SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF ANATOLIAN ROCK ART

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ABSTRACT

SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF ANATOLIAN ROCK ART

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Rock art is a relatively neglected field in Anatolian archaeology, mainly because of the problem of dating in the lack of clearly associated archaeological deposits. The little research conducted on the subject is restricted to regional documentation rather than providing an explanatory framework for the existence of rock art. The main aim of this work is to explain the function and meaning of Anatolian rock art. A comprehensive database containing data on rock art's location, dating, style, and content is created utilizing GIS software. To identify different types of rock art, first, the overall temporal and spatial distribution of rock art is examined by time-slice maps based on the dates offered by previous researchers and the existence of certain motifs; then, comparative stylistic analysis is conducted. The overall exploration revealed a pattern that demonstrates Anatolian rock art can be studied in 4 loosely defined categories. Based on the analysis of site types and density maps of common figures and scenes, possible functions and meanings are

proposed for each category. The Upper Paleolithic to Early Neolithic Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range are likely to be the outcome of a hunting ritual or marked prominent hunting grounds. The Red-Pictographs of the Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic are related to shamanistic rituals celebrating the cyclical regeneration of nature, marriage ceremonies, or rites of passage. The Petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia are meant for a wider audience and, in some cases, mark burial grounds. The sites categorized as “other petroglyphs” reflect the expansion of the Northeastern tradition elsewhere in Anatolia.

Keywords: Rock Art, Spatial Distribution, GIS, Petroglyph, Pictograph

ÖZ

ANADOLU KAYA SANATININ MEKANSAL VE ZAMANSAL DAĞILIMI

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Anaolu kaya sanatı, arkeolojik veriyle doğrudan ilişkilendirilememesi ve buna bağlı olarak tarihlendirmesindeki sorunlar nedeniyle yeterince çalışılmamış bir konudur. Varolan az sayıdaki araştırma kaya sanatını ve onu ortaya çıkaran süreçleri anlamlandırmak yerine daha bölgesel belgeleme odaklıdır. Bu tezin amacı, Anadolu kaya sanatının anlamı ve işlevi üzerine tezler sunmaktadır. Kaya sanatının tarihlendirilmesi, üslubu ve içeriğinde dair bilgiler ve mekansal veri, CBS yazılımı kullanılarak kapsamlı bir veri tabanında toplanmış; ve kaya sanatının Anadolu coğrafyasında arkeolojik dönemlere göre mekansal dağılımını inceleyen haritalar oluşturulmuştur. Bu yolla, Anadolu kaya sanatınının anlamlandırabilecek mekansal ve zamansal örüntüler ortaya çıkarılarak dört kategoriden oluşan bir sınıflandırma oluşturulmuştur. Her bir kategorinin yerleşme türleri, yaygın figürler ve sahneler üzerinden karşılaştırmalı stilistik analizi sonucunda Üst Paleoitik- Erken Neolitik Toros Petrogliflerinin avla ilişkili ritüeller sonucunda veya önemli avlanma rotalarını

işaretlemek üzere ortaya çıktığı; Geç Neolitik- Erken Kalkolitik Kırmızı Piktografların doğanın döngülerini, evlilik veya erginleme törenlerini kutlayan şamanistik ritüellerle ilişkili olduğu; tarihi dönemlere ait Doğu Anadolu Petrogliflerinin bazılarının mezar alanlarını işaretlediği; ve onlarla çağdaş olanAnadolu'nun farklı bölgelerindeki diğer petrogliflerin bu geleneğin yayılımını gösterdiği önerilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kaya Sanatı, Mekansal Dağılım, CBS, Petroglif, Piktograf

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LN	Late Neolithic
EC	Early Chalcolithic
EBA	Early Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
LBA	Late Bronze Age

