels suitable for drinking and consuming (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 224; Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: 698). These pots provide important evidence during the Pre-Halaf, Transitional and Early Halaf periods (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 224). Nieuwenhuyse claims that new commensal practices such as big food and drink consumption with growing feasting built up a new social network for the Late Neolithic (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 140). These feasting activities are correlated with Fine Ware pottery (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 140). The evidence of wine residue from a Late Neolithic painted Fine Ware jar from Hajji Firuz Tepe in north-western Iran inspired Nieuwenhuyse to ask: "Could it be that the rise of painted Fine Wares in northern Syria was associated with the introduction of new alcoholic beverages?" (Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: 89).

Up to now, no evidence for elite buildings or banqueting halls has been found at north Syrian Late Neolithic sites (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 225) or for the Halaf culture. However, there is a large place called 'Plaza' in the center of level 3 at Tell Sabi Abyad, as well as a large number of ovens for communal rather than household use (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 224-225). For Nieuwenhuyse, at least at Tell Sabi Abyad, the evidence of painted and decorated fine wares, fire places and kilns at the site show that hosting a feast was not an elite activity (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 225). He also notes that domesticated cattle and bull heads dominantly used on the painted Halaf serving vessels are another important element at this time in Upper Mesopotamia (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 141). These large animals provide valuable meat for feasts (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 142). In addition, dance is considered another component in feasting or ritual activity (Costello, 2013: 122). Nieuwenhuyse claims that the iconographic representation of dancing groups on Fine Ware pottery from Tell Sabi Abyad is a further sign for feasting activities (Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: 224). The oval-headed, dreadlock-haired people joined in dancing on some Halaf sherds or the huge painted containers between tall buildings on Domuztepe pottery might be illustrations of feasting activities after 6200 cal. BC (Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: 140-141). At larger and more permanent settlements, such as Tell Sabi Abyad, feasts and rituals

became important for Halaf society and painted serving pottery vessels played an important role during meetings at this site (Nieuwenhuys, 2013: 142).

On the other hand, during the Late Neolithic period, feasting activities were not solely like a festival. There is evidence of weapons, depictions of warfare or cave paintings, and skeletal remains which demonstrate conflict or violence during the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods (Dawson, 1996: 27; Erdal & Erdal, 2012: 78; Thorpe, 2003: 150). Weapon-like injuries from Shanidar cave (Iraq), and the earliest cannibalism evidence from Atapuerca (Spain) are just a few examples of conflict between communities (Thorpe, 2003: 151). But these events were not so great (Dawson, 1996: 27; Thorpe, 2003: 160) until the rise of states (Dawson, 1996: 27). Studies of Anatolia prehistoric sites show that, although there were evidences of injuries or violence at Neolithic or Chalcolithic Anatolia sites, they were associated with daily activities, accidents, intra or inter population fight or war and far from representing organized violence (Erdal & Erdal, 2012: 78, 84, 86, 89). Evidence of organized violence such as perimortem wounds, mass burials, cranial fractures, and walls surrounding cities are all observed at Early Bronze Age Anatolian sites (Erdal & Erdal, 2012: 78, 87-89). On the other hand, Domuztepe is one of the best examples to show that not all festivals took place 'entertainingly' in the Late Neolithic period. There is evidence of community organization (Özbal, 2011: 180), the earliest finds of systematic violence (Erdal & Erdal, 2012: 79), and human and animal sacrifices (Carter, 2012: 97) at Domuztepe. At Domuztepe, in addition to domestic or storage structures, there are interesting areas which were used for ritual, feasting, and burial activities such as the Red Terrace, Death Pit, Ditch, and trash disposal areas on the mound. There are also signs of systematically killed or butchered endocannibalism. I will briefly mention these important areas.

When looking at the general features of burials at the Death Pit, it seems whole human remains were both articulated and fragmentary before deposition in the Death Pit (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 146; Campbell et al., 2014: 31; Gauld et al., 2003: 132). There are cutmarks, chopmarks, and thermal exposure on all parts of skeletons of burials peri- and post-mortem in the pit (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 146-147; Gauld et al., 2003: 123). Treatments of blows to skull, and thermal altering show evidence of activities of killing or sacrifice or some form of cannibalism (Campbell et al., 2014: 30). In addition, weathering and gnawing on both animal and human

bones shows evidence that animal and human remains were accumulated and buried over a short space of time (Carter, 2012: 98-99). Skeleton remains were recovered from pit, only different body parts (Campbell, 2008b: 129). The heads of all individuals were disarticulated from the body prior to burial (Gauld et al., 2003: 123). Some skulls have an injury on one side (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 147; Campbell, 2008b: 129; Gauld et al., 2003: 123-124). The whole skulls suffered blunt-force trauma (Carter, 2012: 98 Gauld et al., 2003: 123-124). Whether these injuries were a result of cause of death or during the disarticulation of the skull is not clear, but the evidence of 'the pattern of edge destruction in some skulls suggests deliberate removal of bone in the fracture area, perhaps to obtain access to the brain' (Gauld et al., 2003: 124). Generally, human remains were randomly placed in the pits, but some example of basketry impressions in plaster near the bottom of the pit show the skulls were carefully placed in the pit, (Carter, 2012: 106-108). At the edge of Death Pit, there are pots which include further deposits of human remain (Campbell, 2008b: 131).

There is a series of shallow intercutting pits along the center of Red Terrace in the Operation I (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 145; Campbell et al., 2014: 38). These pits were termed the 'Ditch' by the Domuztepe team (Campbell et al., 2014: 38). They were continuously dug along the same line (Campbell et. al. 2014: 38). The ditch is a little earlier than the Death Pit ca. 5850-5750 cal BC (Carter, 2012: 109). Although, the Red Terrace has fewer archaeological deposits, these ditches have density of archaeological materials (Campbell et al., 2014: 38). The refuse in the ditches includes many animal bones (65 percent of ovicaprids; pig 22.6 percent; cattle 10.5 percent) which show evidence of feasting activities (Campbell et al., 2014: 42; Carter, 2012: 110). A large number of broken pottery vessels, a small amount of human bone, a handled obsidian mirror, a large number of stamp seals, and a male figurine head were recovered from the ditch (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 145; Carter, 2012: 110-111). Especially, narrative scenes on the pottery such as an architectural scene, a group of headless men ('Death Pot'), and 'Dancing Ladies' were recovered in this area (Atakuman & Erdem, 2015: 146; Erdem, 2013: 38-40).

At Domuztepe, in addition to the Death Pit and ditch, there are trash disposals which are possibly linked to feasting, communal storage, and large-scale cooking or

dairying activities (Carter, 2012: 109). The trash disposals were recovered at the north end of Operation III (Carter, 2012: 109). Especially, the disposal areas includes a huge amount animal bones (mainly cattle) (Carter, 2012: 109). Throughout the disposal areas at the site, scattered human remains were recovered alongside domesticated animal remains (Carter, 2012: 109). These practices in the trash disposal and in the disposal remains in the site suggest the practice of 'endocannibalism' (Carter, 2012: 109). Also, there are some smaller pits northwest of the main pit which post-date the Death Pit and were evidently used for complex ritual purposes (Carter, 2012: 102).

Do the activities surrounding these burials actually indicate ritual behavior at Domuztepe? (Gauld et al., 2003: 120). There are large amounts of fragmented animal and human remains which show a complex communal ritual, 'probably a sacrifice' (Carter, 2012: 97). Animals and humans remains were systematically killed or butchered (Carter, 2012: 97). According to Carter, cut marks on the post-cranial bones and extensive corpse dismemberment on the bones of Death Pit may be related to cannibalism, and the human corpses may have been used for purposes of consumption (Carter, 2012: 101; Erdal & Erdal, 2012: 79). Also, butchering, burning remarks and fragmented bones of 'both animals and human remains show, flesh was consumed and limb bones broken for their marrow' (Carter, 2012: 120). In the pit, there were also fragmented prime-age animals such as sheep, goats, pigs, cattle, and dogs (Carter, 2012: 97). Different artifacts connected to burials in and close to the Death Pit included pottery, worked or unworked animal bones, stone seals, and figurines (Carter, 2012: 108-109; Gauld et al., 2003: 122, 131). There is no evidence of illness either in the Death Pit and among the other human remains (Carter, 2012: 121). This place must have had a specific function such as ritual activities/ceremonies of regular seasonal or annual meetings (Campbell, 2012: 316-317) or communal ritual activities at the site (Gauld et al., 2003: 133). There are also large ovens dated throughout the active lifespan of the Red Terrace which were clearly beyond the needs of individual household's activities (Campbell, 2012: 316; Campbell et al., 2014: 38). They were probably used for food production for large-scale feasting activities (Campbell, 2012: 316; Campbell et al., 2014: 42).

To conclude, the general opinion about figural representation on pottery is that they convey a special meaning of religious imagery such as deities or magic beings (Nieuwenhuys, 2007: 19) or carry ritual meaning (Campbell, 2010: 149). According to Verhoeven, painted pottery with its motifs is an important symbolic medium during the pottery Neolithic period (Verhoeven, 2002: 9). According to Carter and Campbell, representations on vessels such as architecture, and dance might be related to symbolic and narrative scenes (Carter & Campbell, 2008: 126). Fine Halaf painted pottery with its figural motifs gives important information about the Halaf world such as their religious activities, their architecture (or their deity structures), animal species and plant world. Moreover, the high ratio of bucrania and mouflon motifs, various animals, humans, headless humans, dancers, archers or hunters, and multiple structural motifs on Halaf pottery do not give a simple message for the Halaf world. They are not related only to mundane activities, but also give information about the cosmology of Halaf communities. In particular the huge amounts of variety and individualization made possible by the Halaf techniques strongly suggest the existence of a symbolic system that would have been understood by the makers and users of these wares (Campbell, 2008a: 57-58).

Finally, nearly all human representations, naturalistic dancing figures, and structure depictions on Halaf pottery date to the Early Halaf period. All examples of buildings, which come from Domuztepe, Karavelyan, Tell Arpachiyah and Tell Sabi Abyad, belong to Early Halaf. In my opinion, although matting was recovered in the architecture of Domuztepe, these multiple structures do not represent daily structures. They represent divine structures in the Halaf world.

Apart from the Çatalhöyük wall paintings (Figures 103-104), the structures on Halaf pottery are the earliest artistic representations of architecture in the world up to now. I want to draw some attention to a wall painting recovered at Çatalhöyük; is it a representation of a volcanic eruption of the Hasan Dağı and the Çatalhöyük plain, or is it just geometric motifs? The wall painting recovered at Çatalhöyük in level VII (ca. 6600 BC) was interpreted as the oldest map which depicted an explosive eruption of Hasan Dağı (130 km northeast of Çatalhöyük) and a birds-eye view of a Çatalhöyük plain in the foreground (Meece, 2006: 1; Schmitt, Danişık, Aydar, Şen, Ulusoy, & Lovera, 2014: 1). It was interpreted as a first graphical representation of a landscape or a map (Schmitt, Danişık, Aydar, Şen, Ulusoy, & Lovera, 2014: 1).

Schmitt and his colleagues date the earliest eruption of Hasan Dağı to 6960 +/- 640 BC, when Çatalhöyük was already settled. Its inhabitants could therefore have witnessed this event (Schmitt et al. 2014: 9). On the other hand, Meece is against scholars or non-archaeologists who interpret the wall painting as a Çatalhöyük plan and volcanic eruption of Hasan Dağı. He claims that, when Mellaart recovered wall painting, he interpreted its motifs as representing a leopard skin, but he later changed his interpretations to identify this mural as a volcanic eruption and the Çatalhöyük plan (Meece, 2006: 1). According to Meece, the mural depicts a leopard skin in the upper register, and the lower section is one of the very typical geometric patterns commonly found at the site (Meece, 2006: 2). His other claims is that, "Hasan Dağı has two peaks, when viewed from the direction of Çatalhöyük the higher peak is on the left and the smaller on the right; in the 'map' this is reversed." (Meece, 2006: 6). I agree with Meece, because the so-called Hasan Dağı representation is a leopard motif and so-called Çatalhöyük site plans are geometric motifs which occur on other wall paintings.

What happened to figural representation or distinguished Halaf pottery after the Halaf culture? The dominance of painted pottery, which occurred c. 6200 cal. BC, declined or almost disappeared by c. 4750 cal. BC (Campbell, 2008a: 57; Campbell, 2010: 147). Evidence shows that after the Halaf period, pottery designs became increasingly simple during the fifth millennium BC (Late Ubaid period) (Wengrow, 2001: 181) and later. Even though figural motifs continued after the Halaf culture, they did not match the Halaf masterpieces until Red and Black Figural Vases emerged in the Greek world.

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TABLES

	North Tigris Valley										Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle				Balikh Valley				Middle Euphrates Valley								Maras and Amuq Plains							
	Khanabeh, Shattani	Tell Amarah	Tepe Gawra	Tell Hassan	Yarim Tepe II	Yarim Tepe III	Sarak Survey Sites	Bozape	Karvelyan	Girkhaciyan	Tuthe Höyük	Chagar Bazar	Tell Aqab	Tell Brak	Tell Halaf	Umm Osir	Kerkisat	Khirbet esh-Shenef	Tell Damishliya	Tell Mesh	Tell Mounbath	X Tell Sabi Abyad	Tell Tawila	Tell Amarna	Tell Halula	Tell Turu	Tell Yunus	Fasikh Höyük	Genture	Kazane Höyük	Kileh (Tel Seyf)	Shalee Gözlü	Tell Kurdu	Domuzepe
Bucranium																																		
Mouflon																																		
Bull																																		
Deer																						X												
Gazelle																																		
Goat/ Ibex																						X												
Winged-Animal												X										X			X									
Fish																																		
Fox																																		
Equidae																																		
Scorpion																																		
Snake																																		
Leopard																																		
Cheetah																																		
Tree							X															X												
Flower																																		
Stylized Dancing Ladies							X					X		X								X			X									
Dancing Figures																																		
Human Figures																																		
Structure Figures																																		
Narrative Scene																																		

Table 1. Proto-Halaf Figures

	Khanabeh, Shattani Tell Amelivah	Tepe Gawra	Tell Hassan	Yarim Tepe II	Yarim Tepe III	Sarak Survey Sites	Boztepe	Karvelyan	Girkhaciyan	Tuthe Höyük	Chagar Bazar	Tell Aqab	Tell Brak	Tell Halaf	Umm Osir	Kerkisat	Khirbet esh-Shenef	Tell Damishliya	Tell Mesh	Tell Mounbath	✕ Tell Sabi Abyad	Tell Tawila	Tell Amarna	Tell Halula	Tell Turu	Tell Yunus	✕ Frakht Höyük	Genture	Kazane Höyük	Kileh (Tel Seyf)	✕ Sakce Gözl	Tell Kurdu	Domuztepe
Bucranium	X					X										X					X												
Mouflon	X							X		X						X												X					
Bull	X																																
Deer	X					X																											
Gazelle																																	
Goat/ Ibex																					X												X
Winged- Animal	X					X		X		X						X		X			X							X					X
Fish								X																									X
Fox								X																									
Equidae																																	
Scorpion																X																	
Snake																																	
Leopard	X										X																						X
Cheetah																																	
Tree	X					X				X						X					X												X
Flower	X					X		X		X						X																	X
Stylized Dancing Ladies	X					X		X		X				X							X						X						X
Dancing Figures																					X												X
Human Figures	X					X		X		X											X							X					X
Structure Figures	X							X													X							X					X
Narrative Scene	X							X																			X						X

Table 2. Early Halaf Figures

	North Tigris Valley										Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle				Balikh Valley				Middle Euphrates Valley							Maras and Amuq Plains								
	Khanabesh Shattani	Tell Amalchayah	Teppe Gawra	Tell Hassan	Yarim Tepe II	Yarim Tepe III	Sarak Survey Sites	Bozape	Karvelyan	Kirkkhacyan	Tubbe Hoyuk	Chagar Bazar	Tell Aqab	Tell Brak	Tell Halaf	Umm Osir	Kerkisai	Khirbet esh-Shenef	Tell Damishliyya	Tell Mefesh	Tell Mounbath	Tell Sabi Abyad	Tell Tawila	Tell Amarna	Tell Halala	Tell Turlu	Tell Yunus	Fstikli Hoyuk	Gentare	Kazane Hoyuk	Kileli (Tel Seyf)	Sikee Gözü	Tell Kurdu	Domuztepe
Bucranium	X											X												X										
Mouflon	X											X					X	X																
Bull																		X																
Deer																																		
Gazelle																									X									
Goat/Ibex																																		
Winged-Animal							X					X					X																	
Fish																																		
Fox																																		
Equidae																																		
Scorpion																																		
Snake																																		
Leopard																																		
Cheetah																																		
Tree																	X						X	X										
Flower																																		
Stylized Dancing Ladies	X																X																	
Dancing Figures																																		
Human Figures																									X									
Structure Figures																																		
Narrative Scene																								X										

Table 3. Middle Halaf Figures

	North Tigris Valley										Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle				Balikh Valley				Middle Euphrates Valley							Maras and Amuq Plains								
	X	X	X			X											X																	
Bucranium	X	X	X														X		X				X		X									
Mouflon										X				X			X	X						X		X								
Bull																			X				X											
Deer					X	X													X				X											
Gazelle																																		
Goat/Ibex				X						X															X									
Winged-Animal	X	X	X	X	X	X								X															X					
Fish					X																													
Fox																																		
Equidae					X	X								X																				
Scorpion																																		
Snake	X	X			X									X																				
Leopard																																		
Cheetah					X																													
Tree										X							X						X											
Flower	X				X					X	X	X													X									
Stylized Dancing Ladies										X																			X					
Dancing Figures														X																				
Human Figures					X									X																				X
Structure Figures														X																				
Narrative Scene														X																				X

Table 4. Late Halaf Figures

	North Tigris Valley											Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle					Balikh Valley					Middle Euphrates Valley										Maras and Amuq Plains		
	Kharabeh Shattani	Tell Ardashirah	Tepe Gawra	Tell Hassan	Yarim Tepe II	Yarim Tepe III	Sirnuk Survey Sites	Bozape	Kanvelyan	Girikhaciyan	Tuthe Hoyuk	Chagar Bazar	Tell Aqab	Tell Brak	Tell Halaf	Umm Osair	Kerkisai	Kharab esh-Shenef	Tell Damishliya	Tell Mefish	Tell Mounbath	Tell Sabi Abyad	Tell Tawila	Tell Anama	Tell Halula	Tell Turlu	Tell Yunus	Fstuki Hoyuk	Genture	Kazane Hoyuk	Kulishi (Tel Seyf)	Sakce Gidon	Tell Kardu	Domuztepe
Bucranium																																		
Mouflon																																		X
Bull																																		
Deer												X																						
Gazelle																																		
Goat/ Ibex																																		
Winged-Animal													X																					X
Fish																																		
Fox																																		
Equidae																																		
Scorpion																																		
Snake																																		
Leopard																																		
Cheetah																																		
Tree																																		X
Flower												X																						
Stylized Dancing Ladies																																		
Dancing Figures																																		
Human Figures																																		X
Structure Figures																																		
Narrative Scene																																		

Table 5. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional (HUT) Figures

	North Tigris Valley										Habur-Jaghjagh Triangle					Balikh Valley					Middle Euphrates Valley										Maras and Amuq Plains			
	Kharabeh Shattani	Tell Ardashirah	Tape Gawra	Tell Hassan	Yarim Tepe II	Yarim Tepe III	Sarak Survey Sites	Boztepe	Kanvelyan	Girikhazayan	Tubhe Hoyuk	Chagar Bazar	Tell Aqab	Tell Brak	Tell Halar	Umm Osair	Kerkisai	Kharib esh-Shenef	Tell Damishliya	Tell Mefesh	Tell Mounbath	Tell Sabi Abyad	Tell Tawila	Tell Anama	Tell Halula	Tell Turlu	Tell Yunus	Fstikli Hoyuk	Gentare	Kazane Hoyuk	Kulaji (Tel Seyf)	Sakce Göl	Tell Kardu	Domuztepe
Bucranium	X				X	X								X	X	X		X			X		X	X	X	X	X	X					X	
Mouflon	X				X	X								X	X	X		X			X			X		X							X	
Bull															X								X				X							
Deer															X							X					X							
Gazelle														X									X											
Goat/ Ibex											X				X								X											
Winged-Animal					X	X					X		X	X					X				X			X	X			X				
Fish											X														X									
Fox																																		
Equidae																																		
Scorpion				X																														
Snake	X																																	
Leopard														X														X						
Cheetah						X																												
Tree											X			X				X		X						X							X	
Flower	X										X		X	X	X					X				X	X									
Stylized Dancing Ladies	X										X		X	X		X				X			X				X							
Dancing Figures														X											X									
Human Figures														X		X									X		X						X	
Structure Figures						X																												
Narrative Scene																																		

Table 6. Halaf Figural Motifs of Uncertain Date

FIGURES

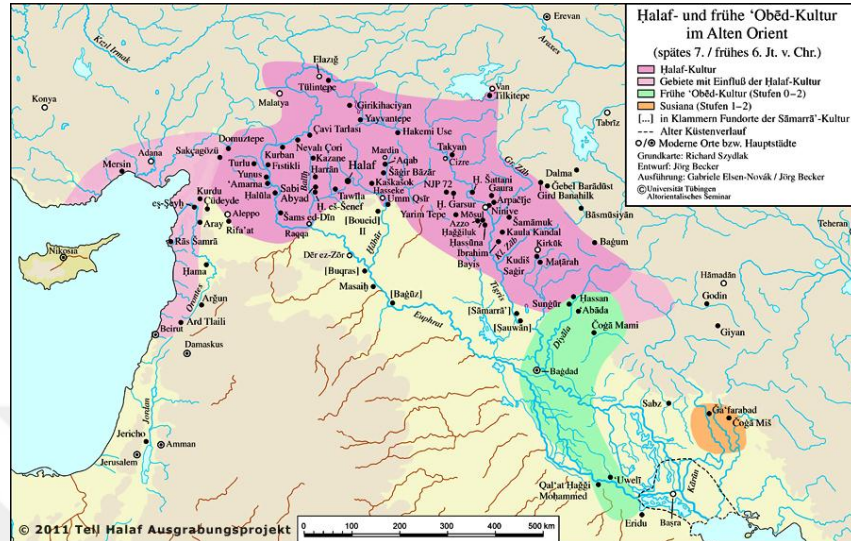


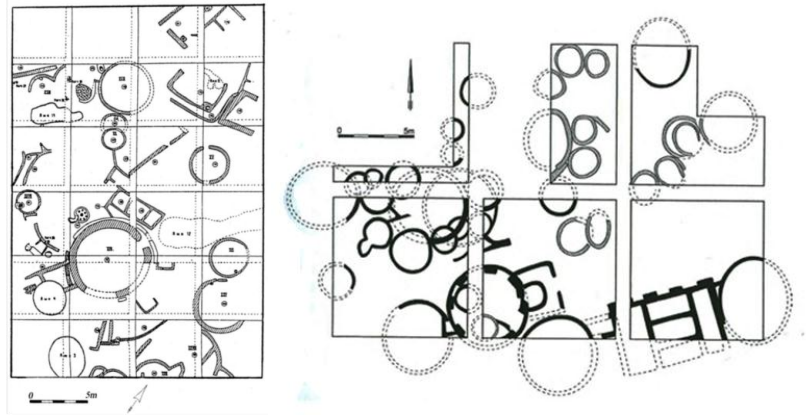
Figure 1. Geographic distribution of the Halaf culture in the Near East (<http://www.grabung-halaf.de/periods.php?l=eng>).

Cal. BCE	Period	Arpachiyah	Aqab	Chagar Bazar	Yarim Tepe	Sotto	Seker	Magzalia
	Traditional	Campbell Cruells	Mallowan Hijara	Mallowan Cruells	I II III			
5100	Halaf-Ubaid		Trench 1 level 2-3					
5200	Transitional							
5300								
5400	Late Halaf	TT6 TT7	Trench 1 level 4	7 8 9 10 11 12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
5500								
5600	Middle Halaf	TT8 TT9 TT10	Trench 2 level 1-4					
5700								
5800	Early Halaf	pre-TT10	Trench 3 level 2-4					
5900	Proto-Halaf/Hassuna/Samarra							
6000								
6100	Archaic Hassuna							
6200								
6300	Proto-Hassuna							
?								
?	Pre-Proto-Hassuna							

Figure 2. The Late Neolithic Upper Mesopotamian chronology for northern Iraq and northeastern Syria (after Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: fig. 1.3).

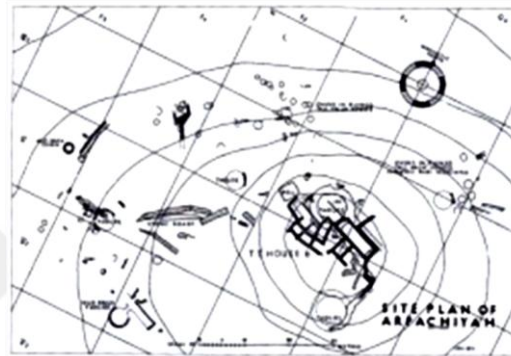
14C	Stage	Archaeological Periods
5300-5100	LN 6	Halaf-Ubaid Transition
5900-5300	LN5	Earlier Halaf-Later Halaf
6000-5900	LN 4	Hassuna/Samarra (northern Iraq); Proto-Halaf (northeastern Syria); Transitional (Balikh); Mezraa IIB (Turkish Euphrates); Halula IV (Syrian Euphrates)
6300-6000	LN 3	Archaic Hassuna (northern Iraq); Proto-Hassuna (northeastern Syria); Pre-Halaf (Balikh); Mezraa IIA (Turkish Euphrates); Halula III (Syrian Euphrates); Rouj 2D (Northern Levant); Transitional (Domuz)
6700-6300	LN 2	Proto-Hassuna (northern Iraq, northeastern Syria); Early Pottery Neolithic (Balikh); Halula II (Syrian Euphrates); Mezraa IIC/Akarçay II (Turkish Euphrates); Rouj 2b-c, Shir I-VI (Northern Levant); Ceramic Neolithic (Domuz)
7000-6700	LN 1	Pre-Proto-Hassuna (Khabur, northern Iraq); Initial Pottery Neolithic (Balikh); Transitional (Turkish Euphrates); Halula I (Syrian Euphrates); Rouj 2a (Northern Levant)

Figure 3. Bernbeck and Nieuwenhuyse provisional Late Neolithic chronology of Upper Mesopotamia (after Bernbeck & Nieuwenhuyse, 2013: Table 1.1; after Tekin, 2015: fig. 5).



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Figure 4. Halaf settlement patterns: Fig. 1 plan of Yarim Tepe II, level V (after Frangipane, 2007: fig. 2.b); fig. 2 plan of Khirbet es-Shenef, Balikh valley (after Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: fig. 4.11; after Frangipane, 2013: fig. 6.5.b); fig. 3 plan of Tell Arpachiyah (after Frangipane, 2013: fig. 6.6).

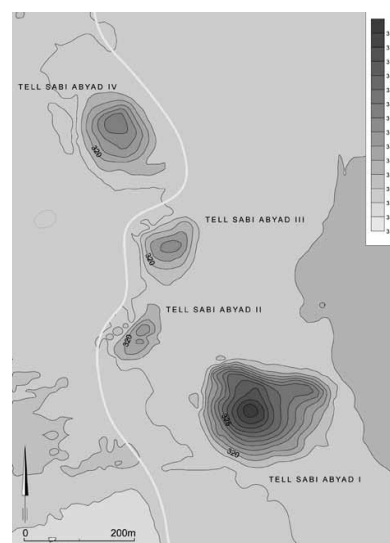


Figure 5. The cluster of Neolithic mounds at Tell Sabi Abyad (after Akkermans, 2013b: fig. 4.3).

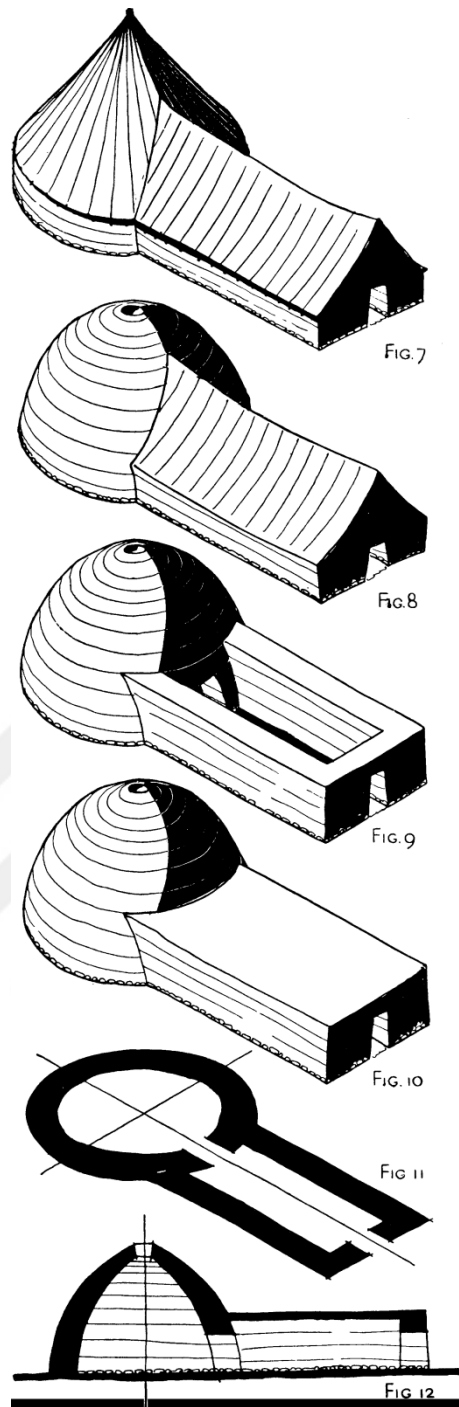
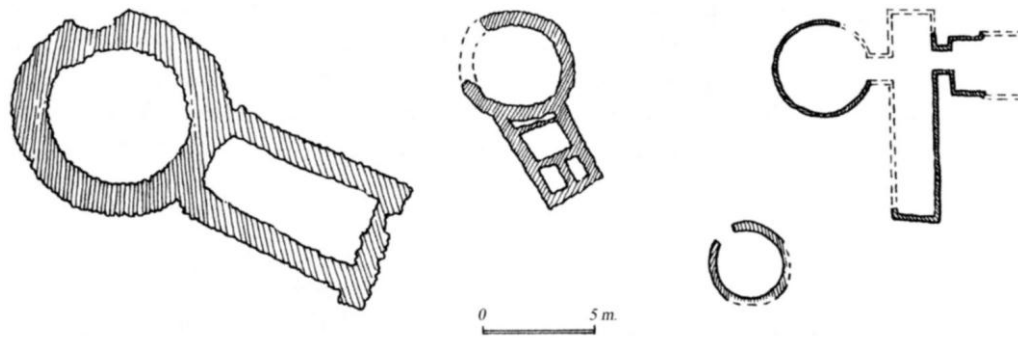
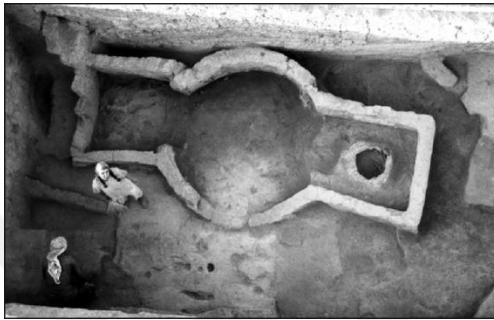


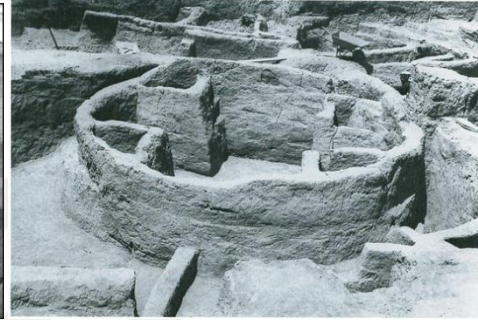
Figure 6. Reconstructions of Arpachiyah tholoi in TT 7-8 (after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: figs.7-12).



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Figure 7. Various types of tholoi from Halaf Sites: Fig. 1 from various Halaf sites (after Frangipane, 2007: fig. 2.a); fig. 2 a unique find at Tell Sabi Abyad white-plastered tholos about 2.3 m across (interior) (after Akkermans, 2010: fig. 3.6); fig. 3 Yarimtepe III. Tholos 137 (5.5-5.8 m inner diameter with 4 angle construction in the tholos) (after Munchaev, 1997: fig. 6).

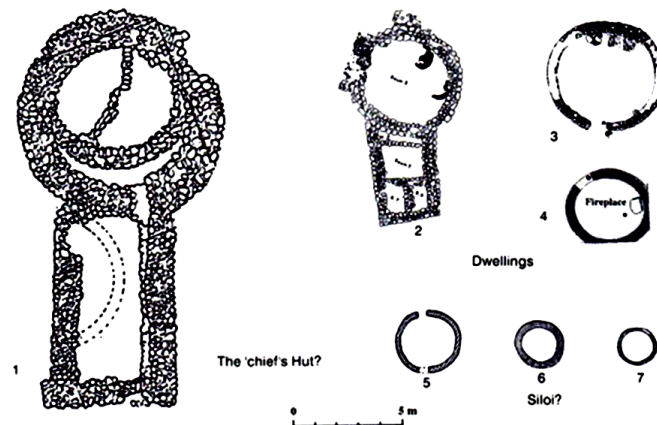
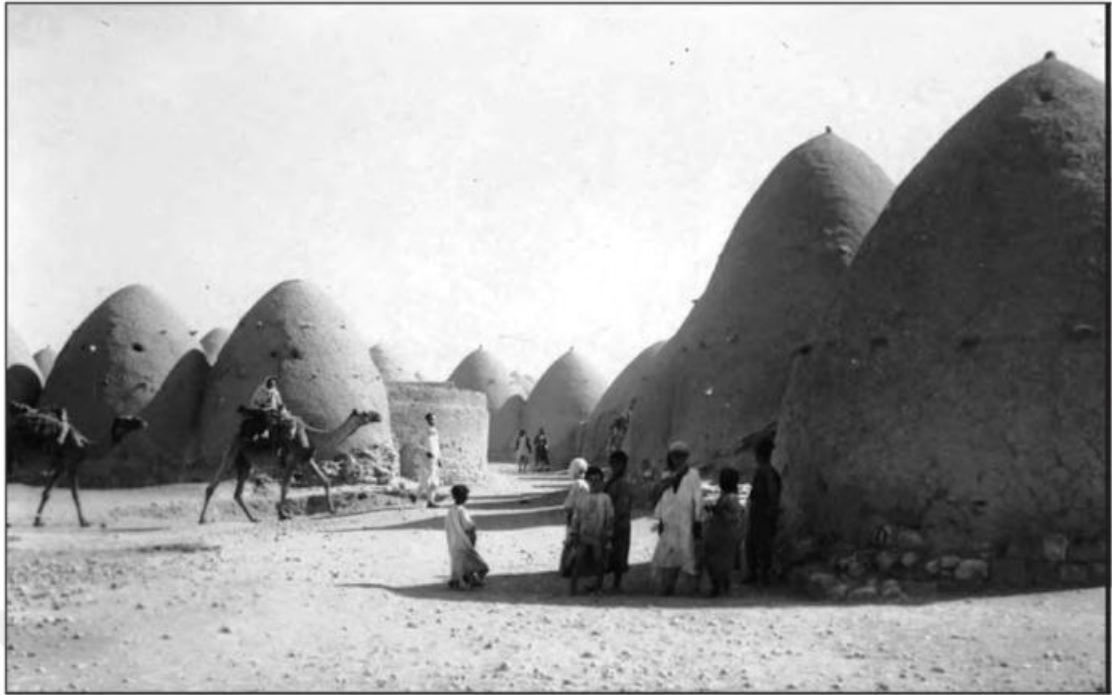
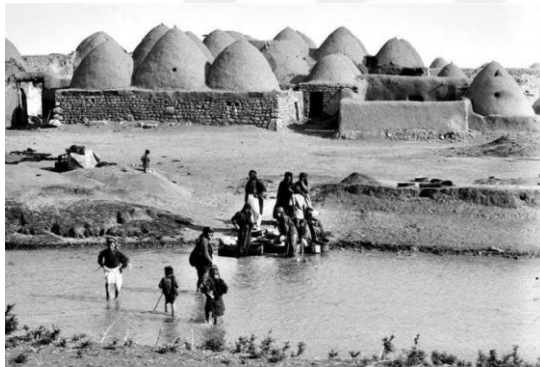


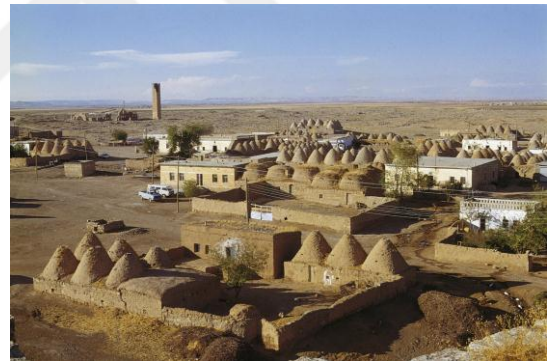
Figure 8. Different types/functional categories of round structures (tholoi) in Halaf villages. Fig.1: Arpachiyah; fig. 2: Çavi Tarlası; fig. 3: Shams ed-Din; figs. 4, 6: Tell Sabi Abyad; figs. 5,7: Yarim Tepe II (after Frangipane, 2013: fig. 6.7).



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Figure 9. Beehive structure examples from northern Mesopotamia: Fig. 1 Postcard from the late 1930s showing a beehive village in the countryside northeast of Aleppo in Syria (after Akkermans, 2010: fig. 3.7); fig. 2 from Harran, Şanlıurfa in Turkey. (<http://www.sanliurfa.com/foto-galeri/eski-urfa-fotograflari-1/9248/resim/18>); fig. 3 from Harran, Şanlıurfa in Turkey. (<http://www.gateofturkey.com/section/de/243/4/reisearten-pilgerreisen-sanliurfa#prettyPhoto>).

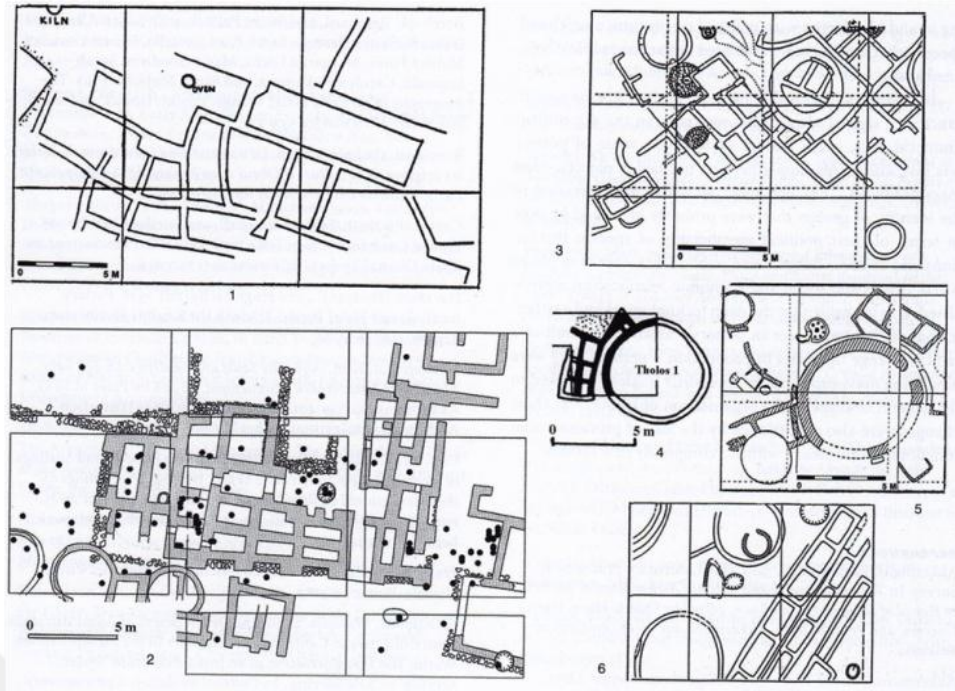


Figure 10. Different types/functional categories of rectangular structures in Halaf villages: Fig. 1 from Arpachiyah; fig. 2 from Sabi Abyad, Level 3A are large communal buildings; fig. 3 possible dwellings at Yarım Tepe II, Level 6; fig. 4 from Fıstıklı Höyük; fig. 5 from Yarım Tepe II, Level 5 and 6 from Yarım Tepe II, Level 9 II are small supplementary structures or annexes to the tholoi (after Frangipane, 2013: fig. 6.8).

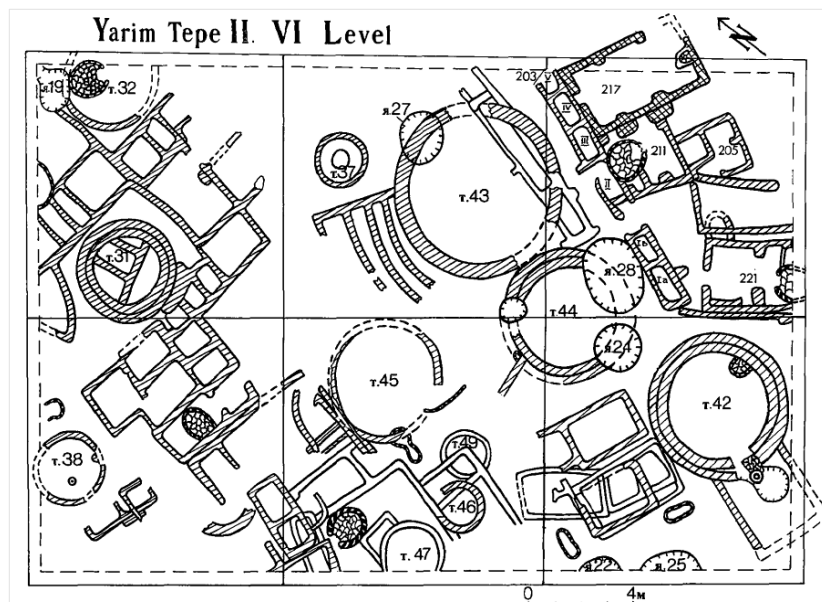
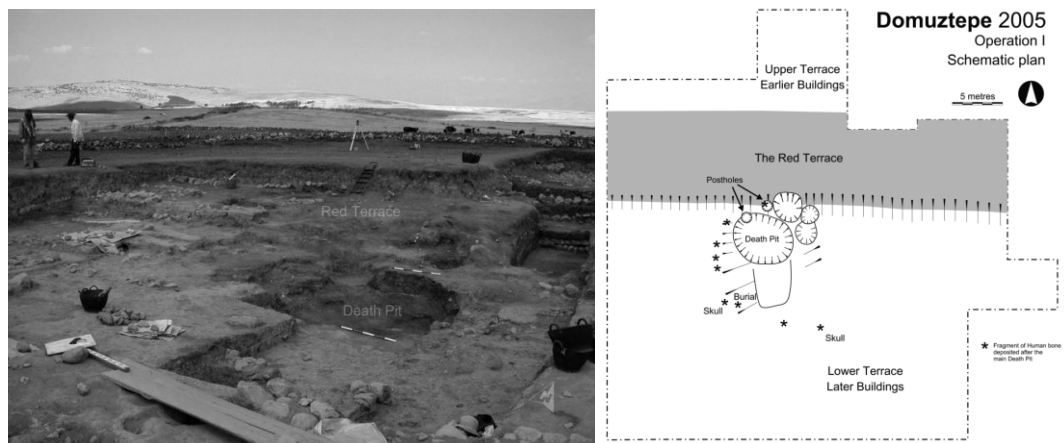


Figure 11. Tholoi and rectangular structures from Yarımtepe II. General plan of Level VI with tholoi and rectangular structures (after Munchaev, 1997: fig. 3).



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Figure 12. The Red Terrace and the Death Pit at Domuztepe: Fig. 1 the Red Terrace from the south east (after Campbell, 2012: fig. 5); fig. 2 schematic plan of Domuztepe, Operation I, showing the relationship between the Red Terrace and the Death Pit, together with some of the post-Death Pit deposits of human remains, pits and postholes (after Campbell, 2008b: fig. 3).

	Suggested Calibrated Date	Ceramic Phase	Date Event	Mean Date (Uncalibrated)
Possible period of deposition of the Red Terrace	5519-5362BC Latest date from Red Terrace		Late Op.I (1 date)	4580±60
		Phase A-3		
	5600BC		Burnt house Death Pit (4 dates)	4754±34
		Phase A-2		
		Phase A-1		
5848-5770BC Earliest dates from Red Terrace	5700BC		Early Op.II (3 dates)	4821±39

Figure 13. Chronology of Domuztepe Operation I (after Carter, 2012: Table 1).

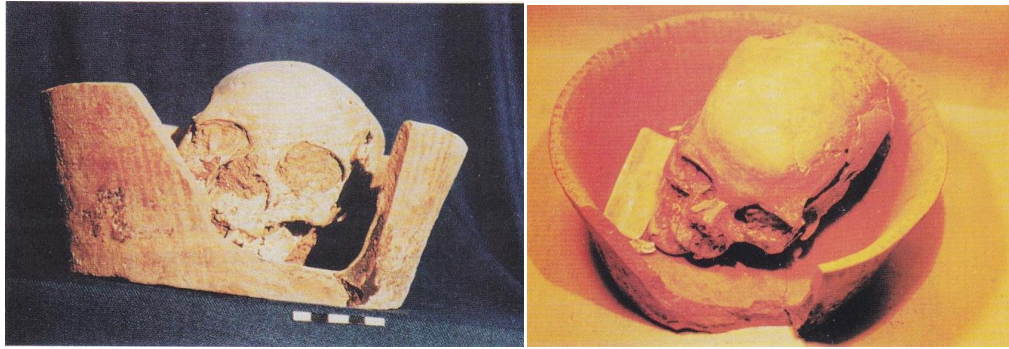


Figure 14. Skulls burials from Grave No 2 at Tell Arpachiyah (after Hijara, 1997: left figure PL. LXXXIII no2; right PL. LXXXIII no.3).

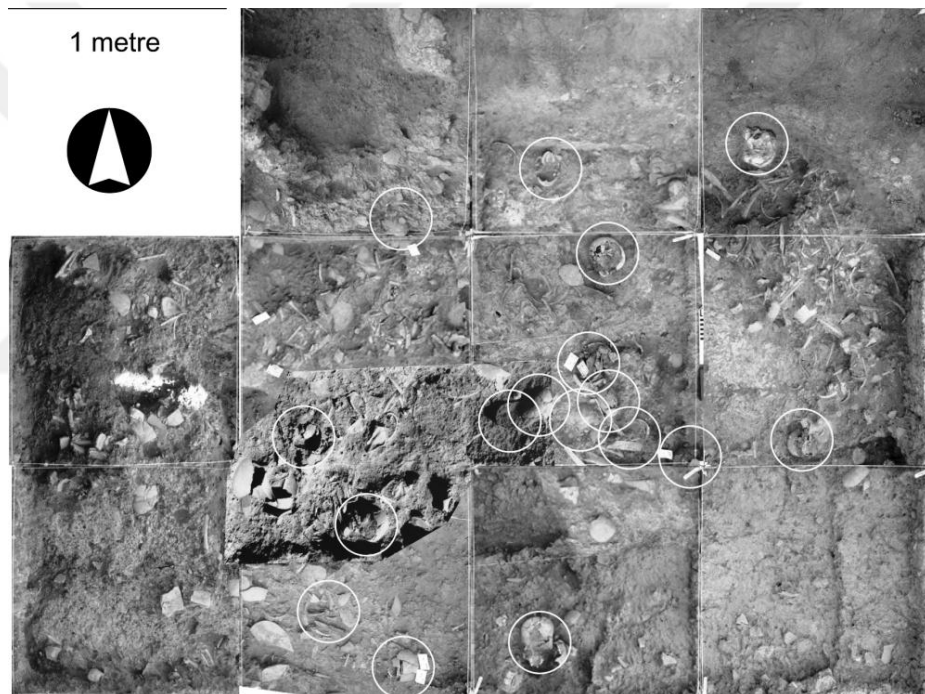


Figure 15. Skull burials from the Death Pit at Domuztepe. Substantial pieces of skulls are circled (after Campbell, 2008b: fig. 4).

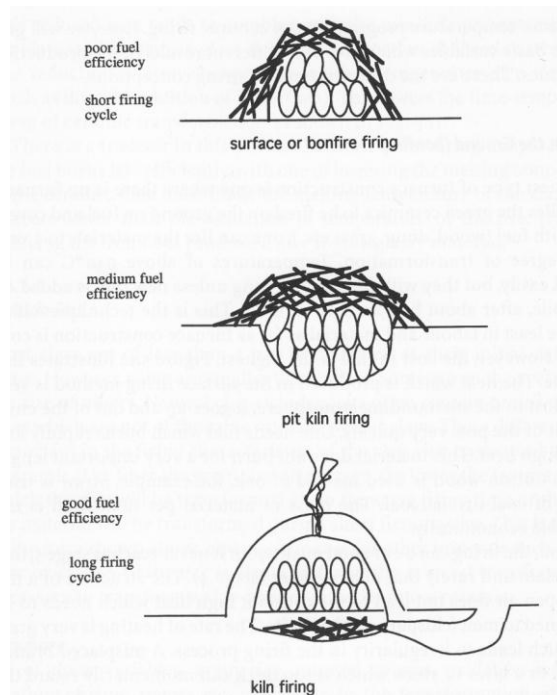


Figure 16. Different firing system (surface or bonfire firing, pit kiln firing, and kiln firing) (after Velde & Druc, 1999: fig. 5.12).

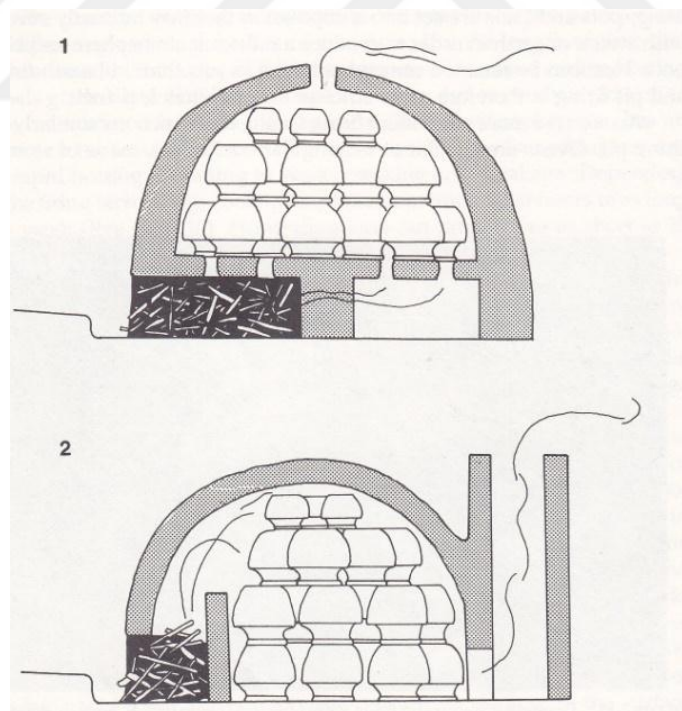


Figure 17. Updraught and Downdraught Kilns: (1) Updraught, (2) Downdraught (after Sinopoli, 1991: fig 2.14).

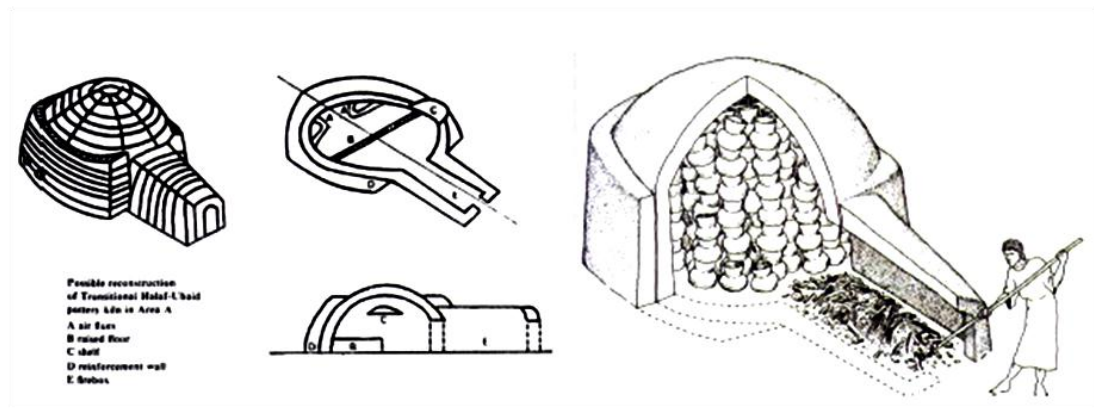


Figure 18. Reconstruction of single-chamber updraught kiln at Tell Ziyada (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.14.3).

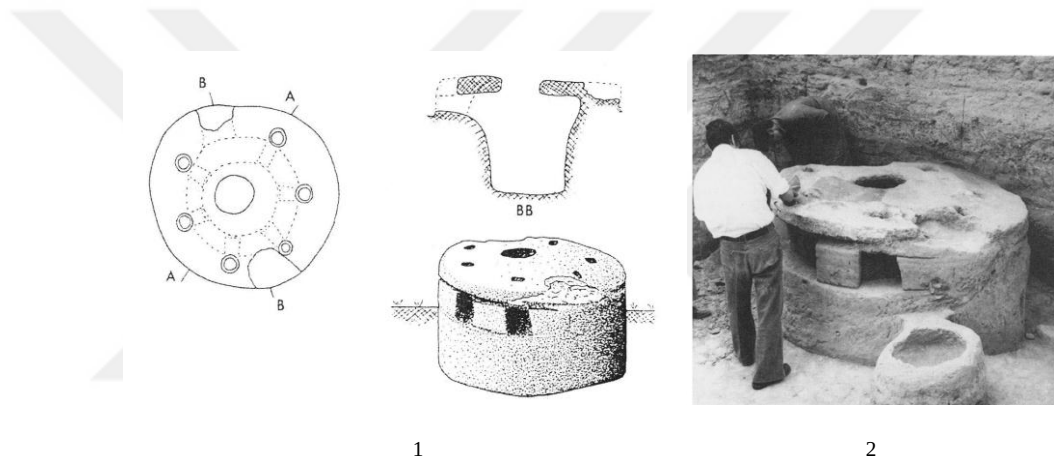


Figure 19. Plan and section of two-storey kiln at Yarim Tepe II: Fig. 1 (after Streily, 2000: fig. 9); fig. 2 (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.11).

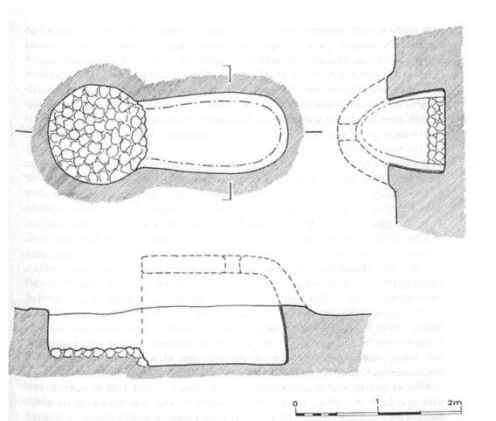


Figure 20. Plan and section of level 2 Kiln AK from Sabi Abyad (after Verhoeven & Kranendonk, 1996: fig. 2.32).

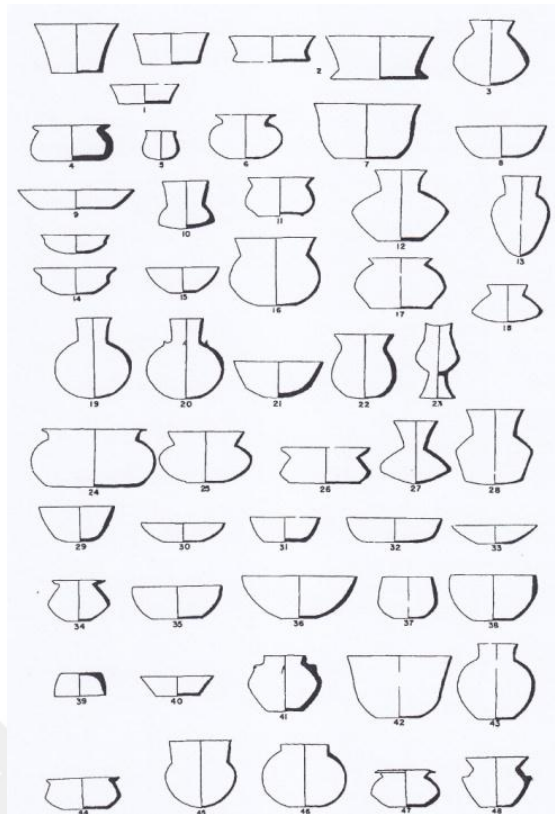


Figure 21. Tell Arpachiyah Halaf pottery types by Hijara (after Hijara, 1997: figs.7-12; after Watson & LeBlanc, 1990: fig. 4.5).

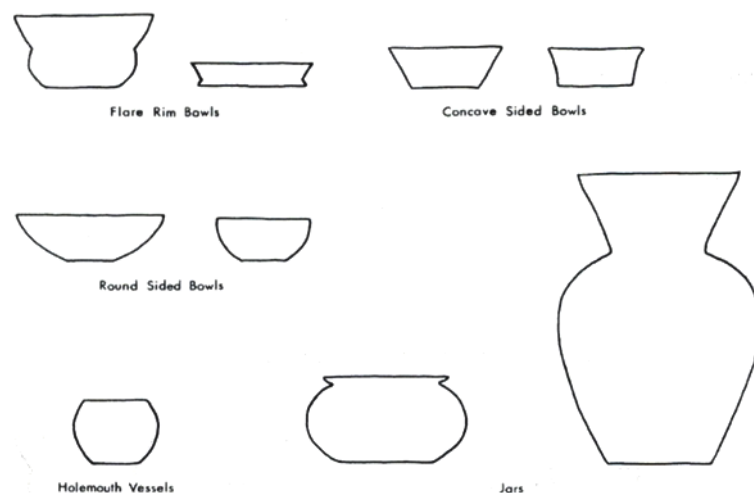


Figure 22. Basic Halafian vessel shapes by Watson and LeBlanc (after Watson & LeBlanc, 1973: fig. 2).

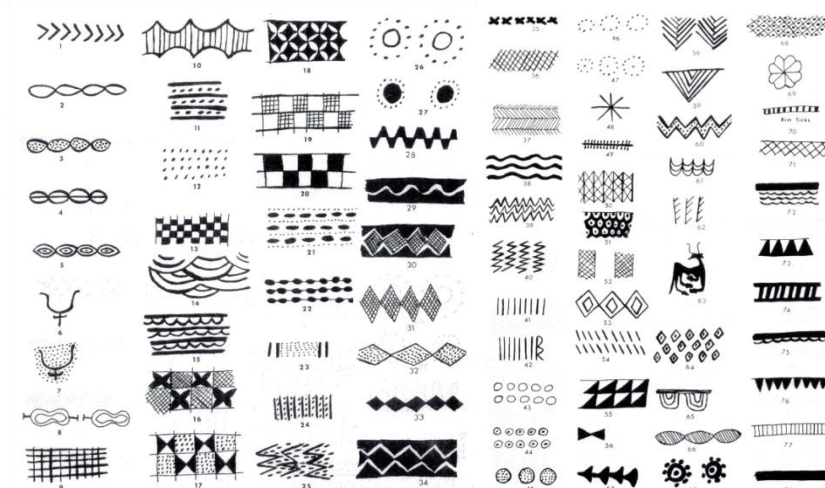


Figure 23. Halafian painted pottery motifs by Watson and LeBlanc (after Watson & LeBlanc, 1973: fig. 3).

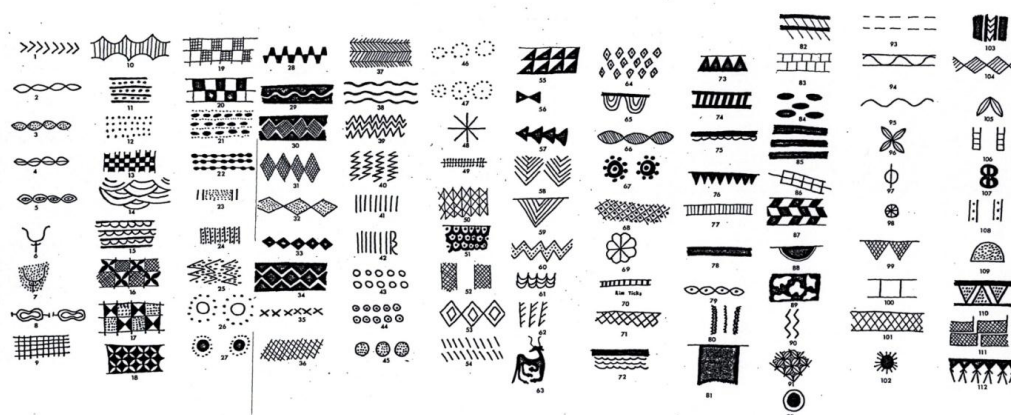


Figure 24. Halafian painted pottery motifs by Davidson (after Davidson, 1977: foldout 2).

Watson and LeBlanc's modification of Tell Arpachiyah potter (1990)	Hijara 's Tell Arpachiyah Pottery forms classification (1980, 1997)
1. Straight-sided or slightly flaring-sided bowls	Forms 1 and 40
2. Flare-rimmed bowls	Forms 2 (the cream bowl) and 14
3. Büchse-like jars	Forms 4, 6, 24, 25, 26, 44, 47
4. Various round-sided and other bowls	Forms 8, 15, 30, 35, 36, 38; 5, 7, 9, 21, 29, 31, 32, 33, 42
5. Jars	Forms 3, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 27, 28, 34, 41, 43, 46, 48

Figure 25. Watson and LeBlanc recombination of Hijara's pottery forms from Tell Arpachiyah (after Watson & LeBlanc, 1990).

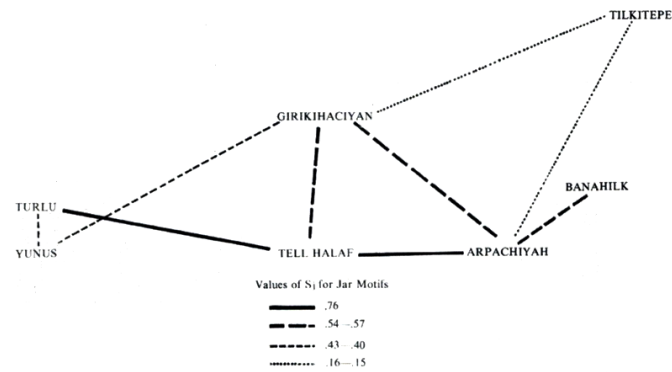


Figure 26. The relationships among seven Halaf sites indicated by statistical analysis of painted pottery (after Frankel, 1979: fig. 16; after Watson & Leblanc, 1973: fig. 12).

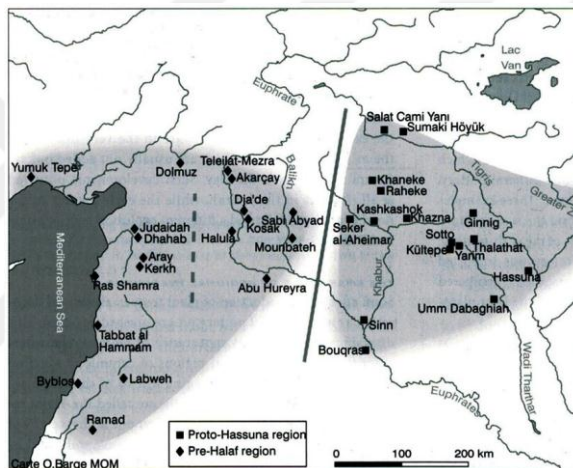


Figure 27. Regional boundaries indicated by Late Neolithic pottery diversification in the Jezirah and the Northern Levant (after Le Mièrè, 2013: fig. 29.5).