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rock art of Anatolia is a relatively unexplored field. Although evidence for rock art exists, there is a gap in systematic research. The little research conducted on the subject is regional, fragmentary, and restricted by stylistic analysis. Interpretations solely based on stylistic analysis often lead to inaccurate conclusions. Also, dating through stylistic comparisons can only provide relative chronologies. Since rock art is often found at locations that are hard to access, meant to endure for a long time, and their production is a conscious effort to mark the landscape, it is clear that locational data is significant to understand rock art. This study aims to conduct a spatial analysis of Anatolian rock art with GIS software to test previous propositions on its meaning and function formally, to look for further spatial patterns, and to provide an overall picture of rock art in Anatolia. The main research question this study attempt to answer is that "What is the function and meaning of Anatolian rock art?". Since different interpretations are possible for Anatolian rock art from different contexts, it is crucial to identify the different categories of rock art. Therefore, initially, this study will try to answer the subquestion of how Anatolian rock art is distributed in accordance to the archaeological periods and geography. Based on the hypothesis that closely located sites with similar site-types, figures and scenes date to the same period, a time-slice map will be presented for the dates offered by original researchers. By doing so, clusters of sites with similar site-type,

figures and scenes will be identified. Existence or lack of certain figures will be used as dating critera. Once different types of rock art is identified, it would be possible to answer the question of the meaning and function of a certain rock art group. The main hypotheses employed in this process are that hidden sites with prominent depictions of game animals are ritual sites where hunting magic is performed and that mark prominent hunting routes whereas aggregation sites with imagery relating to shamanism are generally accepted as the outcome of a shamanistic activity where the rock art site functioned as a vortex opening to the supernatural realm. Stylistic comparisons, as well as analysis of site-type, altitude and access will be utilized in order to reveal one of the aforementioned function for a rock art site.

Rock art is a global phenomenon that started during the Paleolithic and has never stopped. The term rock art refers to any paintings (pictographs), carvings (petroglyphs), and earth modification (geoglyphs), as well as portable art that uses a rock as its medium. Because rock art is often visible without excavating, interest and recording started with the first antiquarian efforts. However, rock art research continued to occupy a marginalized position within archaeology as the scientific community pointed out the problematic aspects, such as the problem of dating in the lack of clearly associated archaeological deposits.

Despite its relatively marginalized position, rock art research has grown worldwide and emancipated itself not only as a valid field of research but also as an innovative one (Conkey, 2012). While rock art appears to be a global phenomenon, the degree to which it attracted scholarly interest, how it is studied, and the methodologies vary regionally. Southwestern Europe, Scandinavia, North America, South Africa, and Australia became the main geographies for rock art research. When the Middle East is examined, a rather strange picture emerges: although the

region surrounding Turkey has abundant and well-studied rock art, such as Syria, Negev-Sinai, Iran, Nachcivan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia (Betts, 2001), Turkey appears as a blank space. A lack of evidence may not cause this gap, but a reluctance within the scientific community to look for it.

Rock art research in Anatolia remains a relatively unexplored field. Although there exists evidence for rock art from the Paleolithic to the early Turkic periods in different parts of modern Turkey, there needs to be more systematic research conducted on the subject. In the late 1950s, Anati and Uyanık surveyed southeastern Turkey and published several works on the highland petroglyphs of the Van-Hakkari region; excavations at Karain and Öküzini caves in the Taurus mountains revealed incised pebbles and sparked an interest for research on other Epipaleolithic caves of Antalya region since 1970s Kökten and Belli have recorded several petroglyphs in northeast Turkey which later became the main research interest of A. Ceylan and his colleagues, and in the early 2000s, Peschlow-Bindokat contributed to the field with her work on rock art in the Latmos mountains. Lately, new evidence for rock art appeared in archaeological surveys conducted for other reasons, such as Şahin's (2018) work on Baltalıin and İnkaya; Korkut's (2015) work on the Tavabaşı Cave, Girginer and Durukan's work on the caves of Mersin (2017) and Kaycı and colleagues work on Doğusandal (2020). Although valuable, these contributions only focus on their restricted regions, giving a fragmentary insight. More importantly, they are often more concerned with recording what exists before it erodes rather than providing an explanatory framework. For all these reasons, a better understanding of prehistoric rock art in Anatolia requires further extensive research.