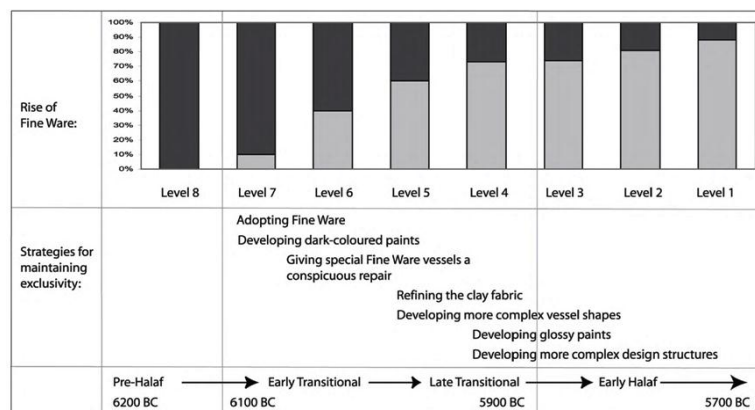


Figure 28. Innovations in ceramic technology, morphology and decorative style and rapidly rising proportion of Fine Ware in the ceramic assemblage (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: fig. 5).

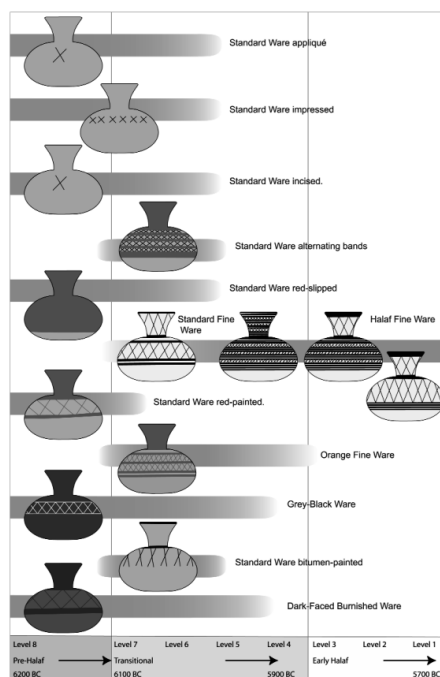


Figure 29. Changes in decorative style at Tell Sabi Abyad during the Transitional and Early Halaf periods (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2008: fig. 5).

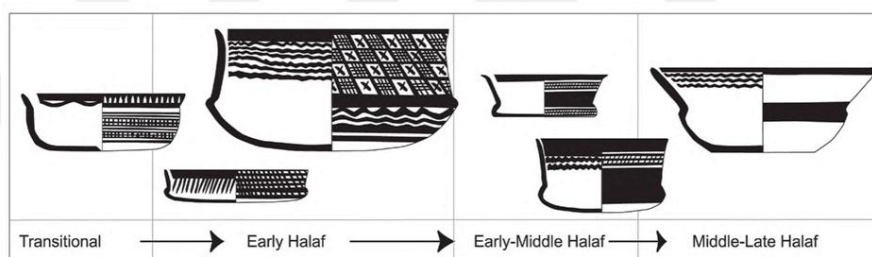


Figure 30. Various stages in the development of the cream bowl in the Balikh valley (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: fig. 7).

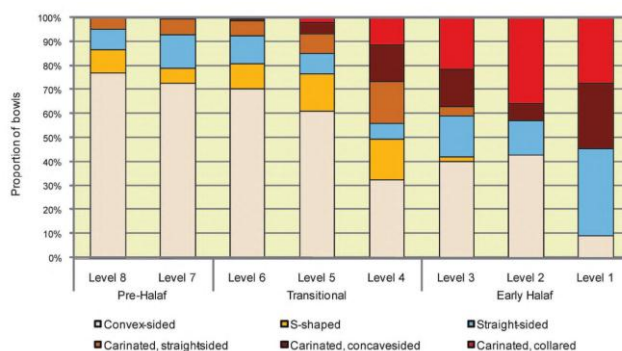


Figure 31. Increasing morphological complexity of serving vessels at Tell Sabi Abyad (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2009: fig. 6).

Figs. 32.1-8: Vertical and horizontal bucrania, bird and snake motifs from Kharabeh Shattani

1. Stylized vertical bucranium on bowl. Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Watkins & Campbell, 1986: fig. 18.4).
2. Stylized horizontal bucranium on bowl. Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Watkins & Campbell, 1986: fig. 31.6).
3. Stylized horizontal bucranium on body sherd. Late Halaf (after Watkins & Campbell, 1986: fig. 34.9).
4. Stylized horizontal bucranium on body sherd. Late Halaf (after Watkins & Campbell, 1986: fig. 35.1).
5. Stylized horizontal bucranium on body sherd. Late Halaf (after Watkins & Campbell, 1986: fig. 35.2).
6. Stylized horizontal bucrania on body sherd. Late Halaf (after Watkins & Campbell, 1986: fig. 35.7).
7. Bird motif on bowl. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Watkins & Campbell, 1986: fig. 30.5).
8. Snake motif on bowl. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Watkins & Campbell, 1986: fig. 30.6).

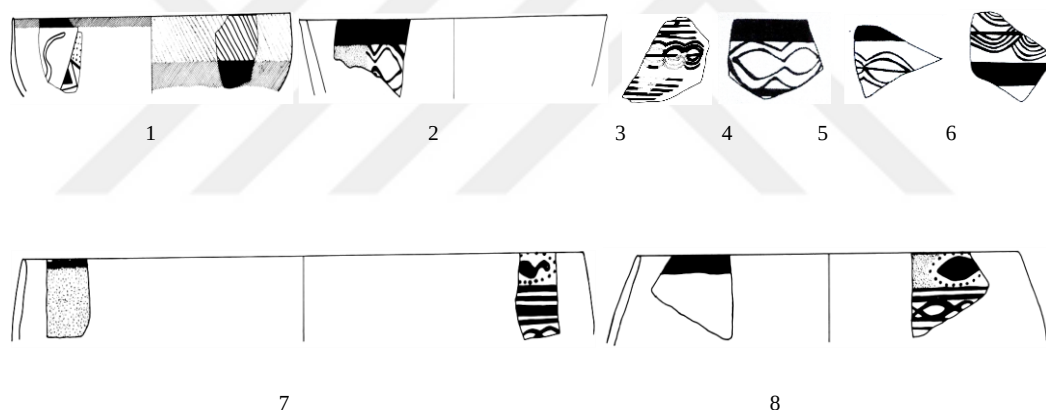


Figure 32. Animal motifs from Kharabeh Shattani.

Figs. 33.1-13: Flower and tree motifs from Tell Arpachiyah

1. Flower motif on flat-based flaring-sided bowl. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (Pre-TT10) (after Hijara, 1997: Plate XIX.123).
2. Flower motif on flat-based flaring-sided bowl. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (Pre-TT10) (after Hijara, 1997: Plate XIX.124).
3. Flower motif on rounded jar with flat or rounded base. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (Pre-TT10) (after Hijara, 1980: 9.243; after Hijara, 1997: Plate XXXV.243).
4. Flower motif on flat base bowl with slightly flaring sides. Interior motif. Early Halaf (Pre-TT10) (after Hijara, 1997: Plate LXV.441).
5. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 39.100).
6. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 39.102).
7. Flower motif. Interior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 78.30).
8. Tree motif on bowl with flat base and carinated body with flaring rim. Interior motif. Early Halaf (Pre-TT10) (after Hijara, 1997: Plate LII.359).
9. Tree motif on flat based, rounded side, deep bowl. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (Pre-TT10) (after Hijara, 1997: Plate LXIX.479).
10. Polychrome plate with flower motif. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: plate XIX.1. A748).
11. Polychrome plate with flower motif. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: plate XIII.A750).
12. Polychrome plate with flower motif. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: plate XV.1. A752).
13. Polychrome plate with flower motif. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 53.1. A747).

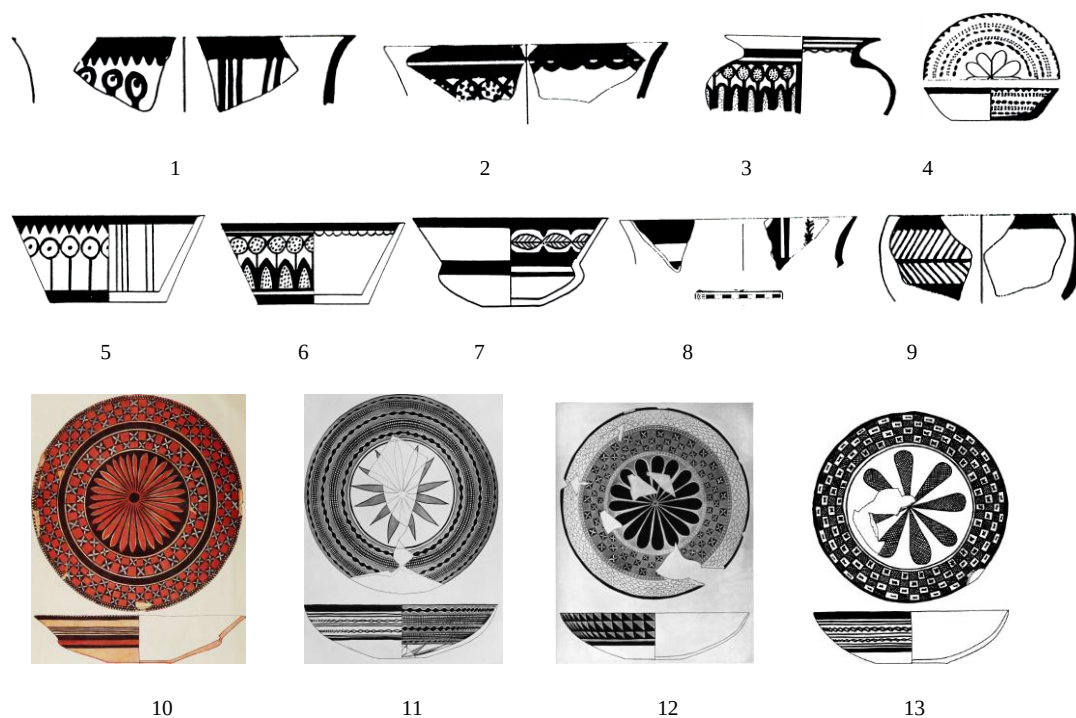


Figure 33. Plant motifs from Tell Arpachiyah.

Figs. 34.1-19: Vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon motifs from Tell Arpachiyah

1. Stylized vertical bucranium on bowl. Early Halaf (after Hijara, 1997: Plate I.6).
2. Stylized vertical bucranium. Early Halaf (after Goff, 1963: fig. 88; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 73).
3. Stylized vertical bucrania on globular jar. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Davidson & McKerrell, 1980: fig. 3.1; after Hijara, 1997: Plate XXXVIII.257).
4. Stylized vertical bucrania on bowl. Interior motif. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 2.56; after Goff, 1963: fig. 89; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 56.1.A728; after Wengrow, 2001: fig. 3.c).
5. Stylized vertical bucranium. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Campbell, 2010: fig. 18.4.a; after Goff, 1963: fig. 90; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 76.2.A 166).
6. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Hijara, 1997: Plate XV.99).
7. Stylized vertical bucrania on a jar fragment. Middle Halaf (after Hijara, 1997: Plate XLVI.329).
8. Stylized horizontal bucranium. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Davidson & McKerrell, 1980: fig. 3.6).
9. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Goff, 1963: fig. 95; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 55.A754).
10. Stylized vertical bucrania. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Goff, 1963: fig. 94; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 56.2.A515; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.15.6).
11. Stylized vertical bucrania on the 'Cream Bowl'. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 2.54; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 63.3.A726).
12. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Campbell, 2010: fig. 18.4.b; after Goff, 1963: fig. 92; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 76.4.A 151).
13. Stylized vertical mouflons on jar fragment. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 3.31; after Hijara, 1997: Plate XLV.318).
14. Stylized vertical mouflons on the inside of bowl fragment. Interior motif. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 3.17; after Hijara, 1997: Plate LXXIV.513).
15. Stylized vertical mouflons on the inside of bowl fragment. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 3.16; after Hijara, 1997: Plate LXXIV.514).
16. Stylized horizontal mouflons on squat jar. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 3.30; after Hijara, 1997: Plate XXVII.179).
17. Stylized horizontal mouflon on bowl. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Hijara, 1997: Plate IX.62).
18. Stylized horizontal mouflon on bowl. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 3.28; after Hijara, 1997: Plate XII.76).
19. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 3.29; after Goff, 1963: fig. 91; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 68.2.A 725).

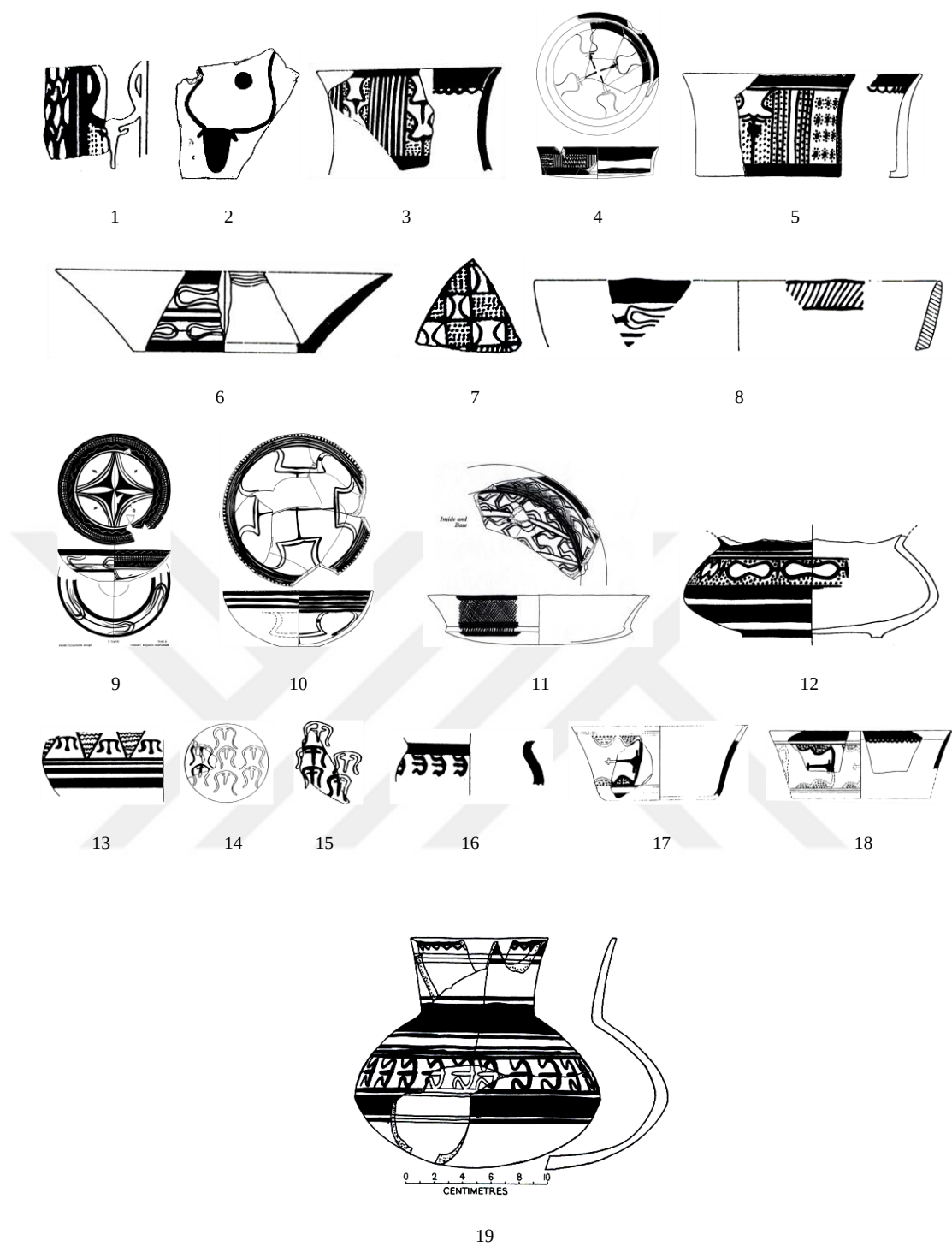


Figure 34. Bucrania and mouflon motifs from Tell Arpachiyah.

Figs. 35.1-27: Undated vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon motifs on bowls, jars and plates from Tell Arpachiyah

1. Stylized vertical bucrania on jar. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 50.6).
2. Stylized vertical bucrania on jar. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 50.13).
3. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 60.12).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 62.42).
5. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 62.47).
6. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 64.67).
7. Stylized vertical bucranium. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 22.6).
8. Stylized vertical bucranium. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 24.22).
9. Stylized vertical bucranium. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 25.26).
10. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 31.59).
11. Stylized vertical bucrania. Interior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 75.9).
12. Stylized horizontal bucranium. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 63.53).
13. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 63.64).
14. Stylized horizontal bucranium. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 64.78).
15. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 65.90).
16. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 66.101).
17. Stylized horizontal bucranium. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 66.103).
18. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 66.104).
19. Stylized horizontal bucranium. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 67.114).
20. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 35.83).
21. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Exterior motif and Interior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 76.13).
22. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Interior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 76.14).
23. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Interior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 77.21).
24. Stylized vertical mouflons on jar. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 54.78).
25. Stylized horizontal mouflons on jar. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 54.77).
26. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 61.19).
27. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 31.58).

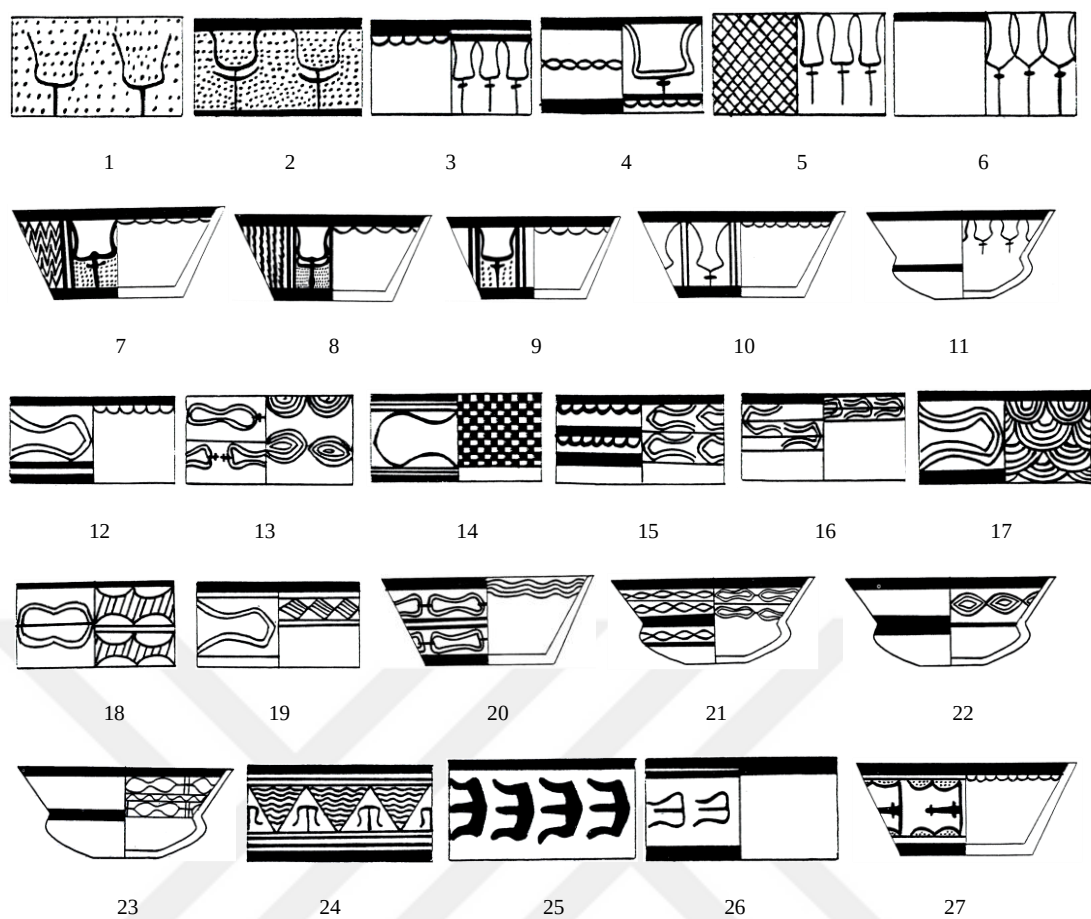


Figure 35. Undated bucrania and mouflon motifs from Tell Arpachiyah.

Figs. 36.1-9: Winged animals (figs. 1-4), deer (fig. 5), snake (fig. 6), leopard (fig. 7), undefined animals (figs. 8-9) motifs motifs from Tell Arpachiyah²⁴.

1. Bird motif. Early Halaf (after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 77.3).
2. Birds motif shows them as about to take flight. Early Halaf (after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 77.8).
3. Birds motif. Early Halaf. According to Hijara, horizontal row of ducks with wings spread between two bands (Hijara, 1997: 41) (after Hijara, 1997: Plate XXXV.241), but they look like wild winged animal such as vultures.
4. Bird motif. Early Halaf (after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: Fig. 77.2).
5. Deer motif. According to Mallowan and Rose (1935) they are a group of cervoids, according to Erdalkıran (2009) they are deers. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 4.14; after Goff, 1963: fig. 85; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 77.5).
6. Snake motif. Period (?) (after Campbell, 2010: fig. 18.6.b; after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 7.4; after Goff, 1963: fig. 76; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: fig. 77.8).
7. A row of leopards motif. Early Halaf (after Campbell, 2010: fig. 18.6.a; after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.7; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.1; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: Fig. 77.1).
8. Undefined animal on squat jar with flaring neck. Early Halaf (after Hijara, 1997: Plate XXV.165).
9. Undefined animal on squat jar. According to Hijara (1977) it is perhaps an onager (?). Early Halaf (after Hijara, 1997: Plate XXIX.197).

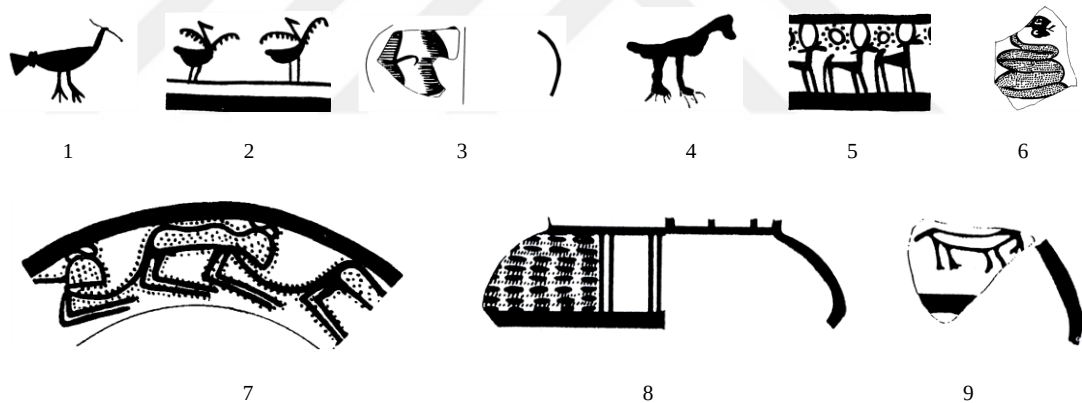


Figure 36. Various animal motifs from Tell Arpachiyah.

²⁴ According to Mallowan and Rose (1935), figs. 1-2 and 4-7 sherds come from antedate TT10 level. Therefore, they are belong to Early Halaf period.

Figs. 37.1-3: Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motifs from Tell Arpachiyah

1. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motif (a row of dancing girls) on bowl. Interior motif. Early Halaf (Pre-TT10) (after Hijara, 1997: Plate XIV.92).
2. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motif (a row of dancing girls). Interior motif. Period (?) (after Hijara, 1997: fig. 34.77).
3. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motif (a row of dancing girls). Interior motif. Middle Halaf (TT7-8) (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.10.b; after Mallowan & Rose, 1935: Fig. 58.4.A729).

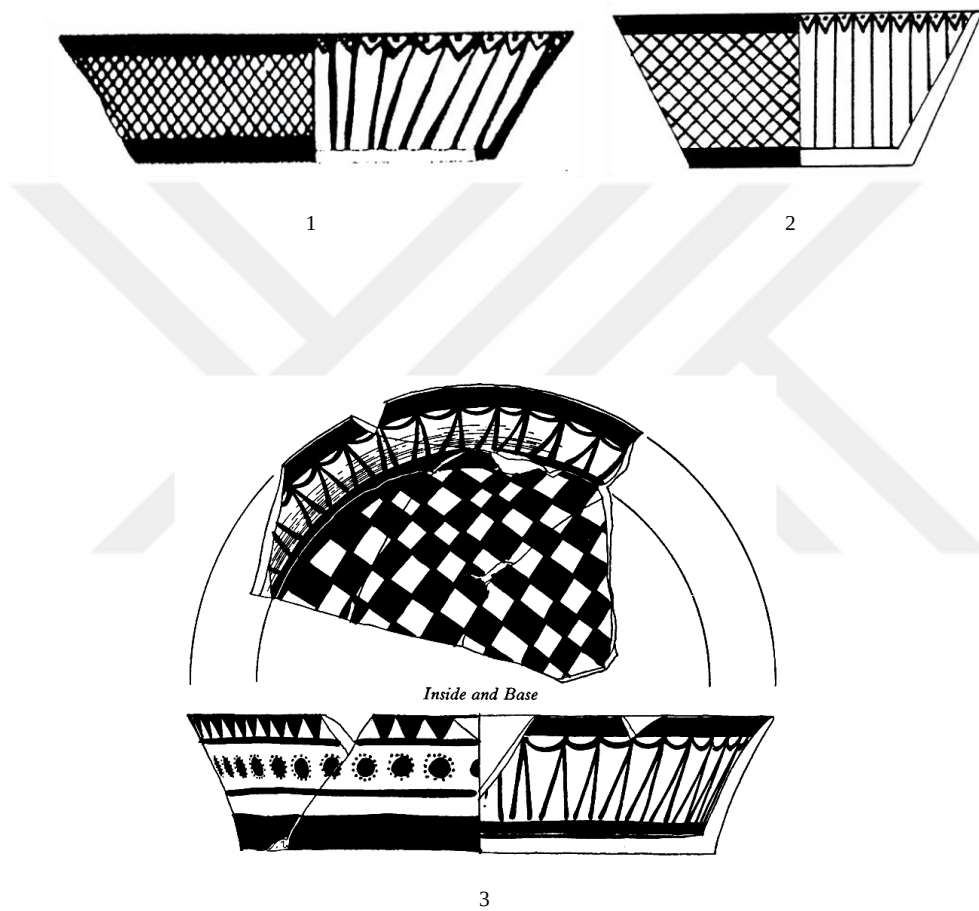


Figure 37. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motifs from Tell Arpachiyah.

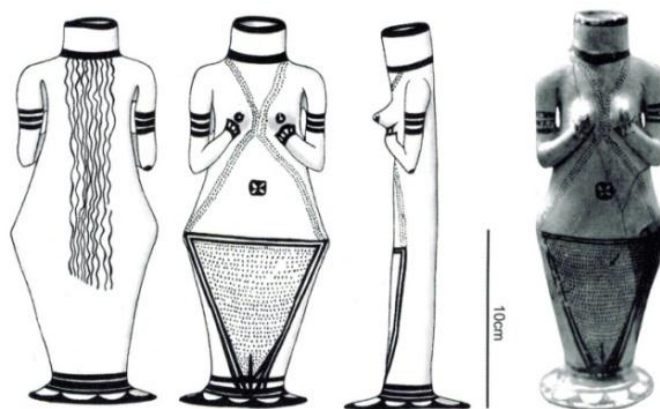
Figs. 38.1-2: Narrative scene (human representation with mixed motifs such as structure, naturalistic bull, snake) from Tell Arpachiyah and anthropomorphic vessel from Yarim Tepe II

1. Narrative scene from Tell Arpachiyah. Flat-based flaring-sided bowl, Ht. 20.5 cm., rim diam. 37 cm.: (a) exterior, (b) interior, (c) base, (d) profile. From ritual burial in Grave 2, Phase H Four in Level VI (after Breniquet, 1992: fig. 1; after Campbell, 2012: fig. 3; after Carter, 2012: fig. 15; after Hijara, 1978: fig. 1; after Hijara, 1997: Plates XLVIII.342A; LXXVIII.1-3; LXXIX.1-3).

2. Anthropomorphic vessel from Yarim Tepe II (after Croucher, 2013: fig. 16.1; Wengrow, 2001: fig. 2.d).



1



2

Figure 38. Narrative scene from Tell Arpachiyah and anthropomorphic vessel from Yarim Tepe II.

Figs. 39.1-3: Vertical bucrania and birds with snake motifs from Tepe Gawra

1. Stylized vertical bucrania motif on bowl. Interior motif. Stratum XX from Area A. Late Halaf (after Tobler, 1950: fig.10).

2. Bird motif on jar. Exterior motif. Area A. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.19; after Robert, 2010: Plance 4.22.6; after Tobler, 1950: fig. 59).

3a-b. Bird motif with snake on jar. Exterior motif. Area A. Late Halaf. Fig. 3.a (after Erdalkıran, 2010: Şekil 33.22) fig. 3.b (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.18; after Goff, 1963: fig. 81; after Robert, 2010: Plance 4.22.5; after Tobler, 1950: fig. 61).

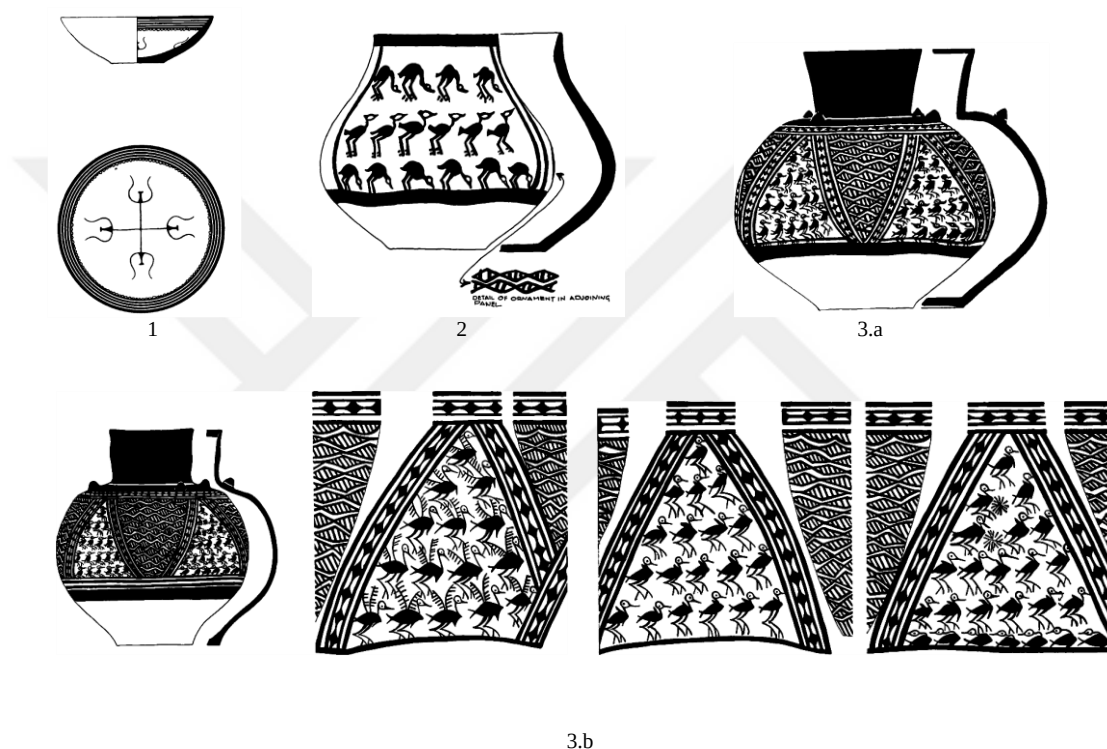


Figure 39. Animal motifs from Tepe Gawra.

Fig. 40.1-16: Flower, naturalistic bucranium, vertical bucrania and mouflon and human motifs from Yarim Tepe II

1. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Levels 9 to 8. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 15.1; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.28.1; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.1.1).
2. Flower motif. Levels 9 to 8. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 15.2; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.28.2; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.1.2).
3. Flower motif. Levels 9 to 8. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 15.3; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.28.3; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.1.3).
4. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Levels 9 to 8. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 15.4; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.28.4; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.1.4).
5. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Levels 9 to 8. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 15.5; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.28.5; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.1.5).
6. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Levels 9 to 8. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 15.6; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.28.6; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.1.6).
7. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Levels 9 to 8. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 15.8; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.28.8; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.1.8).
8. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Levels 9 to 8. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 15.9; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.28.9; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.1.9).
9. Naturalistic vertical bucranium. Levels 3-4. Period (?) (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 2.53; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.1.2; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: Plate XLVI.2; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.3.2).
10. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 21.2; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.31.2).
11. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 21.6; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.31.6).
12. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.25.7).
13. Stylized vertical bucrania. Interior motif. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 16.1; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.27.1).
14. Stylized vertical mouflons. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 3.27; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 14.2; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.26.2).
15. Human representation. Late Halaf (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.3.b; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 21.7; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.25.8; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.31.7; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.30.4).
16. Human representation. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.36.7).

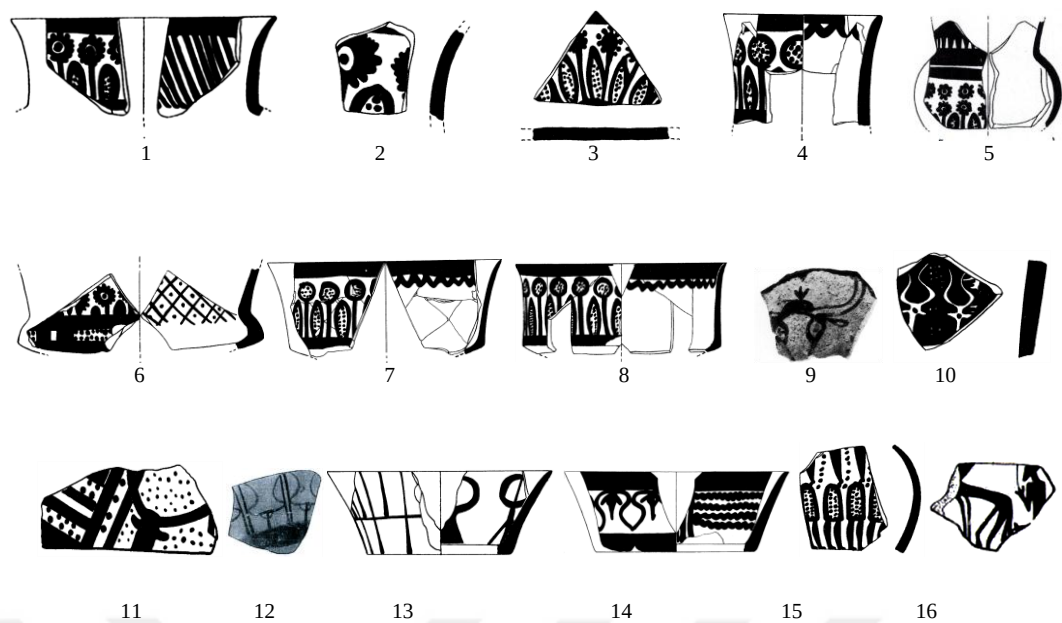


Figure 40. Flower, bovine and human motifs from Yarim Tepe II.

Figs. 41.1-14: Winged animal motifs from Yarım Tepe II

1. Winged animal motif (entire scene with birds of prey attacking a flock of deer). Levels 3-4. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: Plate XLVI.4; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.3.4).
2. Winged animal motif (the fragments a cup with a representation of feeding aquatic birds). Levels 3-4. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: Plate XLVI.5; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.3.5; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.22.2).
3. Winged animal motif (the fragments a cup with a representation of feeding aquatic birds). Levels 3-4. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: Plate XLVI.6; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.3.6).
4. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds). Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.7; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.1; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.1; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.1).
5. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds). Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.1; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.2; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.2; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.2).
6. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds). Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.2; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.3; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.3; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.3).
7. Winged animal motif. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.3; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.4; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.4; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.4).
8. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds, according to Erdalkıran vultures). Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.27; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.12; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.5; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.5; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.5).
9. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds). Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.6; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.6; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.6).
10. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds). Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.8; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.7; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.7; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.7).
11. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds). Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.6; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.8; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.8; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.8).
12. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds). Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.5; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 20.10; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.30.10; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.10).
13. Winged animal motif (the depiction of a single row of birds). Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Hole, 2013: fig. 5.7.a; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 19.1; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.22.1).
14. Winged animal (?) motif. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.42.1).

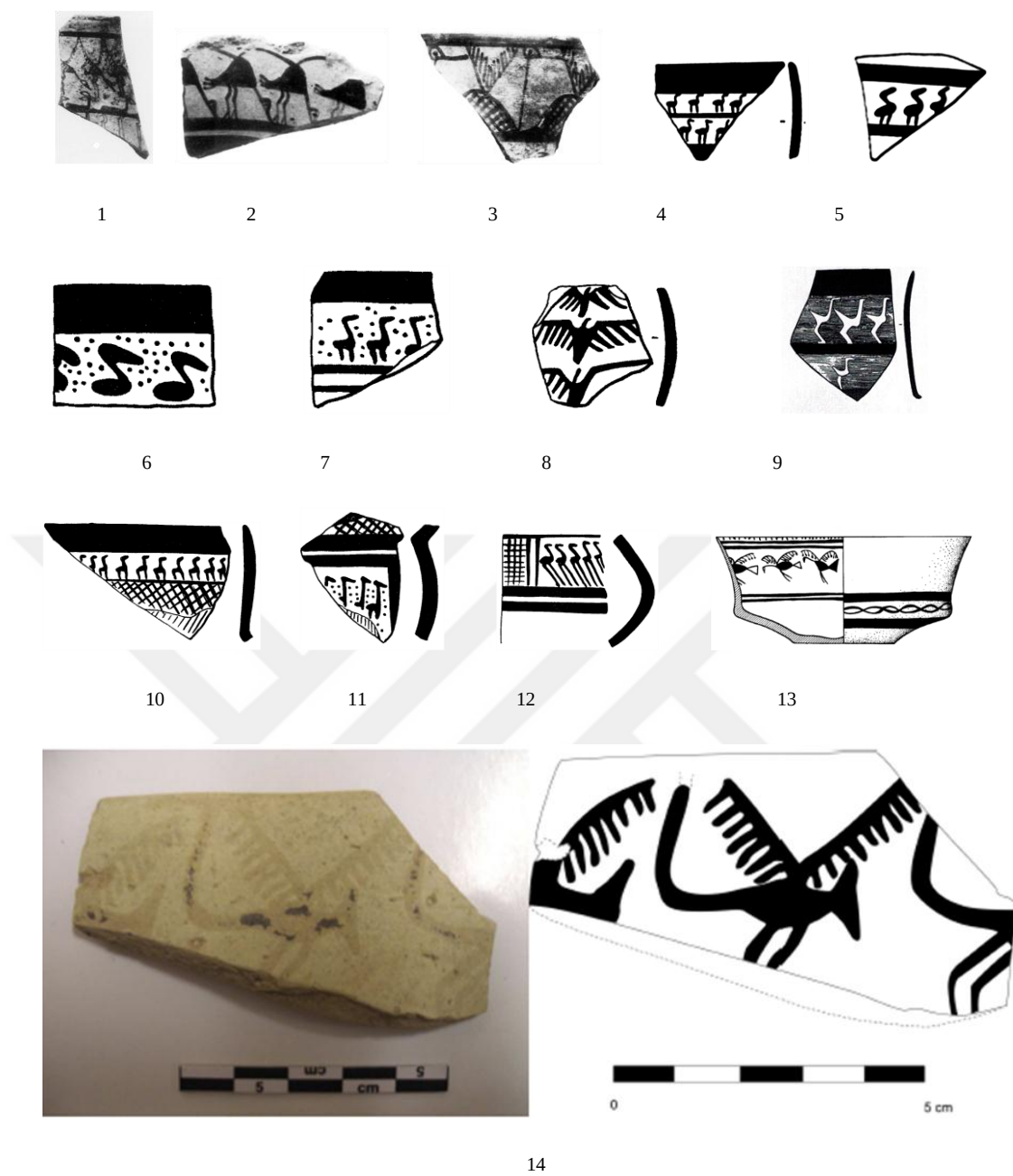


Figure 41. Winged-animal motifs from Yarım Tepe II.

Figs. 42.1-8: Deer, Equidae (onager?), fish, undefined animal, snake and cheetah motifs from Yarım Tepe II

1. Realistic portrayal of deer. Levels 3-4. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: Plate XLVI.1; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.3.1; after Robert 2010: Planche 4.18.4).
2. Equidae (onager?) motif. According to Merpert and Munchaev (1973b) donkey or fallow deer. According to Erdalkıran (2017) onager design. Levels 3-4. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.1.13; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: Plate XLVI.3; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.3.3; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.19.4).
3. Fish motif. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 7.1; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.4; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 21.1; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.31.1; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.25.5).
4. Undefined four legged animal. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 21.8; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.31.8).
5. Snake motif. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 21.3; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.31.3; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.25.1).
6. Snake motif. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 21.4; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.31.4; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.25.1).
7. Snake motif. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1987: fig. 21.5; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.31.5; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.25.1).
8. Cheetah motif (A sherd with a realistic representation, in dark brown paint on a light ground, of a rampant cheetah). Exterior motif. Level 3. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.10; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.3; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1973: Plate XLVII; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993b: fig. 8.4; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.20.1).

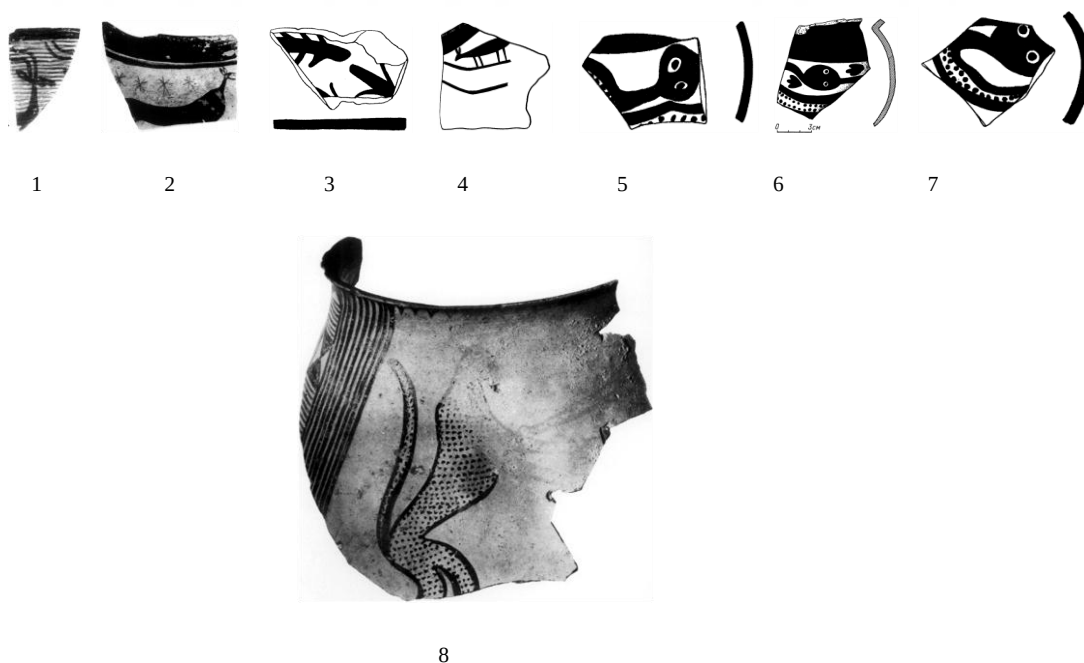


Figure 42. Animal motifs from Yarım Tepe II.

Figs. 43.1-11: Naturalistic bucranium, vertical bucranium, horizontal mouflon, winged animal, winged animal with structure, cheetah, deer, Equidae (onager?) and owl motifs from Yarım Tepe III

1. Naturalistic vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.12).
2. Stylized vertical bucranium. According to Merpert and Munchaev (1993c) tree of life design on interior bowl. Level 3. Late Halaf (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.33.1; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.9).
3. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.12).
4. Bird motif. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.12).
5. Long-legged birds on goblet (according to Erdalkıran, 2009, flamingo). Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.25; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.11; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.33.2; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.23.3).
6. Bird motif with structure. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.12).
7. Cheetah motif. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.12).
8. Cheetah motif. Period (?) (after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.12).
9. Deer motif. Exterior motif (from burial of Yarım Tepe III). Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 4.11; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.1.8; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.36.1; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.19.1).
10. Equidae (onager?). According to Merpert and Munchaev (1973, 1993) donkey or fallow deer. According to Erdalkıran (2017) onager design. Levels 3-4. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.1.14; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.36.2; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.19.3).
11. Owl motif (the painted designs include two realistic depictions of owls placed symmetrically on the opposite side of the body). Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.20; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.8; after Merpert & Munchaev, 1993c: fig. 9.37; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.23.5).

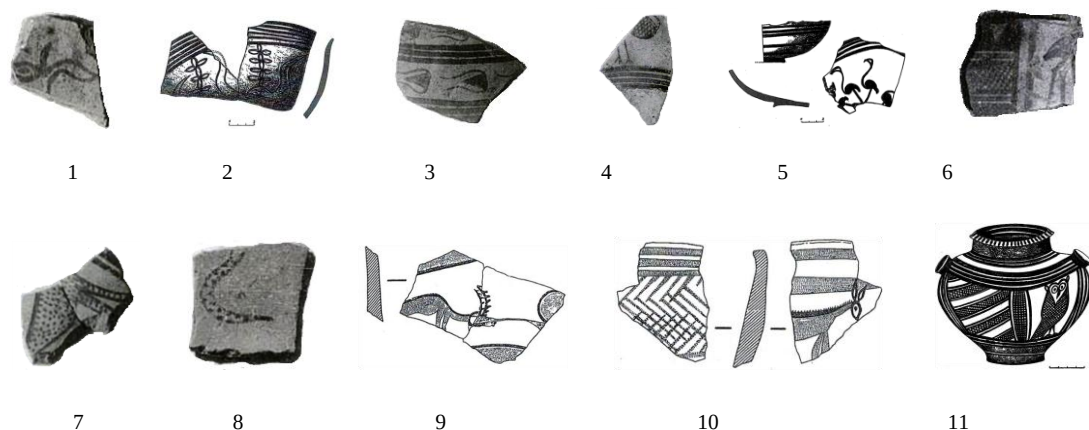


Figure 43. Animal motifs from Yarım Tepe III.

Figs. 44.1-5: Birds, goat and scorpion motifs from Tell Hassan

1. Bird motif. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.5).
2. Bird motif. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.6).
3. Bird motif. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.7).
4. Mountain goat. Late Halaf (after Eldalkiran, 2017: fig. 13.1.512; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.18.3).
5. Scorpion motif. Exterior motif. Late Halaf or Halaf-Ubaid Transition (?) (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 7.11; after Eldalkiran, 2017: fig. 13.2.6).



Figure 44. Animal motifs from Tell Hassan.

Figs. 45.1-11: Plant (tree and flower), vertical bucrania, bird, deer, stylized 'Dancing Ladies' and human representation from Şırnak Survey

1. Tree motif. Exterior motif. Proto-Halaf Fine Ware (after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.4.13).
2. Tree motif. Early Halaf (after Erdalkıran, 2008: fig. 3.29; after Kozbe, 2008a: çizim 3; after Kozbe, 2008b: fig. 5; after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.5.22).
3. Tree motif. Early Halaf (after Erdalkıran, 2008: fig. 3.31; after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.5.8).
4. Stylized vertical bucrania. Early Halaf (after Erdalkıran, 2008: fig. 3.5; after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.5.6).
- 5 Stylized vertical bucrania. Early Halaf (after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.5.11).
6. Bird motif. Early Halaf (after Erdalkıran, 2008: fig. 3.27; after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.5.12).
7. Deer motif. Early Halaf (after Erdalkıran, 2008: fig. 3.28; after Kozbe, 2008a: çizim 3; after Kozbe, 2008b: fig. 5; after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.5.9).
8. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' with tree motif. Proto-Halaf (after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.4.12).
9. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' with flower motif. Early Halaf (after Erdalkıran, 2008: fig. 4.28; after Kozbe, 2013: fig. 43.5.10).
10. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' from Near Nervan. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Algaze et al., 2012. fig. 16.1).
11. Human representation from Near Nervan. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Algaze et al., 2012. fig. 16.8).

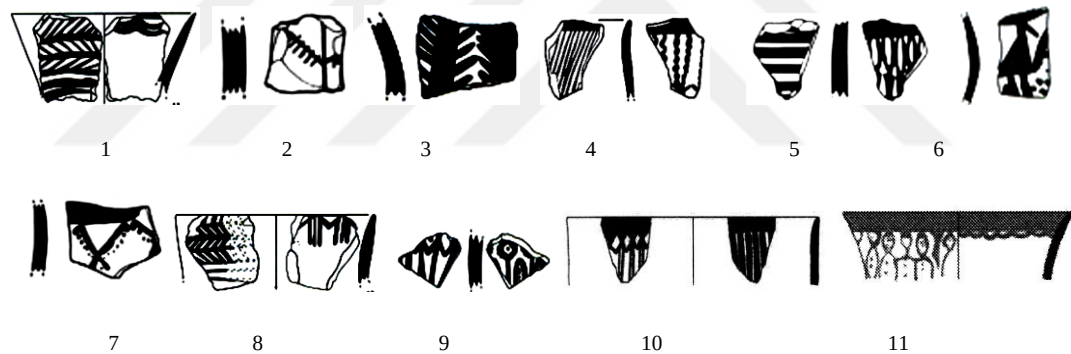
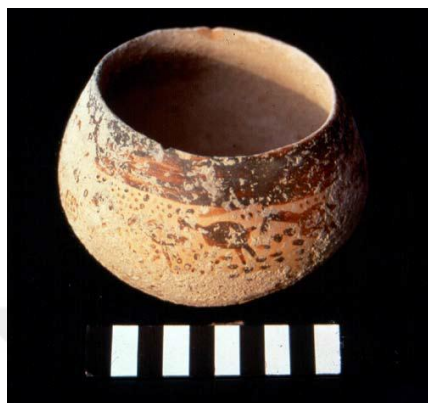


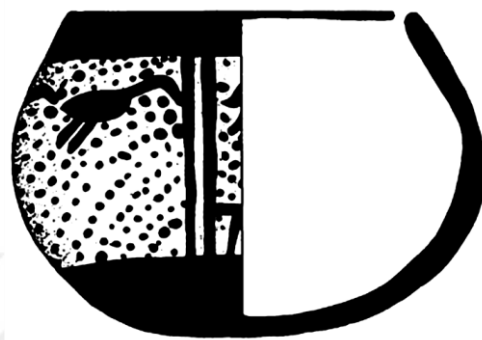
Figure 45. Figural motifs from Şırnak Survey.

Figs. 46.1a-b: Winged-animal motif from Boztepe

1a-b. A row of ostriches. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf. Fig. 1a (after Parker et al., 1999: fig. 4; after Parker et al., 2001: fig. 12); 1b (after Eldalkıran, 2010: Şekil 66.4; after Parker et al., 2002: fig. 8.D).



1a



1b

Figure 46. Figural motif from Boztepe.

Figs. 47.1-15: Various figural motifs from Karavelyan

- 1-5. Flower motif. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2011a: resim 6).
6. Flower motif. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2012; after Tekin, 2013).
7. Stylized vertical mouflons. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2012).
8. Birds motif. Interior motif. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2011a: resim 7).
9. Birds motif. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2012; after Tekin, 2017a: fig. 9.7).
10. Birds motif. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2012; after Tekin, 2013; after Tekin, 2017a: fig. 9.7).
11. Fish motif. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2012).
12. Fox motif. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2012; after Tekin, 2013).
13. Human representations with structure and animal. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2011b: resim 2-4; after Tekin, 2012; after Tekin, 2013).
14. Human representation with structure. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2012).
15. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Interior motif. Early Halaf (after Tekin, 2012).



Figure 47. Various figural motifs from Early Halaf period from Karavelyan.



Figure 48. Stylized vertical bucrania on bowl from Girikihacian. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2010: Şekil 53.8; after Watson & Leblanc, 1990: Figure 4.9.8).

Figs. 49.1-6: Tree, fish and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motifs from Türbe Höyük

1-3. Tree motifs. Period (?) (after Sağlamtimur, 2012: Resim 6).

4. Fish motif. Period (?) (after Sağlamtimur, 2012: fig. 5).

5a-b. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motif. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Eldalkıran, 2010: Şekil 75; after Sağlamtimur & Ozan, 2007: fig. 2; after Sağlamtimur, 2012: fig. 5).

6. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motif. Interior motif. Period (?) (after Sağlamtimur, 2012: fig. 5).

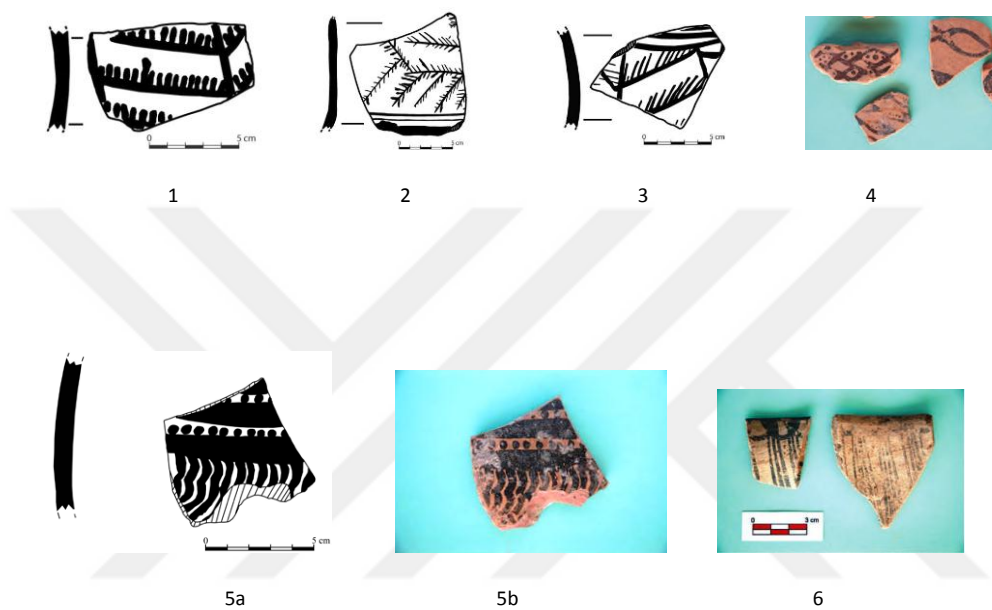


Figure 49. Figural motifs from Türbe Höyük.

Figs. 50.1-25: Flower, vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon motifs from Chagar Bazar

1. Flower motif. Level 13. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936, fig. 27.14).
2. Flower motif. Early or Middle Halaf period (?) (after Cruells, 2017: fig. 2.7.C and color Pl. 3.C).
3. Flower motif. Period (?) (after Cruells, 2017: fig. 2.7.D and color Pl. 3.D).
4. Flower motif. Level 6-7. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.16).
5. Flower motif on polychrome bowl. Exterior motif. Level 8. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: plate II.8).
6. Tree motif. Level 6. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.15).
7. Tree motif. Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Cruells, 2017: fig. 2.7.A and color Pl. 3.E).
8. Stylized vertical bucranium. Level 15. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.1).
9. Stylized vertical bucranium. Level 13. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.2).
10. Stylized vertical bucranium with tree motif. Level 13. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.3).
11. Stylized vertical bucranium. Level 13. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.4).
12. Stylized vertical bucrania. Level 13. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.6).
13. Stylized vertical bucrania. Level 15. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.9).
14. Stylized vertical bucranium. Level 12-13. From Early Halaf to Middle Halaf (Period?) (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.7).
15. Stylized vertical bucrania. Level 12-13. From Early Halaf to Middle Halaf (Period?) (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.8).
16. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Exterior motif. Probably Level 12. Middle Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 25.5).
17. Stylized vertical mouflons. Level 7. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.11).
18. Stylized vertical mouflons. Level 13. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.10).
19. Stylized vertical mouflons. Level 7. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.12).
20. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Level 12. Middle Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.17).
21. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Level 7. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.13).
22. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Level 8-9. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.14).
23. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Level 8-9. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.15).
24. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.16).
25. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Level 7-8. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 26.18).

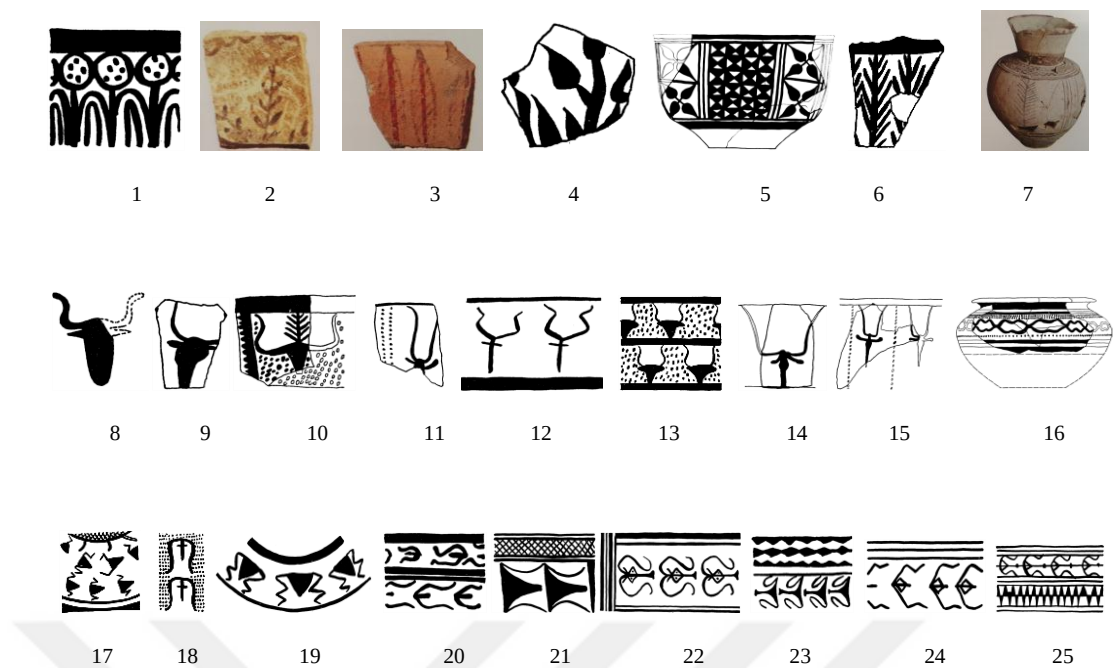


Figure 50. Flower, bucranium and mouflon motifs from Chagar Bazar.

Figs. 51.1-14: Winged animal, goat, ibex, leopard and undefined animal motifs from Chagar Bazar²⁵

1. Winged animal. Exterior motif. Proto-Halaf (after Cruells, 2006: plate 3.9.CB 2689; after Cruells, 2009: fig. 10).
2. Winged animal. Exterior motif. Level 15. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.12).
3. Winged animal. Level 15. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.6).
4. Winged animal. Level 15. Early Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.11).
5. Winged animal. Post-level 12. Middle Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.8).
6. Winged animal (spread eagle). Level 12-13. From Early Halaf to Middle Halaf. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.4).
7. Goat motif. Level 12-13. From Early Halaf to Middle Halaf. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.3).
8. Goat motif. Level 7. Late Halaf (after Goff, 1963: fig. 86; after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.10).
9. Goat (Ibex). Period (?) (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 5.1; after Eldalkiran, 2017: fig. 13.1.11).
10. Leopard. Level 13. Early Halaf (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 6.8; after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.1).
11. Leopard. Level 14. Early Halaf (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 6.9; after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.2).
12. Undefined quadruped (according to Goff it is a Cervidae). Level 14. Early Halaf (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 4.5; after Goff, 1963: fig. 87; after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.13).
13. Undefined quadrupeds. Level 12. Middle Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936, fig. 27.7).
14. Undefined quadruped with a cleft tail, a selougi (?). Level 7-8. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.9).

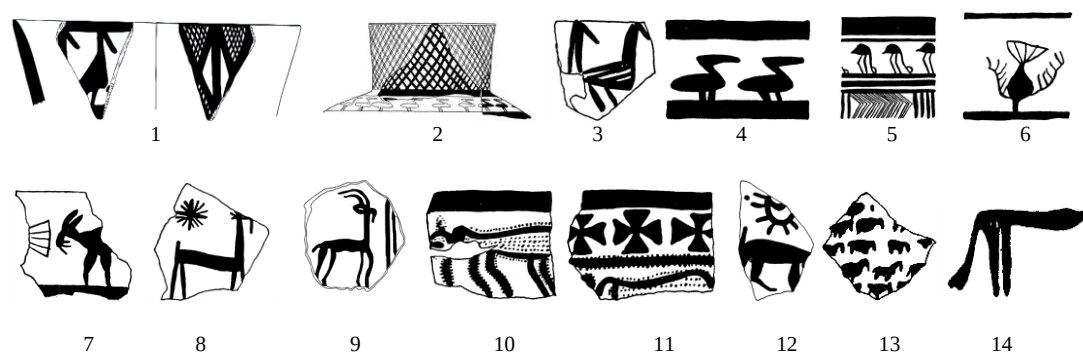


Figure 51. Animal motifs from Chagar Bazar.

²⁵ Figs. 51.2-4 recovered from Level 15. According to Mallowan (Mallowan, 1936: 50), these figures belong to Samarra period. However, if we look at Davidson (Davidson, 1977: 93), Chagar Bazar level 15 belongs to Pre-TT10 (early Halaf period). Therefore, if they belong to level 15, the figures belong to Early Halaf period. According to Mallowan (1936), the Fig. 51.5 belongs to Samarra period. However, if we look at Davidson, Chagar Bazar level 12 belongs to Middle Halaf period (Davidson, 1977: 93). Therefore, if it belongs to level 12, the figure belongs Middle Halaf period (after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.8).

Figs. 52.1-6: Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' and human representation from Chagar Bazar

1. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Level 13-14. Early Halaf (after Goff, 1963: fig. 101; after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.23).
2. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' are three legs. Level 7. Late Halaf (after Goff, 1963: fig. 101; after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.24).
3. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Exterior motif. Proto-Halaf (Primitive phases) (after Cruells, 2009: fig. 9.13; after Cruells, 2017: fig. 2.6. 5; after Eldalkıran, 2010: Şekil 9.5; after Nieuwenhuys & Cruells, 2004: fig. 7.5).
4. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Exterior motif. Proto-Halaf painted fine pottery (after Cruells, 2006: plate 3.10.CB 2688; after Cruells, 2009: fig. 10).
5. Human representation. Level 14. Early Halaf (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.3.h; after Goff, 1963: fig. 101; after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.21).
6. Row of walking human representation. Level 15. Early Halaf (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.3.i; after Goff, 1963: fig. 101; after Mallowan, 1936: fig. 27.22).



Figure 52. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' and human representation from Chagar Bazar.

Figs. 53.1-3: Flower and undefined animal (probably deer) motifs from Tell Aqab.

1. Flower motif on bowl imported from Chagar Bazar. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Davidson, 1977: illustration I11.29; after Davidson, 1981: 7.1; after Davidson & Watkins, 1981: fig. 3.1).
2. Flower motif on bowl. Interior motif. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (after Davidson, 1977: illustration I11.26; after Davidson & Watkins, 1981: fig. 3.4).
3. Undefined animal motif (probably deer). Interior motif. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (after Davidson & Watkins, 1981: fig. 3.3).

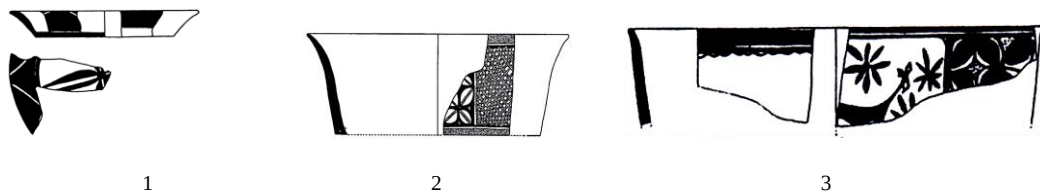


Figure 53. Figural motifs from Tell Aqab.

Figs. 54.1-13: Flower, vertical bucrania, horizontal mouflon, winged animal, gazelle, and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motifs from Tell Brak

1. Flower motif. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.6).
2. Polychrome red and black Halafian petal motif. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.5).
3. Polychrome red and black Halafian petal motif. Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.13).
4. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.21).
5. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.22).
6. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.23).
7. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.24).
8. Zone of birds between bands. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.15).
9. Bird motif. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional period (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.17).
10. Birds motif. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional period (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.17).
11. Gazelle motif on bowl fragment. According Mallowan (1947) it is a Cervoid, according to Erdalkiran (2009, 2017) it is a gazelle motif. Period (?) (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 4.15; after Eldalkiran, 2017: fig. 13.1.9; after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.14).
12. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.1).
13. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1947: Plate LXXX.2).

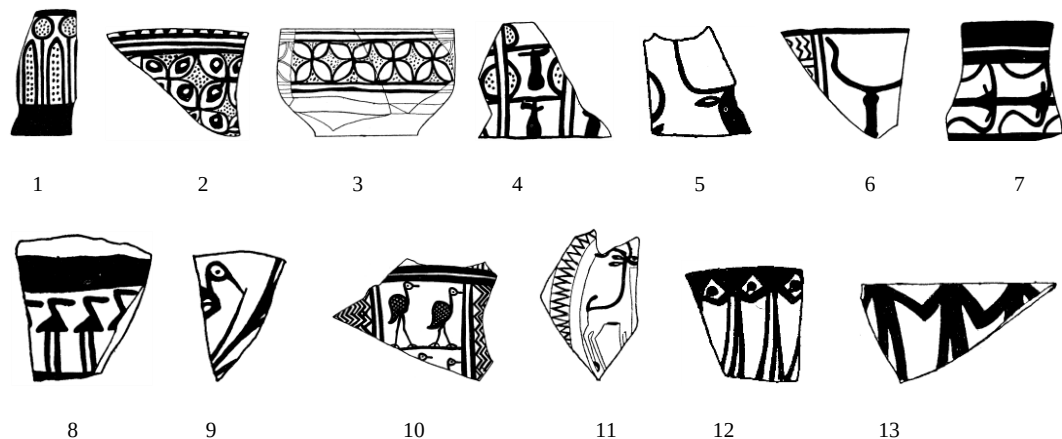


Figure 54. Figural motifs from Tell Brak.

Figs. 55.1-14: Flower and tree motifs from group Ba and Bb pottery from Tell Halaf

1. Flower (four leafs pattern) motif. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXXV.2).
2. Flower motif on plate. Interior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Becker, 2013: fig. 41.3.1; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XXII.1).
3. Flower (four leafs pattern) motif. Interior motif. Group Bb pottery. Period (?) (after Becker, 2013: fig. 41.3.6; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XXVIII.3).
4. Flower motif on plate. Interior motif. Group Bb pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XXIX.8).
5. Flower (four leafs pattern) motif on bowl. Exterior motif. Group Bb pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XCIII.6).
6. Flower motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXI.5).
7. Flower motif. Group Bb pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XCIX.8).
8. Flower (four leafs pattern) motif. Group Bb pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XCVIII.6).
9. Tree motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXI.1).
10. Tree motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXI.2).
11. Tree motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXI.3).
12. Tree motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXI.6).
13. Tree motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXXIV.3).
14. Tree motif. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXXVII.3).



Figure 55. Plant (flower and tree) motifs from Tell Halaf.

Figs. 56.1-24: Naturalistic bull and mouflon, vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon motifs from Tell Halaf

1. Naturalistic bull and schematic vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 2.57; after Schmidt, 1943).
2. Naturalistic bull. According to Erdalkiran (2009, 2017) deer motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 4.1; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel V.2).
3. Naturalistic bull. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 4.3; after Eldalkiran, 2017: fig. 13.1.7; after Goff, 1963: fig. 83.2; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVI.2).
4. Naturalistic bull. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Goff, 1963: fig. 83.8; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVI.8).
5. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943).
6. Stylized vertical bucrania. Interior motif. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Textabb.5).
7. Stylized vertical bucrania. According to Schmidt (1943) bull, according to Erdalkiran (2009) deer. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Becker 2013: fig. 41.2.29; after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 3.13; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel V.3).
8. Stylized vertical bucrania. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel VI.2).
9. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXII.1).
10. Stylized vertical bucrania. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel VII.10).
11. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXII.3).
12. Stylized vertical bucranium. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel VII.11).
13. Stylized vertical bucranium. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XV.1).
14. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXII.2).
15. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXII.4).
16. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXXXII.3).
17. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXXII.2).
18. Stylized vertical mouflon. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.16.5.5; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LIX.5).
19. Stylized vertical mouflons. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.16.5.6; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LIX.6).
20. Stylized vertical mouflon. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.16.5.8; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LIX.8).
21. Stylized vertical mouflon. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel L.12).
22. Stylized vertical mouflon with vertical bucrania. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXXIV.5).
23. Naturalistic mouflon. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 3.22; after Eldalkiran, 2017: fig. 13.1.6; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.18.6; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVII.7).
24. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LIX.10).

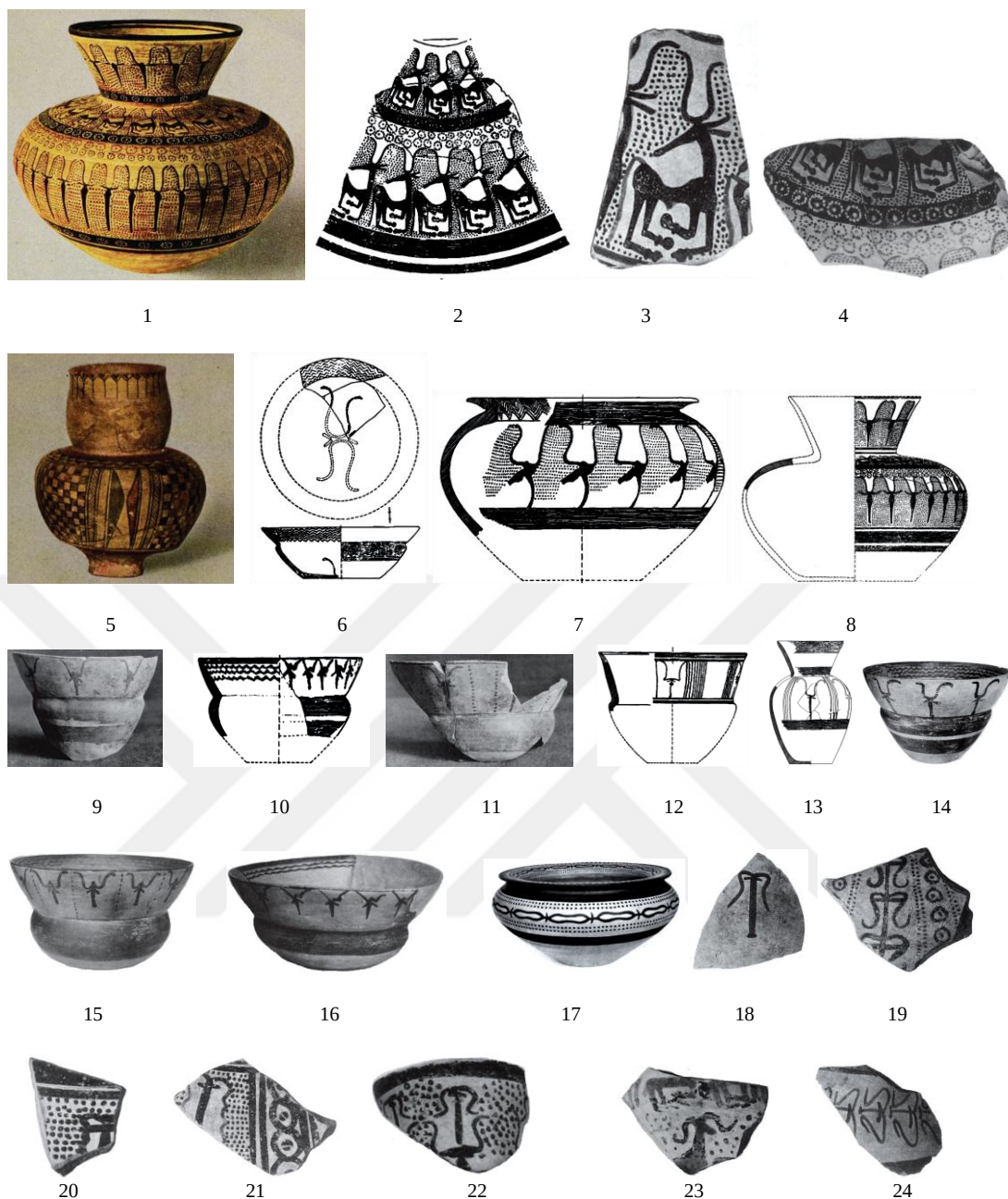


Figure 56. Bovine motifs from Tell Halaf.

Figs. 57.1-24: Winged animal, four-legged animal and snake motifs from Tell Halaf

1. Winged animal (cranes). Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVII.11).
2. Winged animal. According to Schmidt (1943) cranes, according to Erdalkıran (2017) storks. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.21; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.9; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII.7).
3. Winged animal. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII.1).
4. Winged animal. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII.4).
5. Winged animal (storks). Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII.9).
6. Winged animal (small step birds). Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII.2).
7. Winged animal (a series of ducks are about to settle on the water). Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.22.9.3; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII.11).
8. Winged animal (ostriches are singled out in a row, one behind the other). Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII. 5).
9. Winged animal . Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII. 6).
10. Winged animal (swans in a row next to one another). Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII. 8).
11. Winged animal (rows of flying birds). Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII. 3).
12. Winged animal (the long-necked birds). Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.9.1; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVIII. 10).
13. Winged animal (birds). Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Goff, 1963: fig. 80).
- 14a-b. Leopards (a row of tense leopards skin, tied with neck and tail, black dotted, in one case they are painted red. In the wide interspaces are black tree or twig patterns, long drawn out, with red lines as leaves). Exterior motif. Group Bb pottery. Period (?). Fig. 14a (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.11; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.2; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XXVIII.1); fig. 14b (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XCV.3).
- 15a-b. Equidae probably horses. Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf. Fig. 15a (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel VI.1); fig. 15b (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.1; after Goff, 1963: fig. 83.1; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.19.2; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVI.1).
16. Equidae probably horses. Interior motif. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.2; after Goff, 1963: fig. 83.3; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.19.2; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVI.3).
17. Equidae probably horses. Interior motif. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.3; after Goff, 1963: fig. 83.4; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.19.2; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVI.4).
18. Equidae probably horses (two similarly stylized horses). Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.4; after Goff, 1963: fig. 83.5; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.19.2; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVI.5).
19. Deer motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.1; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVII.2).
20. Snake motif. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 7.6; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.2.5; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.25.2; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVII.10).
21. Goat (Capricorn). Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 6.6; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVII.1).
22. Goat (Capricorn). Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 5.9; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVII.5).
23. A standing goat with a returned head, characterized by the "beard". Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Goff, 1963: fig. 78; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVII.4).
24. Goat motif (according to Schmidt it is a goat's head with helically turned horns). Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LIX.9).

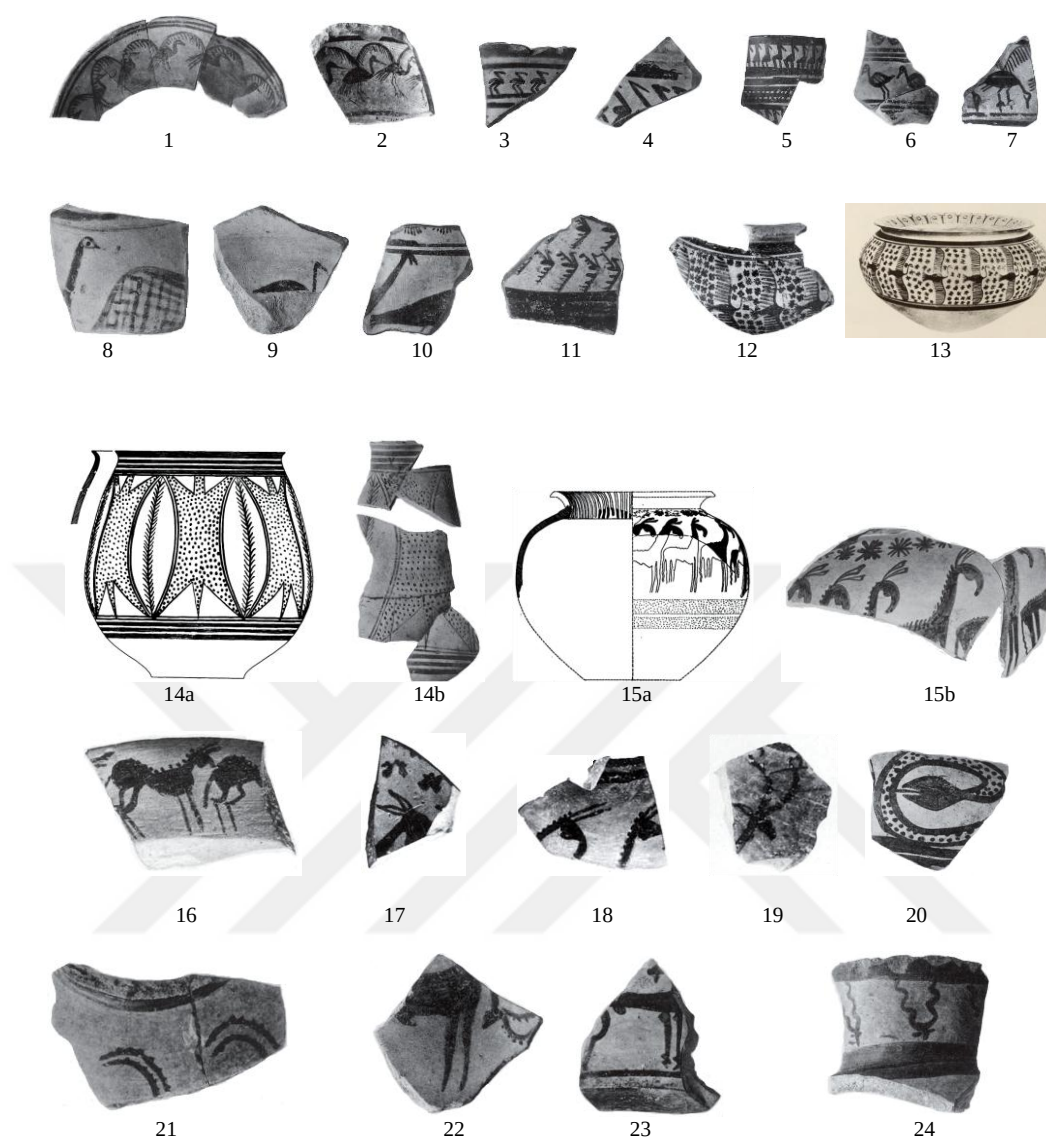


Figure 57. Various animal motifs from Tell Halaf.

Figs. 58.1-12: Stylized 'Dancing Ladies', human representation, eye motif, and narrative scene from Tell Halaf

1. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Interior motif. Proto-Halaf (Halaf Ia) (after Becker 2013: fig. 41.2.10; after Schmidt, 1943: Textabb.55).
2. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Group Bb pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XCI.1).
3. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Interior motif. Group Ba pottery. According to Bercker (2013) Early Halaf (after Becker 2013: fig. 41.2.18; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LXIX.5).
4. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (?) (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.9.a).
5. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (?) (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.9.b).
6. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (?) (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.9.c).
7. Human representation with animal. Group Ba pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LVII.8).
8. Dancing human representation. Group Bb pottery. Period (?) (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XCIX.1).
9. Human representation. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Goff, 1963: fig. 97.1; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.36.6; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LX.1).
10. Dancing a row of human representation. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.3.a; after Goff, 1963: fig. 97.2; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.30.3; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LX.2;).
- 11a-b. Eye motif (under horizontal stripes and rows of arcs in black and red on a whitish surface, one sees a large eye with a center, above it a large arch in red, to the right a second, and above it black arches with loose vertical lines). Group Ba pottery. Period (?). Fig. 11a (after Schmidt, 1943: Textabb.95); fig. 11b (after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel XCVI.2).
- 12a-d. Narrative scene (human representation with structures and animals). Exterior motif. Group Ba pottery. Late Halaf. Fig. 12a (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.12; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.39.2; after Schmidt, 1943: Textabb.6); fig. 12b (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.39.1; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LX.3; Tafel LXIX.2); fig. 12c (after Campbell, 2010: fig. 18.7.a; after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.12); fig. 12d (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.39.1; after Schmidt, 1943: Tafel LX.4).



Figure 58. Human representation and narrative scene from Tell Halaf.

Figs. 59.1-5: Flower, vertical and horizontal bucranai, and vertical mouflon motifs from Umm Qseir

1. Flower motif. Period (?) (after Hole, 2017: fig. 17.3.4).
2. Stylized vertical bucranai. Middle Halaf (after Hole, 2001: fig. 4.K-138.6).
3. Stylized horizontal bucranium. Middle Halaf (after Hole, 2001: fig. 4.K-138.1).
4. Stylized vertical mouflons. Middle Halaf (after Hole, 2001: fig. 4.K-138.2).
5. Stylized vertical mouflons with flower motif. Period (?) (after Hole, 2017: fig. 17.3.12).

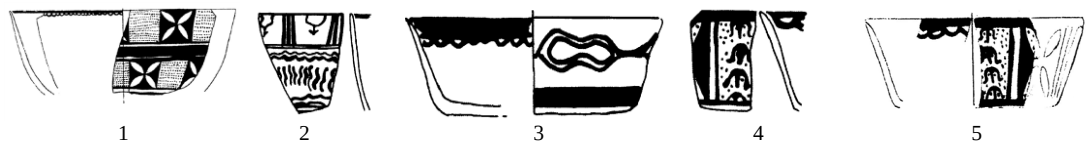


Figure 59. Figural motifs from Umm Qseir.

Figs. 60.1-11: Tree and flower motifs from Kerküşti

- 1a-b. Tree motif on jar. Exterior motif. Early Halaf. Fig. 1a (after Sarialtun, 2008: resim 19.E); 1b (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 118.B.7; Levha 65.E).
2. Tree motif. Early Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 118.B.1; Levha 15.1C.C; resim 16.A; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17).
3. Tree motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 118.B.3; Levha 65.A; resim 16.A; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17).
4. Tree motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 118.B.5; Levha 65.B; resim 16.A; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17).
5. Tree motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 118.B.6; Levha 49.4B.F; resim 16.A).
6. Tree motif. Interior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Levha 27.1H.A).
7. Tree motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 120.A.8; Levha 67.B; resim 17.B).
8. Tree motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 118.B.4; Levha 37.2C.C; resim 16.A; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17).
9. Tree motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 120.A.2; Levha 67.C; resim 17.B).
10. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 118.C.1; Levha 12.1B.B; resim 16.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17).
11. Flower motif. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 118.B.2; Levha 14.1B.E; resim 16.A; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17).

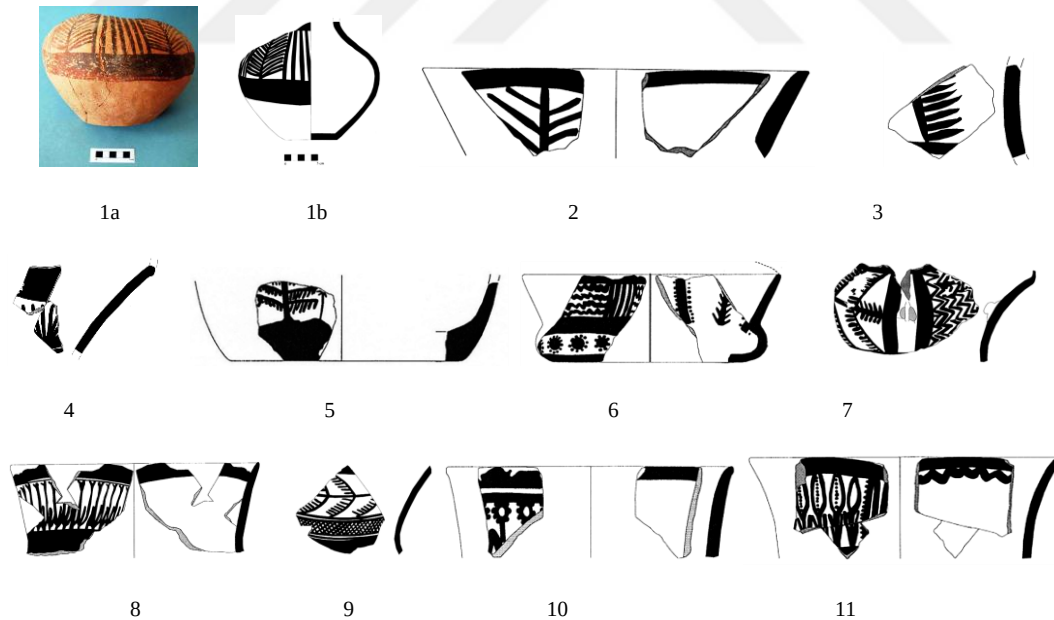


Figure 60. Plant motifs from Kerküşti.

Figs. 61.1-17: Vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon, and naturalistic bull motifs from Kerküşti

1. Stylized vertical bucranium motif. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.2; Levha 6.1A.B; resim 15.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: Fig. 14.4).
2. Stylized vertical bucrania motif. Exterior and Interior motif. Early Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.6; Tablo 123.61; Levha 4.1A.D; resim 15.B; resim 17.E; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4).
3. Stylized vertical bucrania motif. Early Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.9; Levha 62.C; resim 15.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.3; Levha 23.1G.E; resim 15.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4).
5. Stylized vertical bucranium. Interior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 123.59; Levha 50.4C.A; resim 17.E).
6. Stylized vertical bucranium motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.1; Levha 24.1G.B; resim 15.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig.14.A; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4).
7. Stylized vertical bucranium motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.4; Levha 24.1G.C; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4).
8. Stylized vertical bucrania motif. Exterior and Interior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.5; Tablo 123.62; Levha 9.1A.E; resim 15.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4).
9. Stylized vertical bucranium motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Levha 62.D).
10. Stylized vertical bucranium. Interior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 123.60; Levha 49.4B.D; 2008: resim 17.E).
11. Stylized vertical bucranium. Interior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 123.58; Levha 46.3C.B).
12. Stylized horizontal bucrania motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Levha 27.1H.D; resim 15.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4).
13. Stylized horizontal bucrania motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.16; Levha 62.B).
14. Stylized vertical mouflon motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.11; Levha 24.1G.A; resim 15.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4.).
- 15a-b. Stylized vertical mouflons motif on a jar as a grave good in the 56Y 200 Grave. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf. 15.a (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.7; Levha 32.2A.A; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 14; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 9.A); 15.b (after Sarialtun, 2008: resim 19.D).
16. Stylized horizontal mouflons motif. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.B.13; Levha 33.2A.B; resim 15.B; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.4).
- 17a-b. Naturalistic bull. According to Sarialtun, row of seated deer. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (none local pottery from Kerküşti): Fig. 7a (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 117.A; Levha 63; after Sarialtun, 2010: fig. 17; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 4.A; fig.14.2); fig. 7b (after Sarialtun, 2008: resim 15.E).

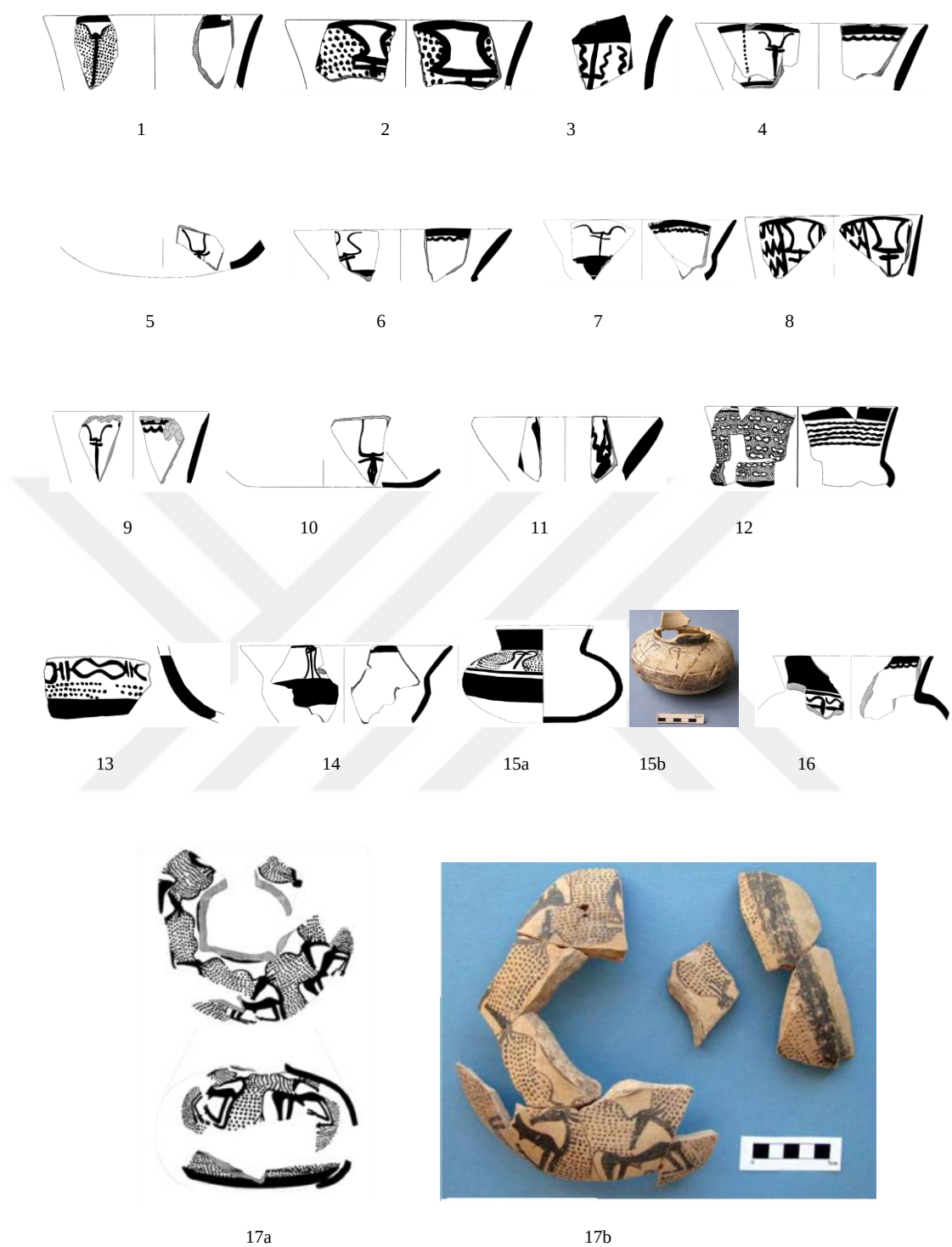


Figure 61. Bovine motifs from Kerküşti.

Figs. 62.1-10: Various animal, 'Dancing Ladies', and human representation from Early and Middle Halaf period from Kerküşti

1. Bird motif. Early Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 117.B.5; Levha 64.A; resim 15.C).
2. Bird motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 117.B.6; Levha 64.E; resim 15.C).
3. Bird motif. Exterior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 117.B.7; Levha 13.1B.C; resim 15.C).
4. Bird motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 117.B.7; Levha 64.C; resim 15.C).
5. Bird motif. Interior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 123.57; Levha 50.4C.C; resim 17.E).
- 6a-b. Scorpion motif. Exterior motif. Early Halaf. Fig. 6a (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 117.C; Levha 64.G; resim 15.D); fig. 6b (after Sarialtun, 2008: resim 15.D).
7. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116. A.1; resim 15.A; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.1).
8. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 116.A.2; Levha 62.A; resim 15.A; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: fig. 14.3).
9. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Interior motif. Middle Halaf (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 122.26; Levha 26.1G.A; resim 17.D).
10. Human representation. Period (Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Sarialtun, 2008: Tablo 123.64; resim 15.A; resim 17.E; after Sarialtun & Özdoğan, 2011: Fig. 14.1).



Figure 62. Various animal and human representation motifs from Kerküşti.

Figs. 63.1-12: Tree, vertical bucrania, vertical and horizontal mouflon, and rabbit motifs from Khirbet esh-Shenef

1. Tee motif. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.8).
2. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (Middle or Late Halaf period?) (after Akkermans & Wittmann, 1993: Abb. a-b).
3. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (Middle or Late Halaf period?) (after Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: fig. 4.22.21; after Akkermans 2013a: fig. 4.21).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium on bowl. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.30.7).
5. Stylized vertical bucrania on bowl. Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.30.9; after Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003: fig. 4.22.17; after Akkermans 2013a: fig. 4.17).
6. Stylized vertical bucrania. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.36.68).
7. Stylized vertical bucranium. Interior motif. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.36.70).
8. Stylized vertical bucranium. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.36.71).
9. Stylized vertical bucranium. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.39.113).
10. Stylized vertical mouflons. Period (Middle or Late Halaf period?) (after Akkermans & Wittmann, 1993: Abb. a-b).
11. Stylized horizontal mouflons. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.42.137; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.16.3).
12. Stylized rabbit (?) motif on bowl. According to Akkermans, it is like a goat figure (Akkermans, 1993: 94), but it reminiscent to a rabbit. Interior motif. Late Halaf. (after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.32.36; after Eldalkıran, 2010: Şekil 30.6).

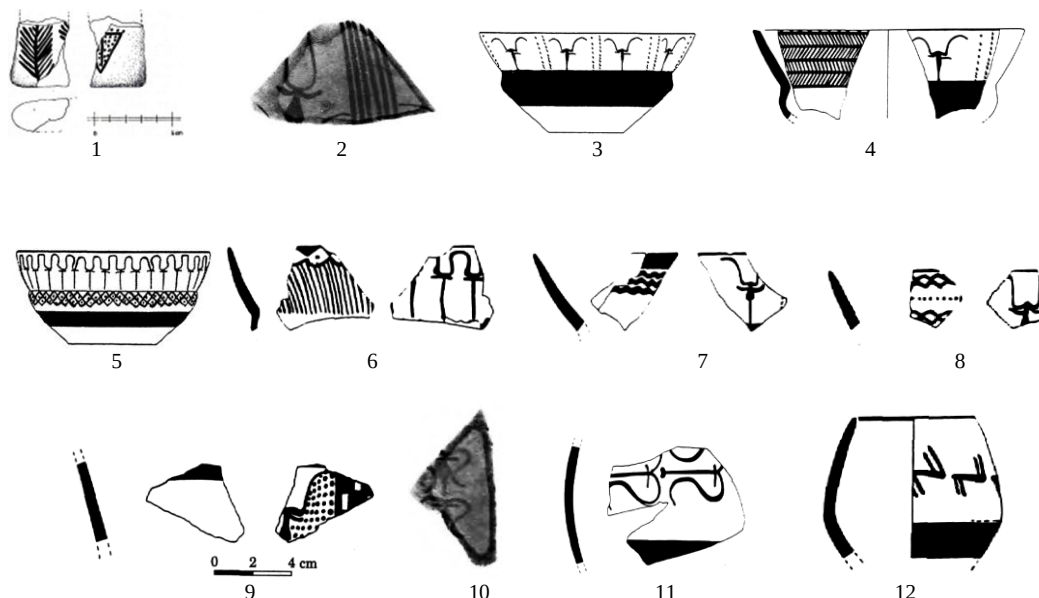


Figure 63. Figural motifs from Khirbet esh-Shenef.

Figs. 64.1-6: Tree, vertical bucranai, vertical mouflon, bird and naturalistic bull motifs from Tell Damishliyya

1. Tree motif. Period III. Fine Ware. Period (Middle Halaf?) (after Akkermans, 1988: plate 18.138; after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.9.52).
2. Stylized vertical bucranai. Interior motif. Period III. Fine Ware. Period (Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Akkermans, 1988: plate 15.114; after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.6.28).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium. Exterior motif. Period III. Fine Ware. Period (Middle Halaf?) (after Akkermans, 1988: plate 17.128; after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.8.43).
4. Stylized vertical mouflons. Period III. Fine Ware. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1988: plate 18.137; after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.9.51; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.16.2).
5. Birds motif. Period III. Fine Ware. Interior motif. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1988: plate 17.130; after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.8.44; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.21.4).
6. Naturalistic bull motif. Period III. Fine Ware. Late Halaf (after Akkermans, 1988: plate 18.146; after Akkermans, 1993: fig. 3.9.60; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.17.1).

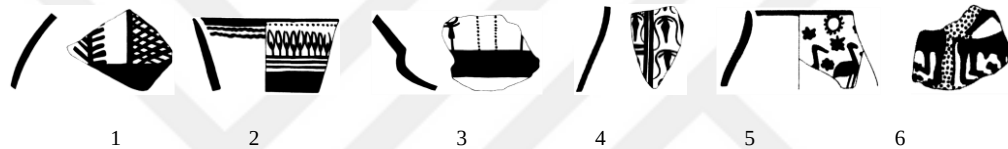


Figure 64. Figural motifs from Tell Damishliyya.

Figs. 65.1-4: Horizontal bucrania and birds motifs from Tell Mefesh

1. Stylized horizontal bucrania (consists of a stipple and a row of horns drawn in pairs back to back). Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1946: fig. 8.7).
2. Birds motif. (stork or crane feeding with head to the ground). Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1946: fig. 7.6).
3. Bird motif (motif consists a long-necked bird with cross-hatched body). Interior motif. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1946: fig. 8.1).
4. Bird motif (long-necked bird on the inside of the bowl). Interior motif. Period (?) (after Mallowan, 1946: fig. 8.2).

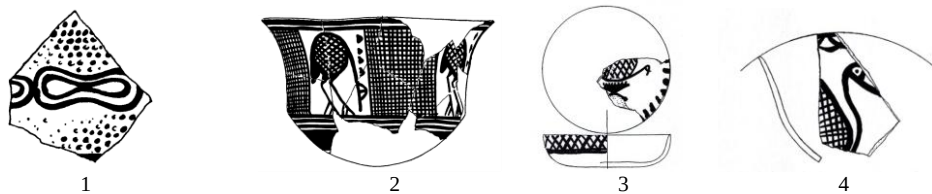


Figure 65. Figural motifs from Tell Mefesh.

Figs. 66.1-10: Tree, vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical mouflon, and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motifs from Tell Mounbateh

1. Tree motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 6.2).
2. Stylized vertical bucranium motif on jar. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 7.2).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 7.3).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium (long-horned bovid) motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 7.4).
5. Stylized vertical bucranium motif. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 7.5).
6. Stylized vertical bucrania motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 16.10).
7. Stylized horizontal bucrania motif on bowl. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 7.7).
8. Stylized horizontal bucrania motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: 9.3).
9. Stylized vertical mouflons on rim of carinated bowl (mouflon heads with dots). Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 7.1).
10. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Interior motif. Period (?) (after Copeland, 1979: fig. 8.5).

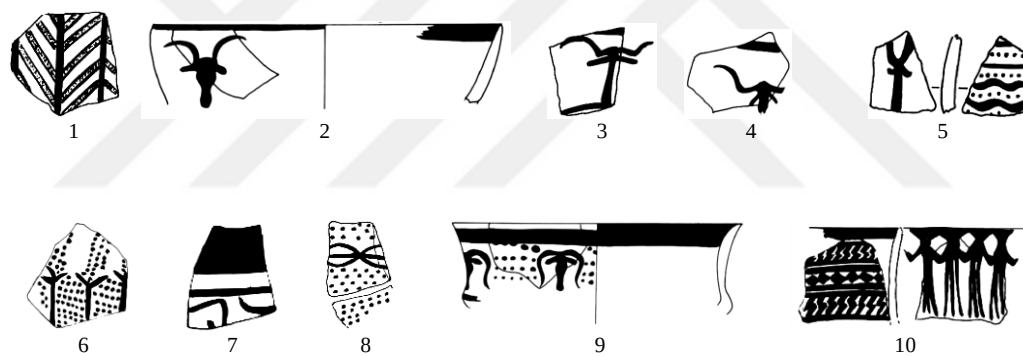


Figure 66. Figural motifs from Tell Mounbateh.

Figs. 67.1-9: Transitional/Proto and Early Halaf tree motifs from Tell Sabi Abyad

1. Tree motif. Level 5/6. Exterior motif. Transitional Halaf period (after Le Mière & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.26.4).
2. Tree motif on bowl. Level 6. Transitional Orange Fine Ware (after Le Mière & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.34.15).
3. Tree motif on bowl. Level 6. Transitional Orange Fine Ware (after Le Mière & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.34.18).
4. Tree motif. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1987: fig. 5.18; after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.22.153).
5. Tree motif on Halaf Fine Ware. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Nieuwenhuyse, 1997: fig. 5.13).
6. Tree motif. Period (?) (after Nieuwenhuyse, 1997: fig. 7.11).
7. Tree motif. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mière & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.53.1).
8. Tree motif. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.43.352).
9. Vertical branch with leaves part of a tree. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: Table II.31.249).

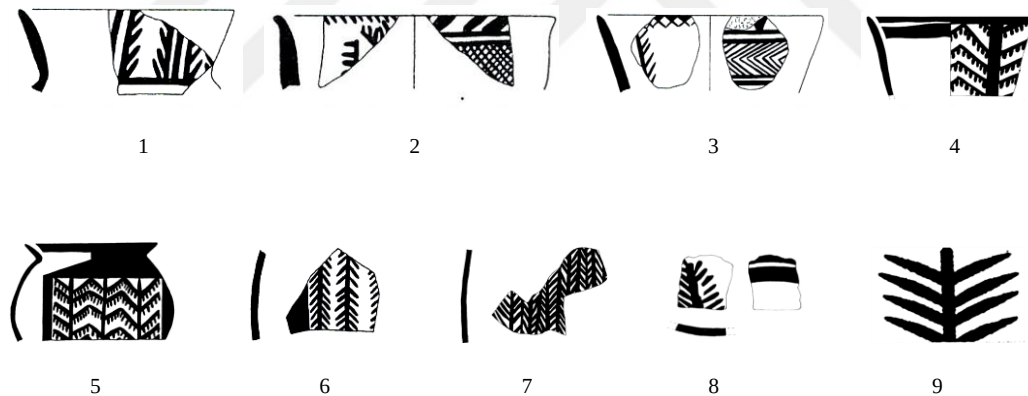


Figure 67. Plant motifs from Tell Sabi Abyad.

Figs. 68.1-8: Vertical bucrania, vertical mouflon and deer motifs from Tell Sabi Abyad

1. Stylized vertical bucrania on bowl. Interior motif. Level 6. Transitional Orange Fine Ware (after Le Mière & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.34.5).
2. Stylized vertical bucrania with stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1987: fig. 5.20; after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.32.234; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.2).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium on Fine Ware pottery. Levels 2-1. Early Halaf (after Akkermans & Le Mière, 1992: fig. 21.51; after Le Mière & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.39.1).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium. Balikh IIIC (after Nieuwenhuyse, 1997: fig. 8.14).
5. Stylized vertical bucrania. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.43.347; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.2).
6. Stylized vertical mouflon. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1987: fig. 5.19; after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.30.222).
7. Deer motif on jar. According to Erdalkıran (2009) mountain goat motif but they should be deer motif (row of male animals with twisted horns, clearly depicted ears and tongues hanging from their mouths). Exterior motif. Level 6. Transitional Standard Fine Ware. (after Akkermans & Verhoeven, 1995: fig. 10.21; after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 5.10; after Le Mière & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.32.7.a-b; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.20).
8. Deer motif (according to Erdalkıran, 2009). Balikh IIID (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 4.9; after Nieuwenhuyse, 1997: fig. 8.19).

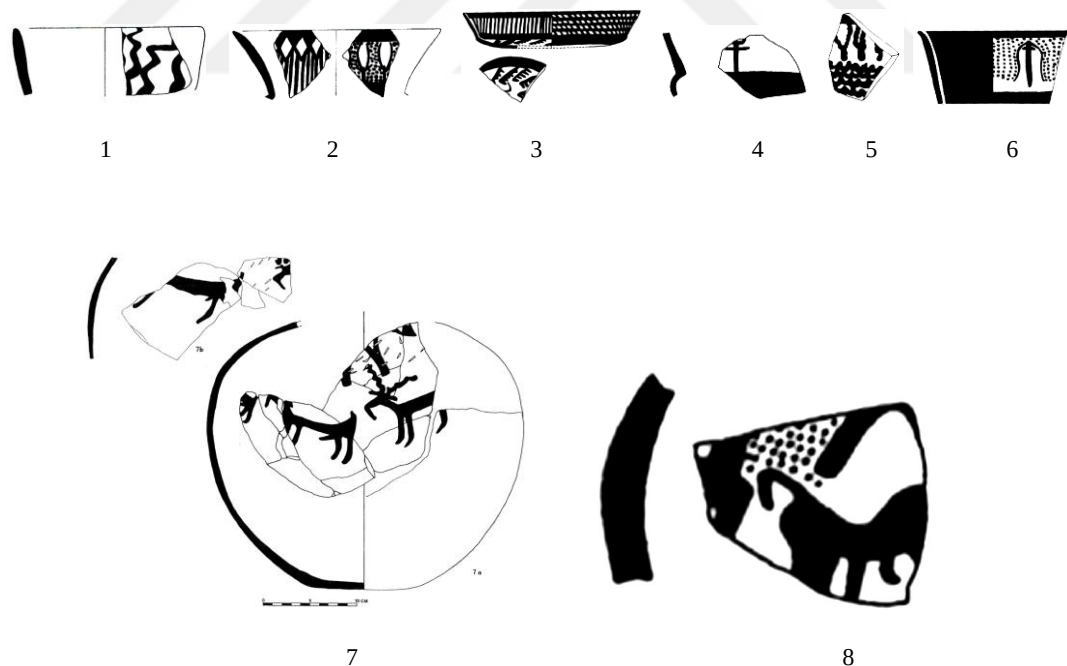


Figure 68. Bucranium, mouflon and deer motifs from Tell Sabi Abyad.

Figs. 69.1-16: Winged animals, goat (Capricorns), and undefined animal motifs from Tell Sabi Abyad

1. Bird motif. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Nieuwenhuyse, 1997: fig. 3.14).
2. Bird motif on cream bowl. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.39.6; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.10).
3. Bird motif on cream bowl. Level 1/2/3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.39.7; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.7).
4. Bird motif. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.53.9; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.6).
5. Bird motif. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.43.348; after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.53.10; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.8).
6. Bird motif. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.53.12).
7. Bird motif. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè and Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.55.25).
8. Bird motif. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.43.346).
9. Bird motif. Interior design (horizontal row of standing, long-legged birds) on Halaf Fine Ware. Level 3. Early Halaf (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: Table II 11.31.265).
10. Bird motif. Interior design (horizontal row of standing long-legged birds surrounded by irregularly distributed dots) on Halaf Fine Ware. Level 3. Early Halaf (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: Table II 11.31.914).
11. Bird motif. Interior design (singular standing, long-legged bird) on Halaf Fine Ware. Level 3. Early Halaf (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: Table II 11.35.628).
12. Bird motif. Interior design (three-legged animal representation (bird?) on Standard Fine Ware. Level 4. Transitional Halaf (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: Table II.20.975).
13. Goat (Capricorn) motif. Level 4/5. Transitional Standard Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.32.3).
14. Goat (Capricorn) motif. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: Plate 117.17).
15. Goat (A row of male capricorns) on jar. Exterior motif. Halaf Fine Ware. Early Halaf (after Nieuwenhuyse, 1997: fig. 7.15; Robert, 2010: Planche 4.18.1).
16. Undefined animal motif. Level 6. Transitional Standard Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.17.1; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.15).

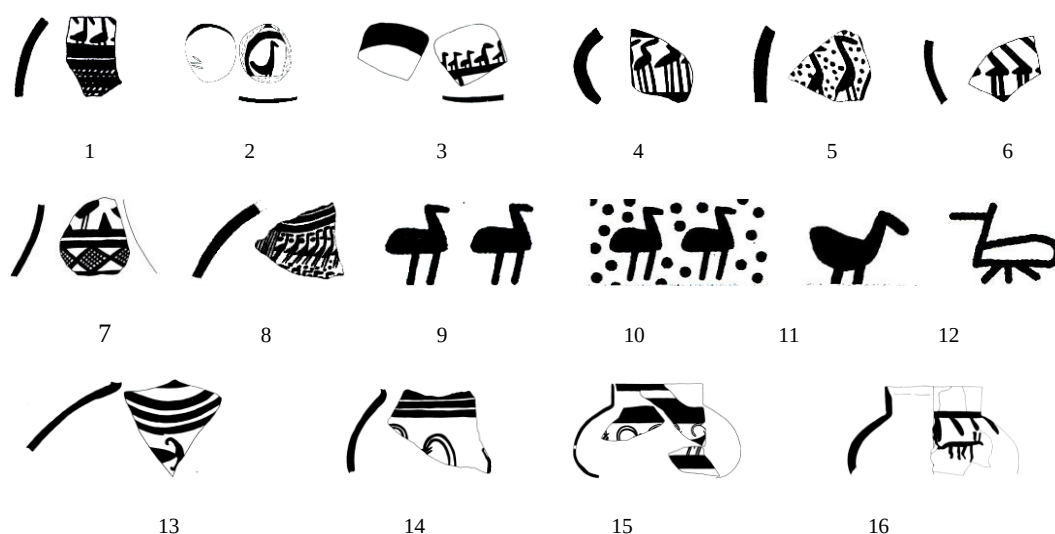


Figure 69. Animal motifs from Tell Sabi Abyad

Figs. 70.1-17: Stylized 'Dancing Ladies', human and animal representation with and/or without structure from Tell Sabi Abyad

1. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' on bowl. Level 4/5. Transitional Standard Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.21.10).
2. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' on bowl. Level 4. Transitional Standard Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.21.18).
3. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Level 4. Transitional Standard Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.28.3).
4. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' crossed zigzag with solid triangular spaces, two legs pending from center. Interior motif. Level 4. Transitional Standard Fine Ware (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: Table II.26.525).
5. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' crossed zigzag with solid triangular spaces, three legs pending from center. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: Table II.33.617).
6. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' with naturalistic design of rows of bukrania in combination with trees. Period (?) (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.26.199).
7. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Level 1. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.47.2).
- 8a-b. Human representation. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware. Fig. 8a (after Akkermans & Le Mièrè, 1992: fig. 21.40; after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.3.g; after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.53.7; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.13; Table II 11.31.943); fig. 8b (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 8.5.2).
9. Human representation. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.53.8; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.11; Table II 11.31.265).
- 10a-b. Dancing human representation. Early Halaf. Fig. 10a (after Akkermans, 1987: fig. 4.4; after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.43.349; after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.3.f; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.14); fig. 10b (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 8.5.1).
11. Structure representation with human. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.43.350; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.12).
12. Human (?) representation. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.25.185).
- 13a-b. Structure representation with birds on exterior. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' on interior. Early Halaf pottery. Fig. 13a (after Akkermans, 1987: fig. 5.21; after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.31.228; after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 8.15; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.1); fig. 13b (after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 7.11.1).
14. Structure representation with birds and tree. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.32.241; after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 8.16; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.16).
15. Structure representation with bucrania. Early Halaf (after Akkermans, 1989b: fig. IV.43.347; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.1).
16. Structure representation on cream bowl. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.39.8).
17. Structure representation with tree. Level 3. Early Halaf Fine Ware (after Le Mièrè & Nieuwenhuyse, 1996: fig. 3.53.11; after Nieuwenhuyse, 2007: fig. 2.2.4.19; Table II 11.31.957).

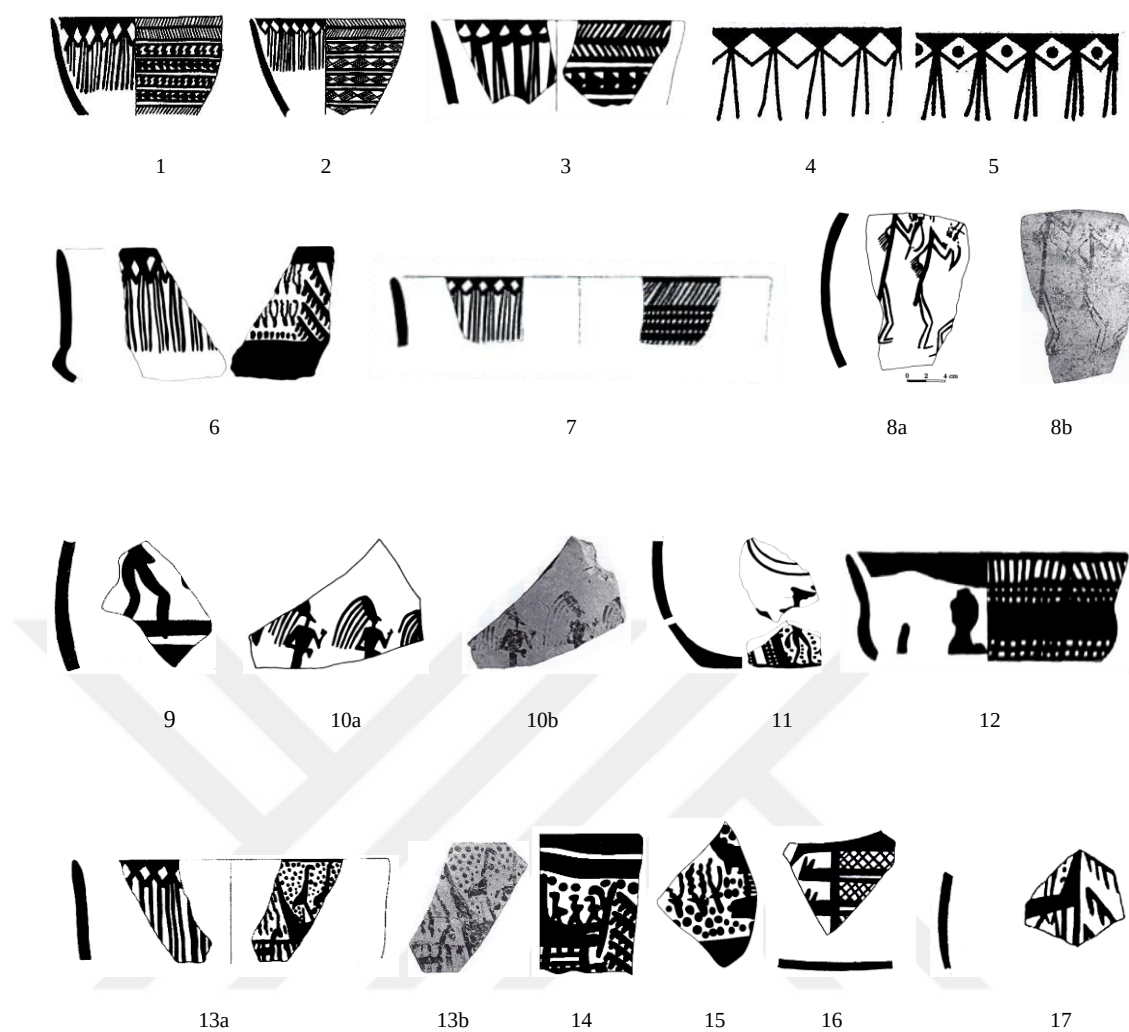


Figure 70. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies', human, structure representation from Tell Sabi Abyad.

Figs. 71.1-19: Tree, vertical bucrania, Stylized 'Dancing Ladies', naturalistic bull, gazelles and bird motifs from Tell Tawila

1. Tree motif. Exterior motif. Area B level B 3. Middle Halaf (after Becker & Helms, 2013: fig. 5.12; after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.8.10).
2. Tree motif. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.6).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium. Area B level B 2. Late Halaf (after Becker & Helms, 2013: fig. 5.8; after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.7.44).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium with stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.7.11).
5. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.7.12).
6. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.7.14).
7. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.7.39).
8. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.7.41).
9. Stylized vertical bucranium. Area B. Period (?) (<http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/digs/tawila/taw2006e.htm>).
10. Stylized vertical bucranium. Trench B. Period (?) (<http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/digs/tawila/taw2005e.htm>).
11. Naturalistic bull. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: figs. 5.9.3; 5.10.3).
12. Naturalistic bull. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: figs. 5.9.4; 5.10.4).
13. Naturalistic bull. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: figs. 5.9.5; 5.10.5).
14. Naturalistic bull. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: figs. 5.9.6; 5.10.6).
15. Naturalistic bull. Late Halaf (after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.9.9; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.17.3).
16. Naturalistic bull. Period (?) (<http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/digs/tawila/taw2006e.htm>).
- 17.a-b. Gazelle motif. Period (?)
- 17a (<http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/digs/tawila/taw2006e.htm>); fig. 17b (after Becker, 2017: fig. 5.9.7; 5.10.7).
18. Gazelle motif. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: figs. 5.9.8; 5.10.8).
19. Bird motif. Exterior motif. Period (?) (after Becker, 2017: figs. 5.9.2; 5.10.2).

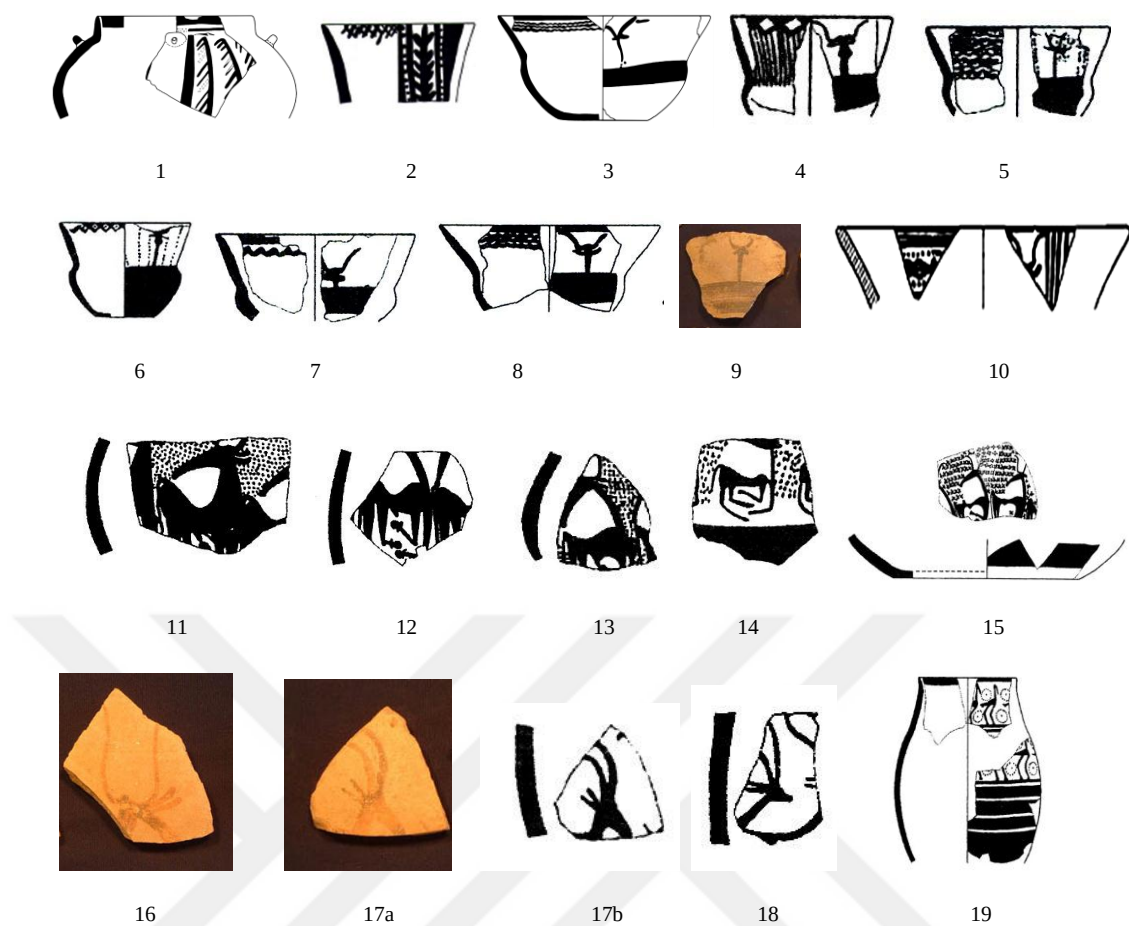


Figure 71. Figural motifs from Tell Tawila.

Figs. 72.1-15: Flower, tree, vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical mouflon, gazelle, and human representation from Tell Amarna

1. Flower motif on bowl with a chequer pattern of stippled squares alternating with squares containing quatrefoil design. Exterior motif. Period (Middle or Late Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.12.AM 10577).
2. Tree motif on monochrome fine Halaf painted ware. Period Middle Halaf (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.45.AM 10474; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.5).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (Middle or Late Halaf period?) (after Cruells, 2009: fig. 11.1.4).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium on "Cream Bowl". Middle Halaf (after Cruells, 1998: fig. 4.2; after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.21.AM 10381; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.15.1).
5. Stylized vertical bucranium on "Cream Bowl". Period (Middle or Late Halaf?) (after Cruells, 1998: fig. 4.4; after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.20.AM 10496).
6. Stylized vertical bucranium on "Cream Bowl". Period (Middle or Late Halaf ?) (after Cruells, 1998: fig. 4.5; after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.22.AM 10495).
7. Stylized vertical bucranium on "Cream Bowl". Period (Middle or Late Halaf?) (after Cruells, 1998: fig. 4.7; after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.22.AM 10481).
8. Stylized vertical bucranium on "Cream Bowl". Period (Middle or Late Halaf?) (after Cruells, 1998: fig. 4.8; after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.18.AM 10135).
9. Stylized vertical bucranium on "Cream Bowl". Middle Halaf (after Cruells, 1998: fig. 4.9; after Cruells, 2004: Plates 5.3.c, 5.21.AM 10521).
10. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (Middle or Late Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.24.AM 10487).
11. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (Middle or Late Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.12.AM 10578).
12. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Period (Middle or Late Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.43.AM 10448).
13. Stylized vertical mouflon. Period (Middle or Late Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.44.AM 10350).
- 14.a-b. A group of 5 realistic gazelles covering the entire surface limited by a circular cross-hatching band. Middle Halaf. Fig. 14a (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.1.b); fig. 14b (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.39.AM 10552; after Eldalkıran, 2017: fig. 13.1.10; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.16.2).
- 15.a-b. Human figure on sherd of monochrome fine Halaf painted ware. Middle Halaf. Fig. 15a (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.1.a); fig. b (after Cruells, 2004: Plate 5.38.AM 10575; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.33.1-2).

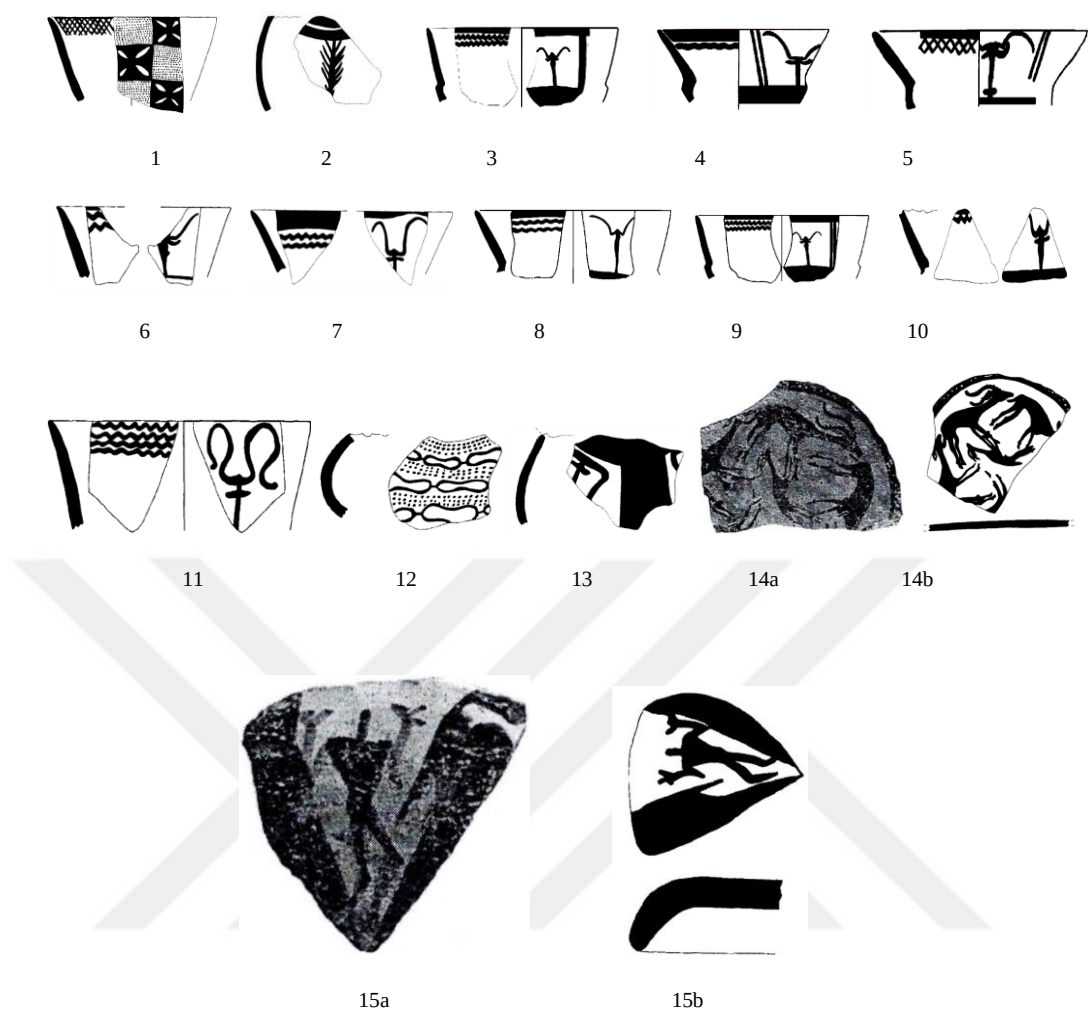


Figure 72. Figural motifs from Tell Amarna.

Figs. 73.1-22: Vertical and horizontal bucrania and vertical mouflon motifs from the kilns at Tell Yunus

1. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXIII.6; after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX; after Yakar, 1991: fig. 37.e).
2. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium. Exterior motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium. Exterior motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX).
5. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX; after Yakar, 1991: fig. 37.f).
6. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXV.1).
7. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXV.6).
8. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXV.12).
9. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXI.1; after Hole, 2013: fig. 5.9.a).
10. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXI.2; after Hole, 2013: fig. 5.9.b).
11. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXI.3; after Hole, 2013: fig. 5.9.c).
12. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXX.6).
13. Stylized vertical bucrania. Interior motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXX.7).
14. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX).
15. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX).
16. Stylized horizontal bucranium. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX).
17. Stylized horizontal bucranium. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXV.3).
18. Stylized vertical mouflon. Period (?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX).
19. Stylized vertical mouflon. Period (?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX).
20. Stylized vertical mouflons. Period (?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXVI.1).
21. Stylized vertical mouflons. Period (?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXX.1; after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 3.26).
22. Various schematic vertical bucrania motifs from the kilns. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase pottery?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXII.1-18).

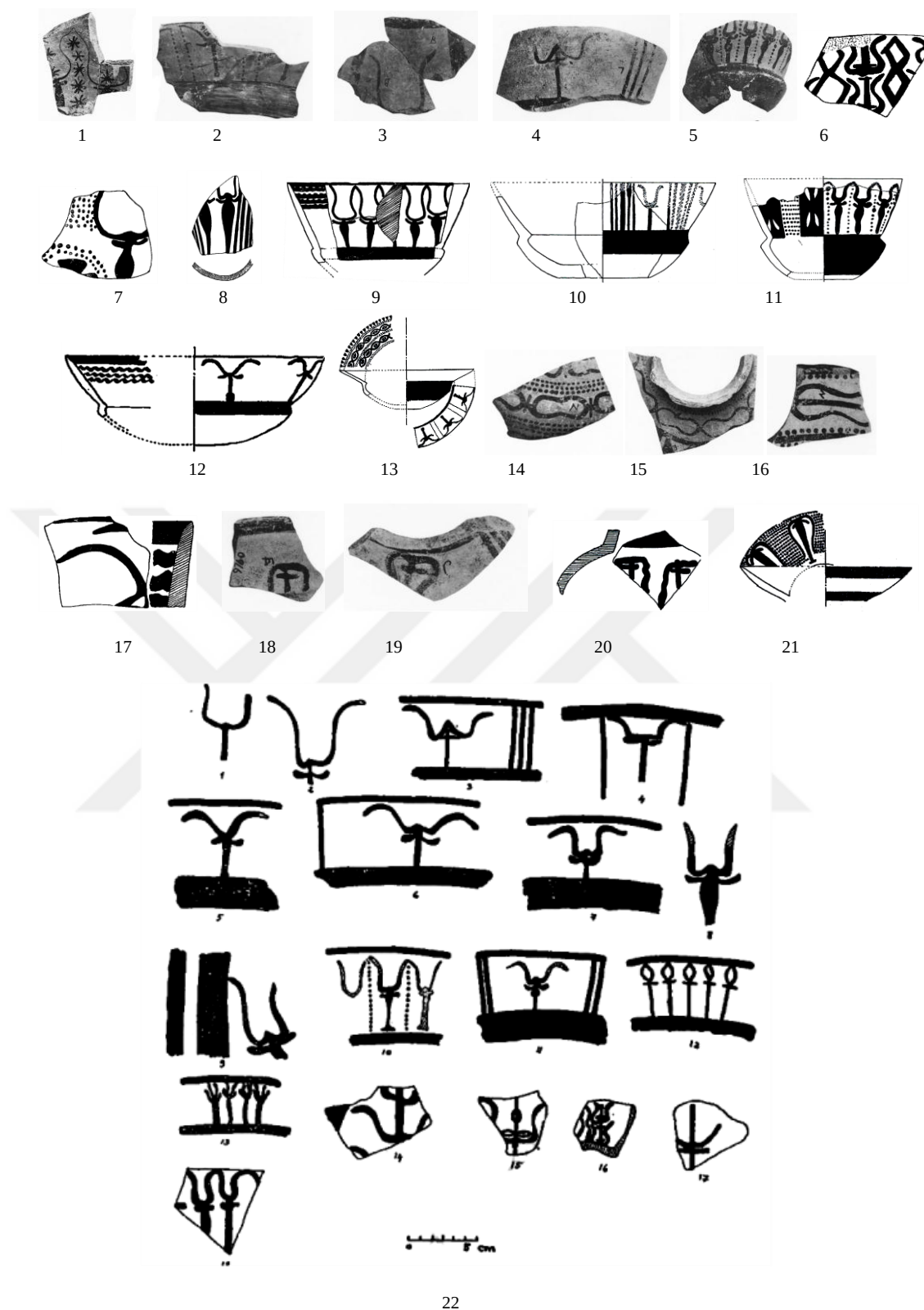


Figure 73. Bucrania and mouflon motifs from the kilns at Tell Yunus.

Figs. 74.1-13: Naturalistic bull, deer, Feline, winged animal, undefined animals, stylized 'Dancing Ladies', and human representations from the kilns at Tell Yunus

1. Naturalistic bull. According to Erdalkıran (2009) deer motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXIII.9; after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 4.10).
2. Naturalistic bull. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXIII.3; after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX.a).
3. Naturalistic bull. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXIII.1; after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX.b).
4. Naturalistic bull. According to Erdalkıran (2009) deer motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXV.5; after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 4.8).
5. Deer motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXV.4; after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 4.7).
6. Feline motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXIII.2; after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX.c).
7. Winged animal motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf phase?) (after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX.e).
8. Winged animal motif. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXV.11).
9. Undefined animal. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXVI.3).
10. Undefined animal. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXVI.6).
11. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXVI.2).
12. Human representation. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXXIII.5; after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.3.c; after Woolley, 1934: Plate XX.d).
13. Human representation. Period (The later middle Halaf phase or the late Halaf?) (after Dirvâna, 1944: Levha LXXV.10).

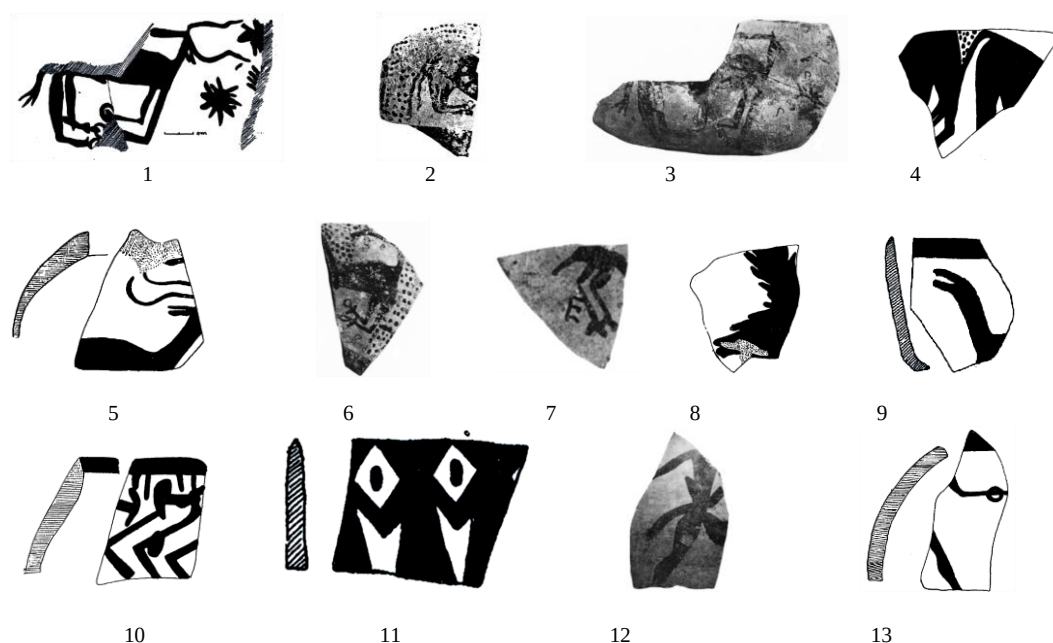


Figure 74. Animal and human representations from the kilns at Tell Yunus.

Figs. 75.1-14: Vertical and horizontal bucrania, vertical mouflon and naturalistic bull motifs from Tell Halula

1. Stylized vertical bucrania on piece of bowl. Sector: S30/1, Stratum: A6. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2009: fig. 12; after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 9.THL 1098; after Molist et al., 2013: fig. 40.9).
2. Stylized vertical bucranium on piece of bowl. Sector: 45, Stratum: E5. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 7.THL 1850).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium on piece of bowl. Sector: 45, Stratum: E8. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 7.THL 1852; Lámina 30.THL 1852).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium on piece of bowl. Sector: 45, Stratum: E9. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 7.THL 1167).
5. Stylized vertical bucranium on piece of bowl. Stratum: A5c. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 8.THL 1024).
6. Stylized vertical bucranium on piece of bowl. Stratum: A13. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 8.THL 1139).
7. Stylized vertical bucranium. Middle Halaf (Halula Phase VI) (after Molist et al., 2013: fig. 40.9; after Gallet et al., 2015: fig. 2.10).
8. Stylized vertical bucranium on bowl. Late Halaf (after Sagona & Sagona, 1988: fig. 3.13).
9. Stylized vertical bucrania on bowl. Exterior motif. Late Halaf (after Sagona & Sagona, 1988: fig. 3.14).
10. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Late Halaf (after Sagona & Sagona, 1988: fig. 4.2).
11. Stylized vertical mouflon. Late Halaf (after Sagona & Sagona, 1988: fig. 3.15).
12. Naturalistic bull on plate. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.17.4.10; after Sagona & Sagona, 1988: fig. 3.10).
13. Naturalistic bull on jar. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.17.4.11; after Sagona & Sagona, 1988: fig. 3.11).
14. Naturalistic bull on plate. Late Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.17.4.12; after Sagona & Sagona, 1988: fig. 3.12).

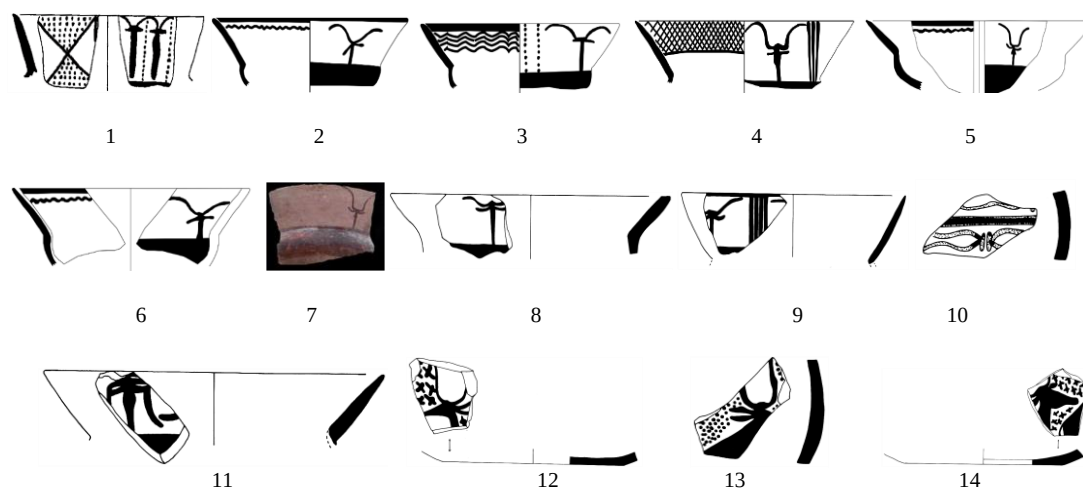


Figure 75. Bucrania, mouflon and bull motifs from Tell Halula

Figs. 76.1-9: Flower, bird, fish, goat (Capricorns), stylized 'Dancing Ladies', and human representation from Tell Halula

1. Flower motif on jar. Sector: 45, Stratum: A1a. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 31. THL 1860).
2. Series of ducks. Sector: S/32, Stratum: A9. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?) (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 15. THL 1039).
3. Bird motif. Proto-Halaf level (after Molist et al., 2013: fig. 40.8).
- 4a-b. Fish motif on piece of bowl. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?). Fig. 4a (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 15. THL 1165); fig. 4b (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 31. THL 1165).
5. Goat (Capricorns) motif. Late Halaf (Evolutioned phase) (after Cruells, 2009: fig. 13; after Molist et al., 2013: fig. 40.9).
6. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Proto-Halaf (after Cruells, 2009: fig. 9.1; after Eldalkıran, 2010: Şekil 6.1; after Molist et al., 2013: fig. 40.8.1; after Nieuwenhuys & Cruells, 2004: fig. 5.1).
7. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies' on piece of bowl. Sector: 1B, Stratum: A3d. Proto-Halaf level (after Cruells, 2008: fig. 4. THL 1004; after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 1. THL 1604; after Cruells, 2017: fig. 2.6. THL 1604).
- 8a-b. Human representation. Sector: S1/1E, Stratum: B1a. Period (?) (Halaf Primitive level: earlier than traditional Early Halaf). Fig. 8a (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 15. THL 1071); fig. 8b (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 31. THL 1071).
- 9a-b. Representation of human lower limbs. Sector: S1/1B, Stratum: test. Period (?) (Halaf Intermediate phase: Early or Middle Halaf?). Fig. 9a (after Cruells, 2013: Lámina 15. THL 1072); fig. 9b (after Molist et al., 2013: fig. 40.9).

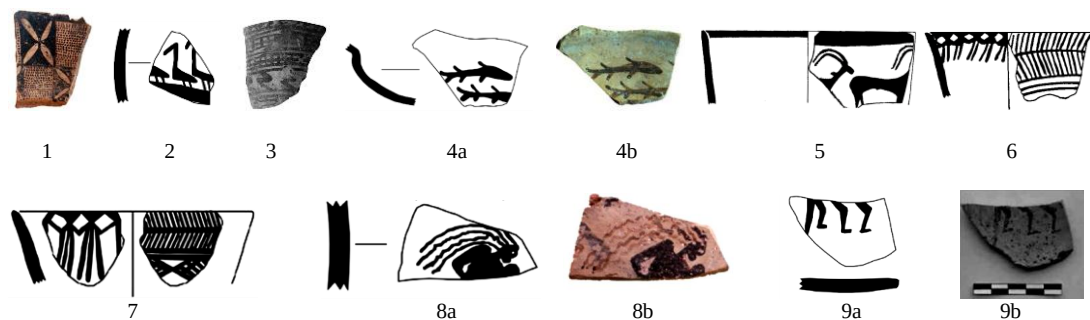


Figure 76. Flower, animal, stylized 'Dancing Ladies' and human representation from Tell Halula.

Figs. 77.1-7: Tree, vertical bucrania, naturalistic bull, undefined-quadruped, and winged-animal motifs from Tell Turlu

1. Tree motif. Exterior motif. Level IV. Period Late Halaf (after Breniquet, 1991: Planche XIII.7; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.28.11).
2. Tree motif. Level II. Period (Late Halaf or Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period?) (after Breniquet, 1991: Planche XI.11).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium. Level III. Period (Late Halaf or Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period?) (after Breniquet, 1991: Planche XII.1).
4. Stylized vertical bucrania. Exterior motif. Level III. Period (Late Halaf or Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period?) (after Breniquet, 1991: Planche XIII.10).
5. Naturalistic bull representation. Level V. Late Halaf (after Breniquet, 1987: Planche 1.2; after Breniquet, 1991: Planche XV.15; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.17.2).
6. Undefined quadruped representation. Level V. Period (Late Halaf or Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period?) (after Breniquet, 1991: Planche XIV.11).
7. Winged animal. Level II. Period (Late Halaf or Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period?) (after Breniquet, 1991: Planche XI.13).

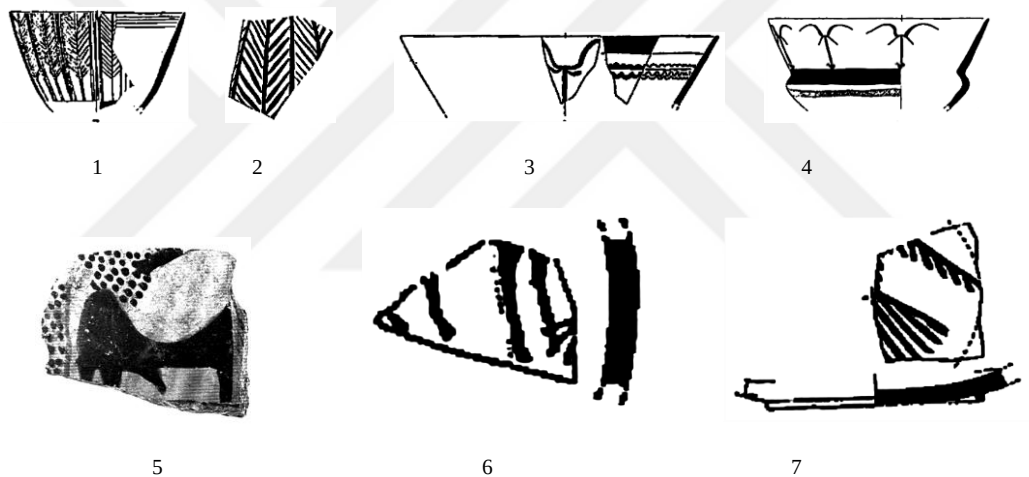


Figure 77. Figural motifs from Tell Turlu.

Figs. 78.1-6: Vertical bucrania and mouflon, stylized 'Dancing Ladies' and figural human motifs (with structure and bird) from Fıstıklı Höyük

1. Tree motif. Exterior motif. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 8.10; after Gessner, 2011: fig. 35.2; after Pollock et al., 2001: fig. 6.f; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.24.5).
- 2 Tree motif. Early Halaf (after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.24.6).
3. Representation of both stylized vertical bucranium and mouflons motifs in same scene on interior and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' on exterior. Early Halaf (after Eldalkıran, 2009: Res. 3.25; after Pollock & Bernbeck, 2001: fig. 7; Pollock et al., 2001: fig. 7.e).
4. A row of bird with split feathers. Early Halaf (after Pollock et al., 2001: fig. 7.c).
- 5a-b. Representation of a human being with raised arms (human, animal and structure together in same scene). Early Halaf (according to Robert, 2010: Late Halaf). Fig. 5a (after Bernbeck & Pollock, 2001: fig. 4; after Bernbeck, Pollock & Bucak, 2002: fig. 4.d; after Costello, 2013: fig. 9.3); fig. 5b (after Costello, 2011: fig. 10).
- 6a-b. The sherds with the "bird-person". Early Halaf. Fig. 6a (after Carter, 2012: fig. 14.c; after Pollock & Bernbeck, 2010: fig. 2); fig. 6b (after Pollock & Bernbeck, 2010: fig. 1).

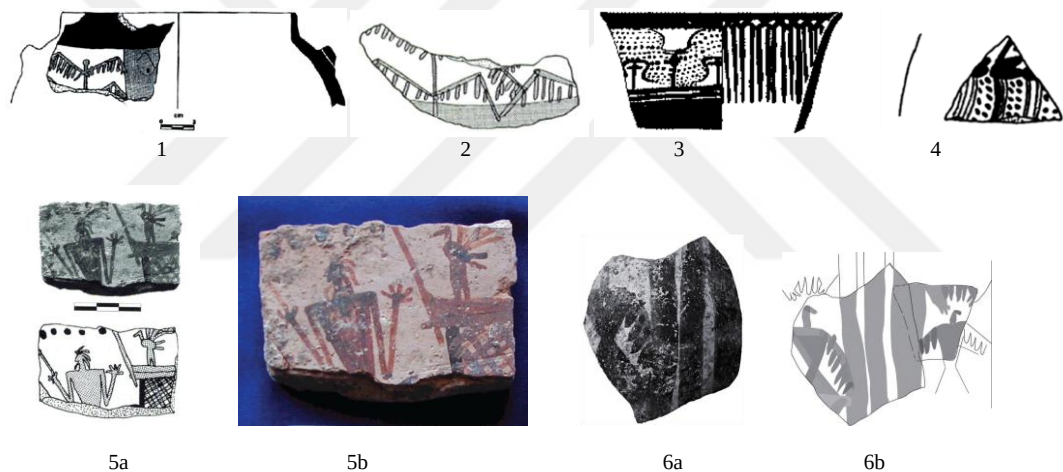


Figure 78. Bucrania, mouflon and narrative scene from Fıstıklı Höyük.

Fig. 79.1: Vertical bucranium motif from Gentare

1. Vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Yardımcı, 2000: çizim 7.1).



Figure 79. Figural motif from Gentare.

Figs. 80.1-3: Winged-animal, vertical Caprids (goat) and stylized 'Dancing Ladies' from Kazane Höyük

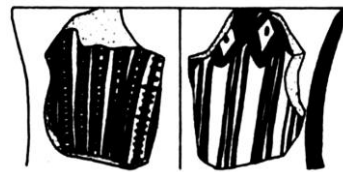
1. Winged open bird. Late Halaf (after Bernbeck et al., 1999: fig. 10.f).
2. A row of caprids. Exterior motif. Period (?) (<http://bingweb.binghamton.edu/~rbernbec/index.html>).
3. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Late Halaf ceramic (after Bernbeck et al., 1999: fig. 10.a).



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Figure 80. Figural motifs from Kazane Höyük.

Fig. 81.1: Vertical bucranium motif from Kılıçlı (Tell Seyf)

1. Stylized vertical bucranium depiction with its horn to up position surrounding with dots. Period (?) (Tell Seyf) (after Yardımcı, 1991: resim 4.2).

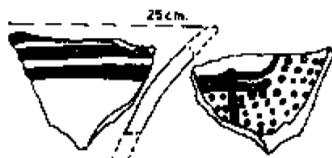


Figure 81. Animal motif from Kılıçlı (Tell Seyf).

Figs. 82.1-2: Bucranium and human motifs from Sakce Gözü

1. Stylized vertical bucranium motif (the bucranium inset in panels and surrounded by stippling). Early Halaf (after Taylor et al., 1950: fig. 14.6).
2. Human representation (Archer/hunter). Period (?) (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.3.d).



Figure 82. Figural motifs from Sakce Gözü.

Figs. 83.1-6: Tree, vertical and horizontal bucrania, and horizontal mouflon motifs from Tell Kurdu

1. Tree motif. Amuq C Phase. Period (?) (after Özbal, 2017: fig. 12.7. 8).
2. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (end of Early Halaf or Middle Halaf?) (after Özbal & Gerritsen: 2003).
3. Stylized vertical bucranium with a line of dot. Period (end of Early Halaf or Middle Halaf?) (after Özbal et al., 2004: fig. 9.6).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium. Amuq C Phase. Period (?) (after Özbal, 2017: fig. 12.7. 9).
5. Stylized two row of horizontal bucrania on vessel. Period (end of Early Halaf or Middle Halaf?) (after Yener, 2000: çizim 7.6).
6. Stylized a row of horizontal mouflons Period (end of Early Halaf or Middle Halaf?) (after Eldalkiran, 2009: Res. 3.21; after Özbal et al., 2004: fig. 9.10, after Özbal & Gerritsen, 2013: fig. 8.4.h).

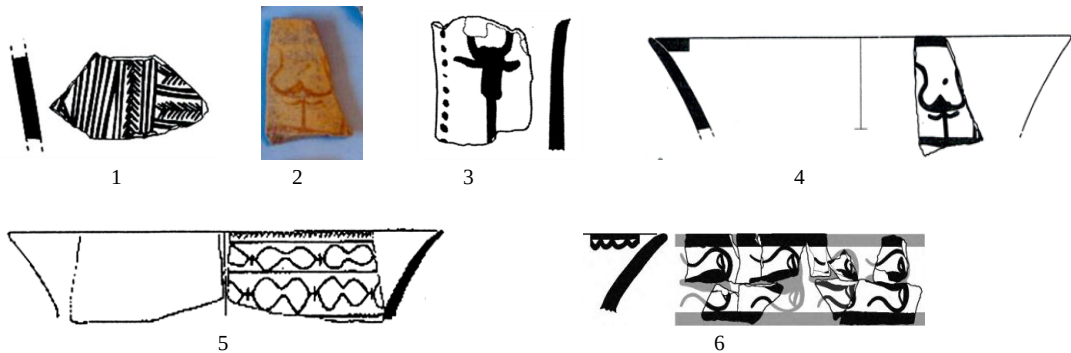


Figure 83. Figural motifs from Tell Kurdu.

Figs. 84.1-18: Flower and various animal motifs from Domuztepe

1. Flower motif. Period (Late or Post Halaf ?) (after Campbell et al., 1999: fig. 10.3).
2. Flower motif. 2. Yapı Katı. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (Post Halaf/HUT) (after Tekin, 2016: fig. 4).
3. Tree motif. Period (?) (<http://arkeolojihaber.net/2017/08/11/domuztepe-hoyugunde-hayat-agaci-motifli-9000-yillik-comlekler-bulundu/>).
4. Stylized vertical bucranium. Early Halaf (after Carter & Campbell, 2006: fig. 13.a; after Carter, 2012: fig. 11.a).
5. Stylized vertical bucranium. Period (?) (after Gauld et al., 2003: fig. 17).
6. Stylized vertical bucrania. Period (Late or Post Halaf period?) (after Campbell et al., 1999: fig. 10.2).
7. Stylized horizontal bucrania. Period (?) (after Carter, 2012: fig. 11.b; after Gauld et al., 2003: fig. 17).
8. Stylized vertical mouflons. 2. Yapı Katı. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (Post Halaf/HUT) (after Tekin, 2016: fig. 4).
9. Fish motif. Period (?) (after Erdem, 2013: fig. 4).
10. Birds motif with structure. 2. Yapı Katı. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (Post Halaf/HUT) (after Tekin, 2016: fig. 4).
11. Winged animal. 2. Yapı Katı. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (Post Halaf/HUT) (after Tekin, 2016: fig. 4).
12. A row of birds with structure. Period (?) (after Erdem, 2013: fig. 4).
13. Bird motif. Period (?) (after ArkeoAtlas, 2011).
14. Deer motif. Period (?) (after Erdem, 2013: fig. 26.b).
15. Goat (Caprid) motif. Period (?) (after Carter, 2012: fig. 11.c).
16. Goat (Caprid) motif. Period (?) (after Carter, 2012: fig. 11.d).
17. Undefined animal motif. Period (?) (after Erdem, 2013: fig. 26.b).
18. Deer motif. Period (?) (<http://arkeolojihaber.net/2017/08/11/domuztepe-hoyugunde-hayat-agaci-motifli-9000-yillik-comlekler-bulundu/>).



Figure 84. Flower and various animal (some animals with structure) motifs from Domuztepe.

Figs 85.1-10: Human representations from Domuztepe

1. Standing human figure. Period (?) (after Campbell, 2000b).
2. A man clamb to top of big vase depicted with an male animal. Operation VIII. Late Halaf (after Campbell & Carter, 2007: fig. 8; after Carter, 2012: fig. 16.b; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.37.2).
3. Vessels decorated with human heads. Period (?) (after Carter, 2012: fig. 13.b).
4. Vessel decorated with human heads. Exterior motif. 2. Yapı Katı. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (Post Halaf/HUT) (after Tekin, 2016: fig. 6).
5. Winged-man representation. 2. Yapı Katı. Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Period (Post Halaf/HUT) (after Tekin, 2016: fig. 6).
6. Hunter/archer scene. Period (?) (<http://arkeolojihaber.net/2017/08/11/domuztepe-hoyugunde-hayat-agaci-motifli-9000-yillik-comlekler-bulundu/>).
7. Depicts a row of human heads on the inside of a vessel and a row of leopards on the outside. Period (?) (after Campbell, 2010: fig. 18.7.b; after Carter, 2012: fig. 13a).
8. A row of human heads Period (?) (after Tekin, 2018).
9. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (?) (after Erdem, 2013: fig. 4).
10. Stylized 'Dancing Ladies'. Period (?) (after Tekin, 2018).

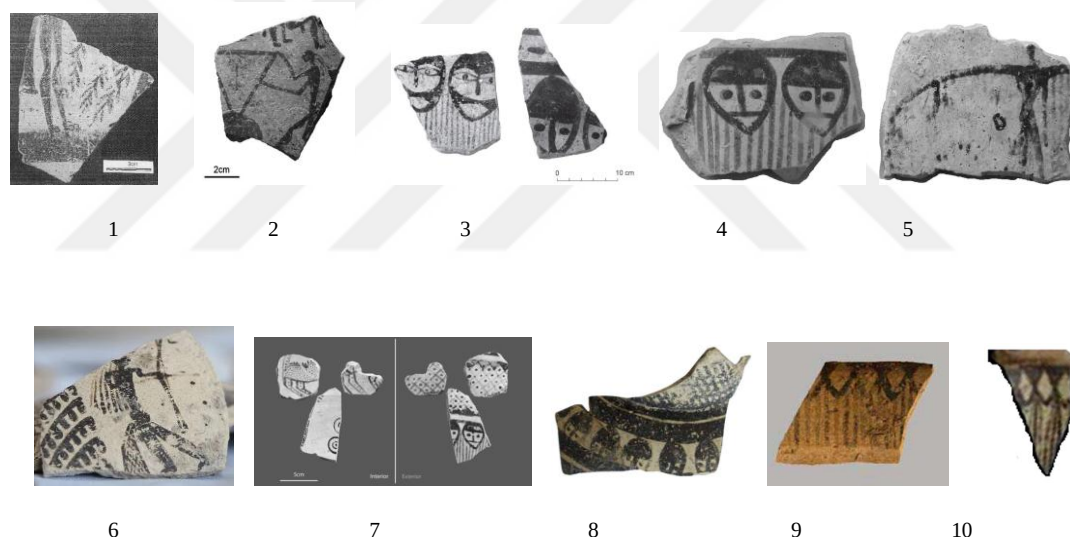


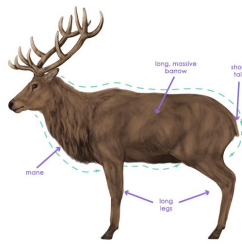
Figure 85. Various human representations from Domuztepe.

Figs. 86.1-5: Narrative scene and structure from Domuztepe

1. a-c. The 'Death Pot' vessel with two headless, naked figures and head (arrow points to head). Late Halaf Fig. 1a (after Erdem, 2013: fig. 20.b); fig. 1b (after Carter & Campbell, 2006: fig. 6; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.36.2 and 4.38.1); fig. 1c (after Carter, 2012: fig. 9.a).
2. a-b. "Dancing Women". Early Halaf.
2a (http://domuztepe.org/?page_id=85); 2b (after Campbell, 2008: fig. 2.4; after Carter & Campbell, 2008: fig. 7; after Robert, 2010: Planche 4.30.2).
3. a-b. 'Architectural Pot' part of a large jar showing buildings built from possibly organic material alongside trees, possible large baskets and possible matting. Early Halaf. Fig. 3a (after Carter & Campbell, 2008: fig. 5; after Carter, 2012: fig. 10.a); fig. 3b (after Kansa et al., 2009: fig. 5).
4. Sherd shows a structure with trees on pot. Period (?) (after Carter, 2012: figs. 16.a).
5. Structure with bird. Period (?) (after Erdem, 2013: fig. 26.b).



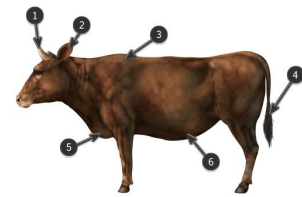
Figure 86. Narrative scene and structure (with animal and tree) from Domuztepe.



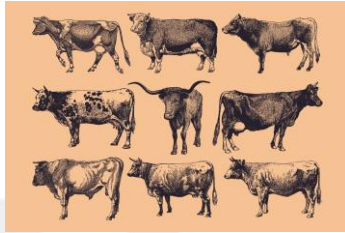
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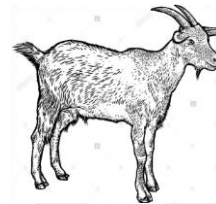
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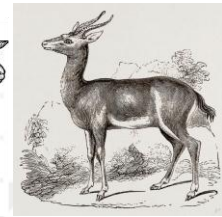
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Figure 87. Animal species: Fig. 1 deer (<https://design.tutsplus.com/articles/how-to-draw-animals-deer-species-and-anatomy--vector-21372>); 2 deer <https://www.istockphoto.com/tr/foto%C4%9Fraflar/deer?assettype=image&sort=mostpopular&mediatype=photography&phrase=deer>; fig. 3 cow <https://design.tutsplus.com/tutorials/how-to-draw-animals-cows-and-other-bovines--cms-21683>; fig. 4 cow and bull (<https://www.youworkforthem.com/graphic/E3948/cows-amp-bulls>); fig. 5 mouflon (<https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fcdn2.vectorstock.com%2Fi%2F1000x1000%2F95%2F36%2Fgoat-drawing-vector-329536.>); fig. 6 goat (<https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-goat-illustration-drawing-engraving-line-art-realistic-133787903.>); fig. 7 gazelle (https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.inkart.net%2Fimages%2Flarge_images%2Fthompsons_gazelle_large.)



Figure 88. Figural motifs on Samarran deep plates: fig 1 (after Goff, 1963: fig. 32); fig. 2 (after Goff, 1963: fig. 33); fig. 3 (after Garfinkel, 2003: fig. 8.4.a; after Goff, 1963: fig. 34); fig. 4 (after Goff, 1963: fig. 35); fig. 5 (after Goff, 1963: fig. 37); fig. 6 (after Goff, 1963: fig. 39); fig. 7 (after Goff, 1963: fig. 40).

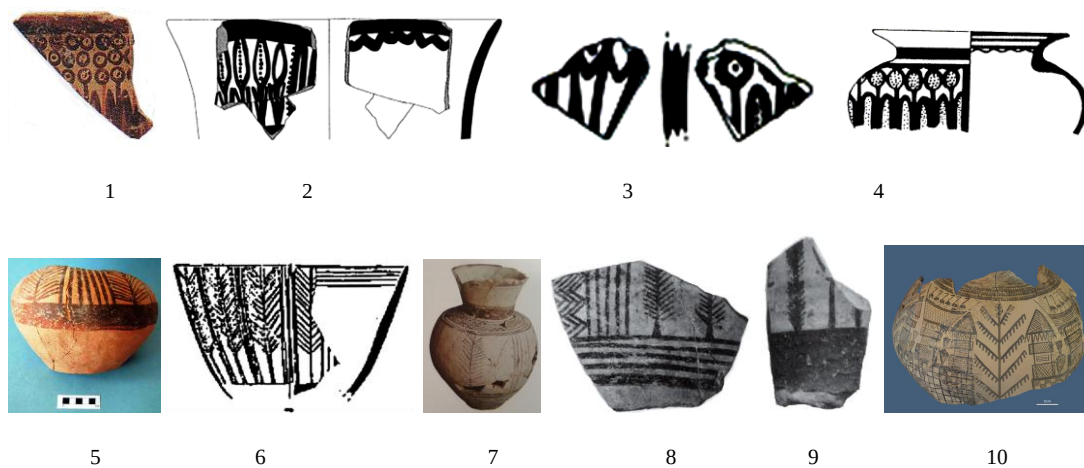


Figure 89. Plant motifs (tree and flower) from Halaf sites. Some example of flower (figs. 1-4) and tree (figs. 5-10) motifs from Halaf sites.

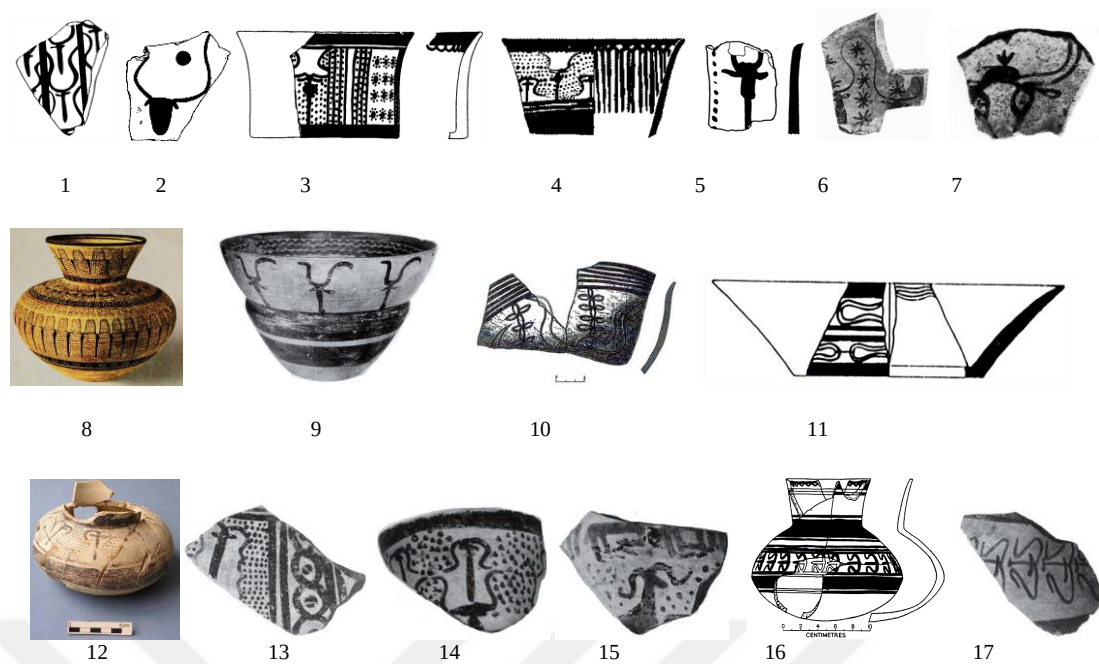


Figure 90. Bucrania and mouflon motifs from Halaf sites. Some stylized and naturalistic example of vertical (figs. 1-10), horizontal (fig. 11) bucrania, and vertical (figs. 12-15) and horizontal (figs. 16-17) mouflon motifs from Halaf sites.

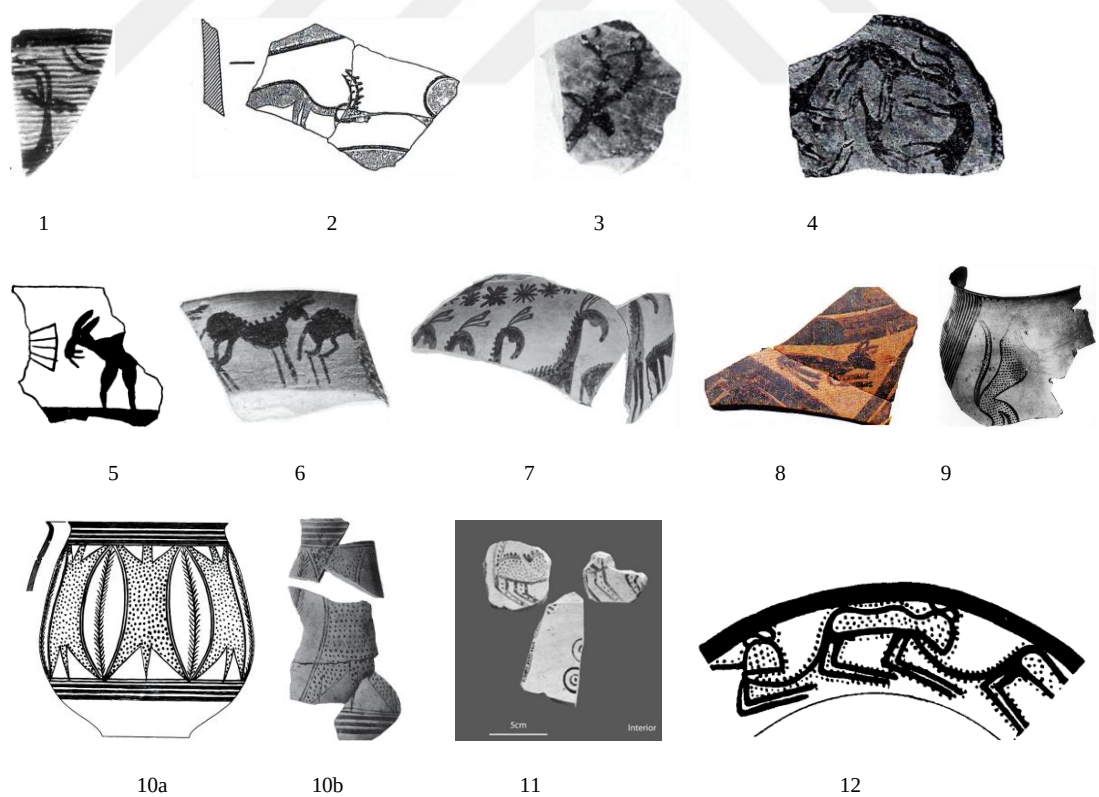


Figure 91. Four-legged animal motifs from Halaf sites. Deer, gazzelle, goat, horse, fox, cheetah and leopard motifs from Halaf sites.

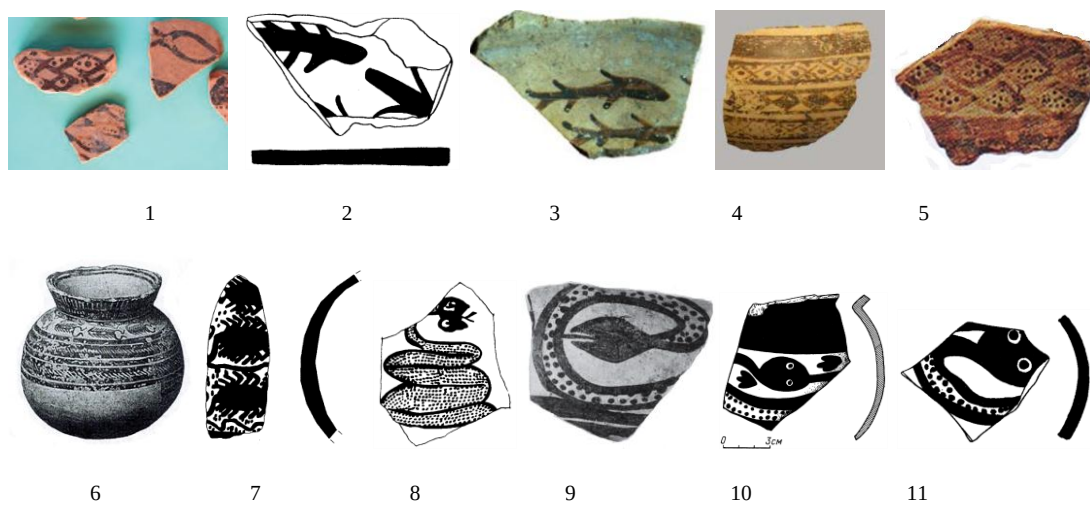


Figure 92. Other animal motifs from Halaf sites. Fish (figs. 1-5), scorpion (figs. 6-7), and snake (figs. 8-11) motifs from Halaf sites.

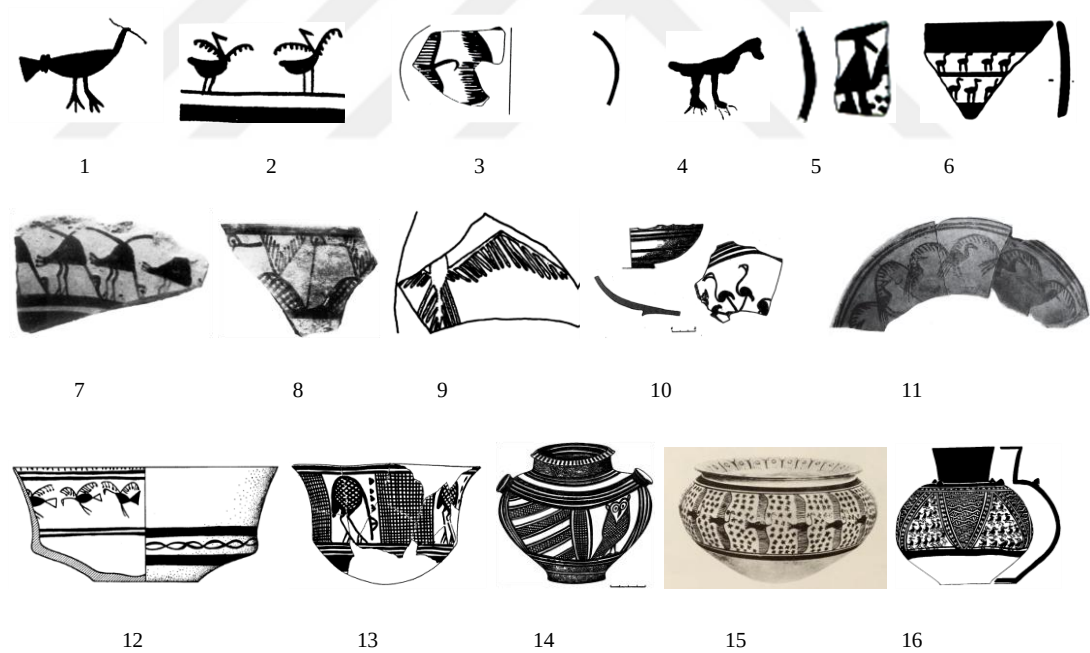


Figure 93. Some example of winged-animal motifs from Halaf sites.

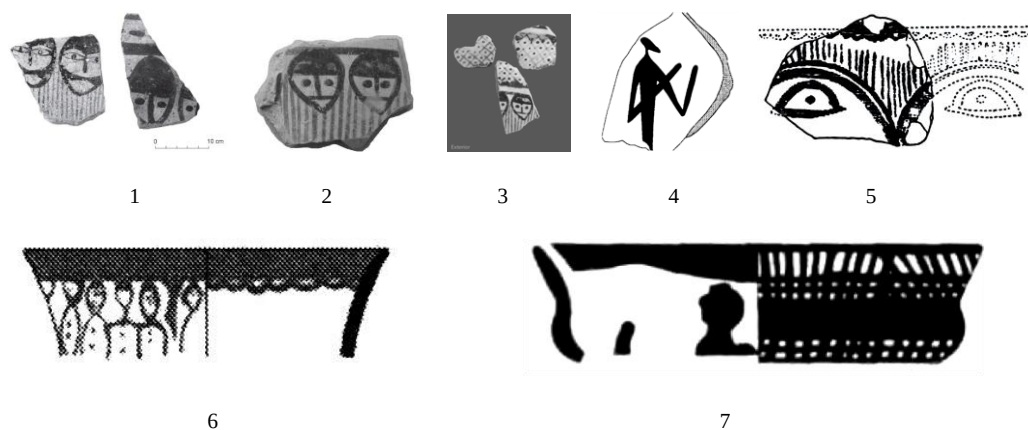


Figure 94. Simple human representations from Halaf sites.

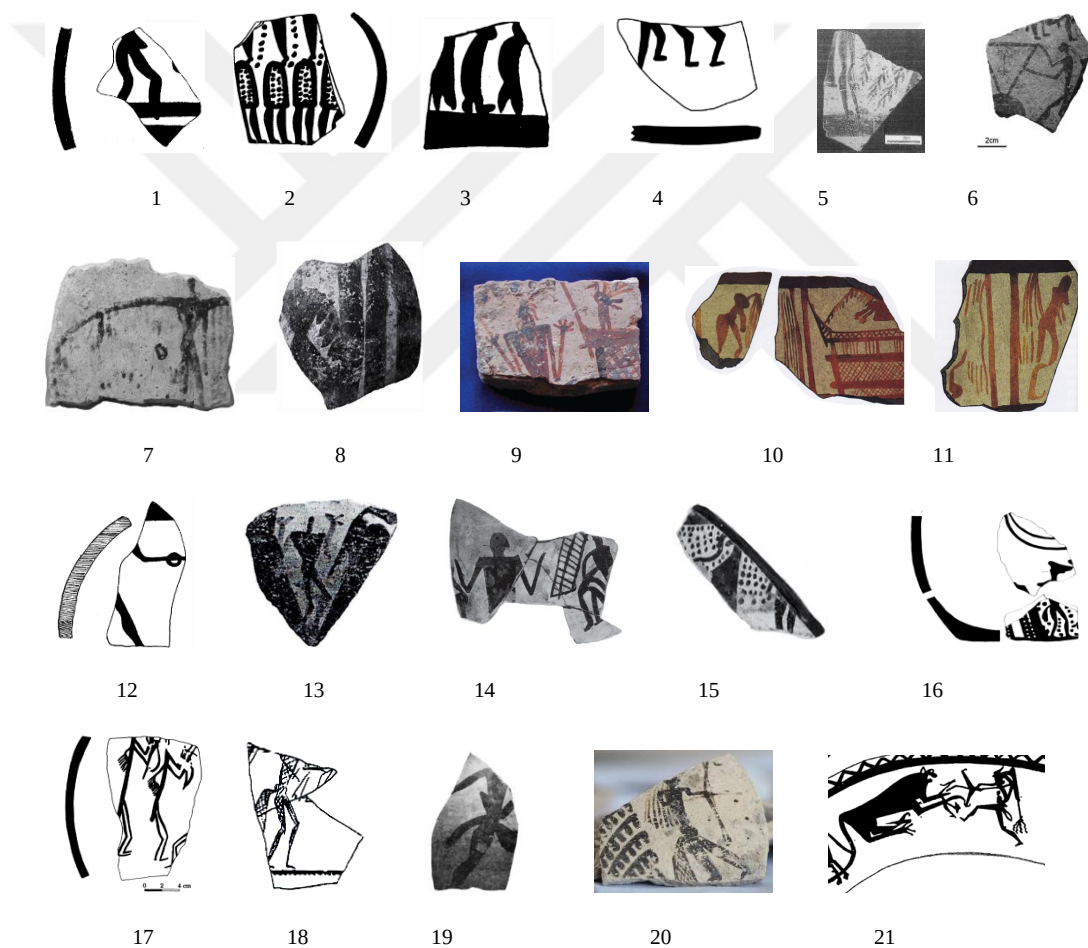


Figure 95. Human representations in the action from Halaf sites.

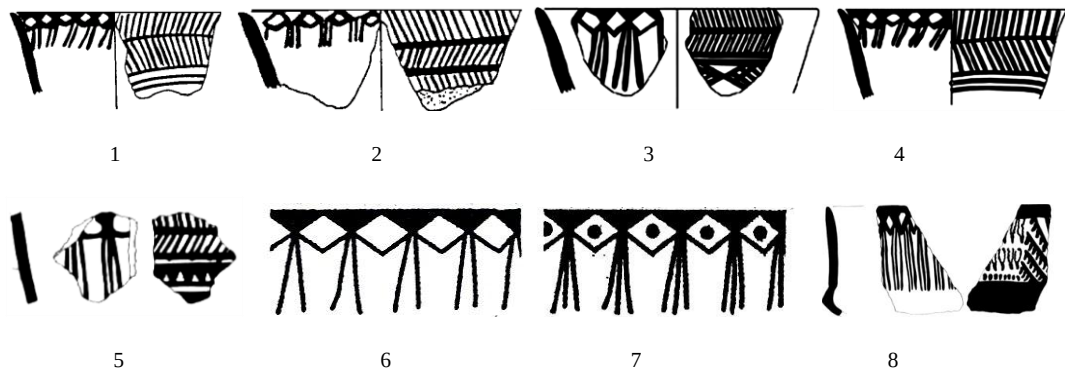


Figure 96. Some example of stylized 'Dancing Ladies' motifs from Halaf sites.

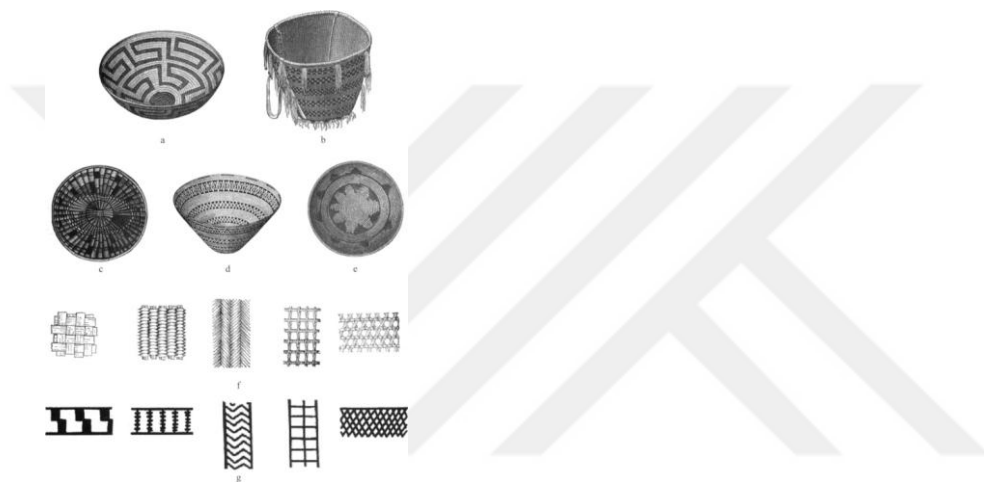


Figure 97. Weaving patterns: a-e: exterior and interior views of Native American basketry from various cultural traditions, f: Native American weaving pattern, g: typical motifs employed on Samarran painted ware (after Wengrow, 2001: fig. 4).

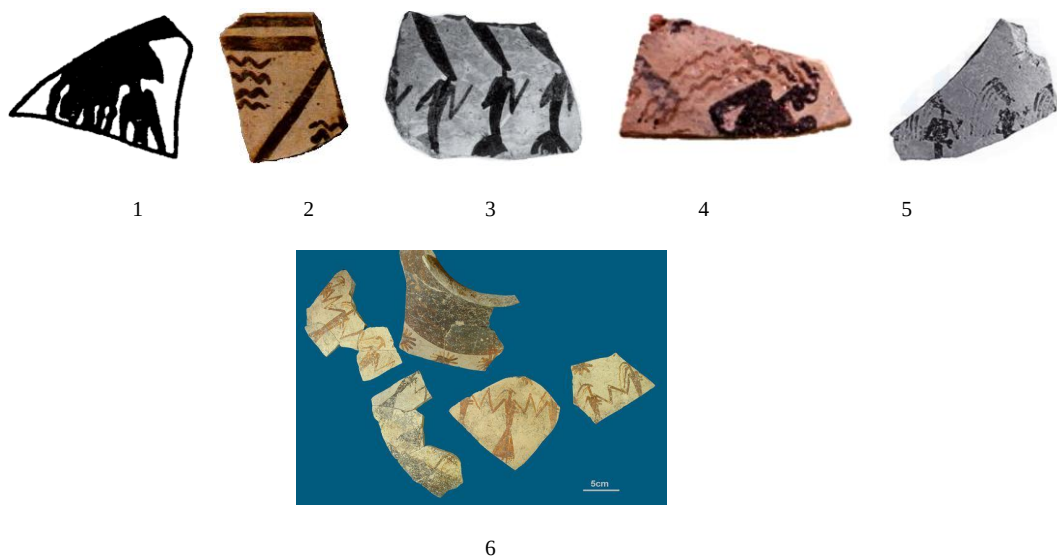
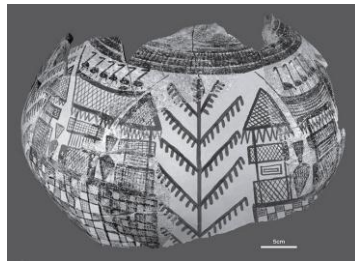


Figure 98. Dancing figures from Halaf sites.



1



2



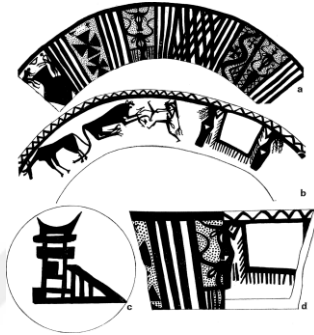
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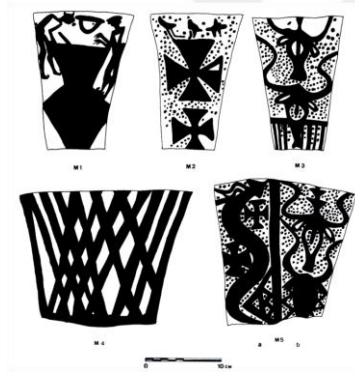
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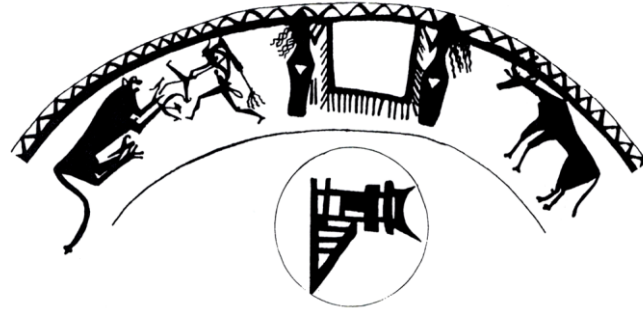
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6



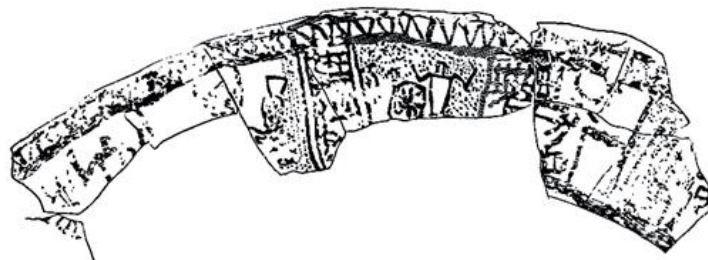
7.1



7.2



8



9

Figure 99. Narrative scenes from Halaf sites: (Figure 99.7.1: exterior bowl representations, after Breniquet, 1992: fig. 2; fig. 97.7.2: interior bowl representations after Breniquet, 1992: fig. 3).

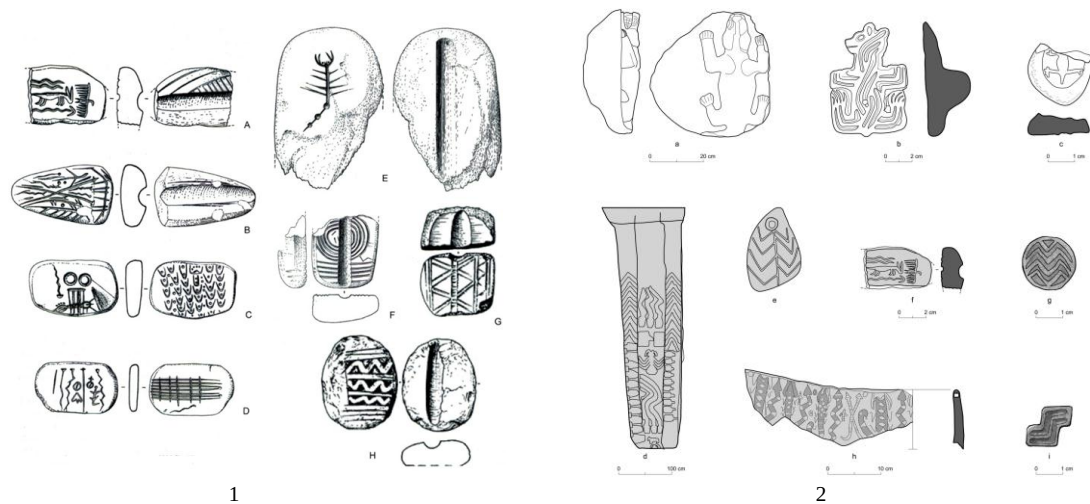


Figure 100. Figural representations from Near East Sites: Fig. 1 palette from Jerf el Ahmar (after Costello, 2013: fig. 9.1); fig. 2 Zoomorphic imagery in different Neolithic contexts. a) Göbekli Tepe; b) Çatalhöyük Late PPNB; c) Sabi Abyad clay sealing, sixth millennium BC; d) Göbeklitepe; e) Demirköy, PPNA; f) Jerf el-Ahmar, PPNA, shaft straightener; g) Sabi Abyad; h) Körtik Tepe, PPNA, stone vessel; i) Sabi Abyad (after Atakuman, 2015b: fig. 10).

Indications for ritual practice	PPNB	PN
Ritual Buildings	C	A
Statues	O	A
Stelae	O	A
Masks	R	A
People-animal link	O	R
Wall and floor paintings	R	R
Decorated stones and bones	O	A
Caches	C	R
Horns	O	R
Human figurines	T	C
Animal figurines : general	T	C
Animal figurines : bull	C	O

(A = absent, R = rare, O = occasional, C = common, T = typical).

Figure 101. Indications for PPNB and PN ritual practices in the Levant, Syria and South-East Anatolia (after Verhoeven, 2002: Table 1A).



Figure 102. Architectural representation from Halaf sites (fig. 100.12 amulet form Tell Arpachiyah, after Campbell & Fletcher, 2013: fig. 2.69).

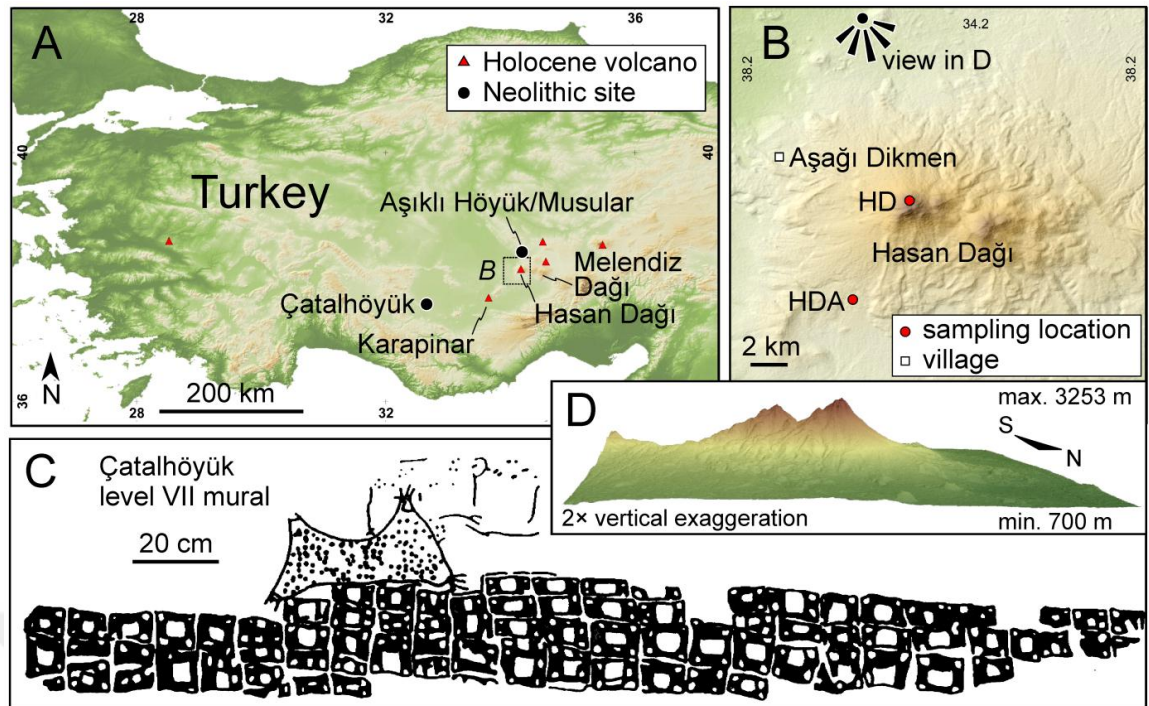


Figure 103. Location of the Çatalhöyük Neolithic site, Hasan Dağı, and other Holocene volcanoes in Anatolia (after Schmitt et al., 2014: fig. 1).

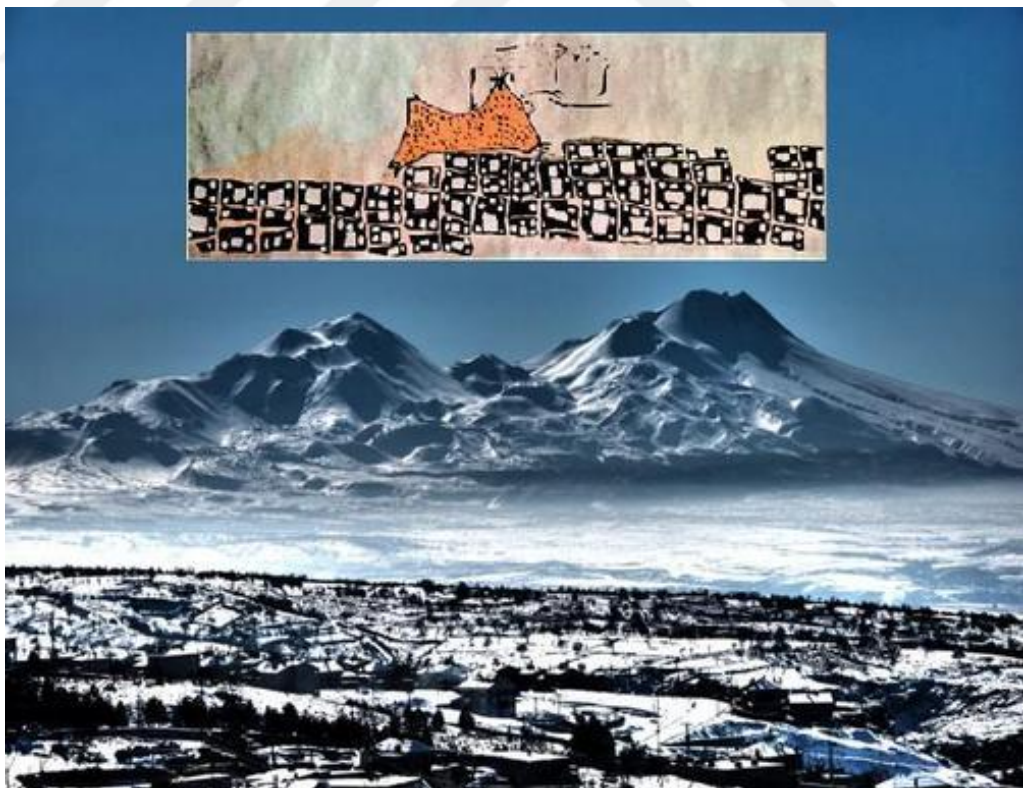


Figure 104. Çatalhöyük wall painting

(<http://arkeokur.tumblr.com/post/76720542852/tarihin-en-eski-haritas%C4%B1>).