Current literature on the prehistoric rock art of Anatolia is mostly focused on stylistic analysis. Categorizing rock art based on style, content, and manufacturing

technique is problematic for several reasons. First, this approach limits the inquiry to a straightforward effort to relate rock art to specific "ways of life" or hypothetical cultural entities. This way of evaluation is highly subjective and may lead to inaccurate conclusions. Secondly, this approach has proven to be problematic for dating and chronology. Stylistic analysis, alongside patination, superimposition, and appearance of certain domesticated species used as terminus post quem, still consists of the primary methods for dating, as most of the rock art lacks associated archaeological deposits that can provide secure dates. However, these methods still need to be improved because patination and superimposition can only provide relative chronologies; it is only sometimes possible to determine if the animal represented in the rock art is of a domesticated species. Different styles may not necessarily precede or succeed each other within a region but may be indicators of coexisting cultural groups. A better approach would be to develop an alternative formal way to associate rock art with nearby archaeological sites with known chronologies and combine it with stylistic comparisons. Spatial analysis using GIS software can potentially associate nearby archaeological sites with rock art localities using proximity and accessibility. Such an attempt requires a better understanding of the overall geographical distribution of Anatolian rock art.

Besides dating, the function of rock art has also been a subject of controversy. Several theories involving magical or sexual symbolism, the value of exhibition, collective memory creation, and shamanistic explanations were offered for rock art from different aesthetic and cognitive perspectives. However, these hypotheses require further justification other than stylistic comparisons. The mere stylistic analysis had only led to studies of descriptive nature which remained inadequate in their attempts to explain the relationship between rock art and the communities that

produced them. Most of the rock art is found in locations that are hard to access and meant to be a durable addition to the landscape, indicating that locational data is significant to the rock art research and could provide a useful starting point for an explanatory study. Suppose locational data of related prehistoric sites and rock art localities are provided through a literature survey. In that case, those sites with known chronologies can be associated with nearby rock art using cost-based proximity analysis. If those analyses reveal any clear spatial patterns, their parameters can be used in further research, especially with risk surfaces, to identify locations where rock art is more likely to be found.

For all the reasons mentioned above, the rock art of Anatolia requires further research with explanatory approaches. The purpose of this study is to gather all the available fragmentary data on Anatolian rock art into a single, comprehensive database for the use of future researchers, offer a formal way of testing previous researcher's interpretations of the function and meaning of rock art; investigate further spatial patterns, especially concerning group identity and territoriality; and to provide an overall map for the currently known rock art in Anatolia as well as to propose an alternative method for dating it.

To accomplish this goal, Chapter 2 will first provide an overview of the worldwide theoretical approaches to rock art research and explain how this study relates to some of them. Particular emphasis is given to the literature focusing on the spatial configuration of rock art with its landscapes. The literature review is followed by an explanation of the methodology used in this study and how the relevant data is gathered.

Chapter 3 consists of a detailed literature review of Anatolia's previously published rock art sites. This compilation is organized into sections, first, according

to the primary technique employed in rock art production, and second order, according to the spatial and temporal distribution of rock art. The information provided in this chapter mainly concerns the dating, technique, style, and content of rock art. Each site is first introduced with a card index summarizing this information. Additional information on the research history of the site, access to the locality, execution, and composition of the figures, and main interpretations of the function and meaning of rock art will be included within a brief descriptive paragraph where possible. Photographs and drawings of the relevant panels follow these paragraphs.

Chapter 4 begins with a proposed classification of Anatolian rock art. Overall; this chapter tries to establish a ground for further discussions on the stylistic comparisons and spatial distribution of Anatolian rock art by incorporating the data previously presented in Chapter 3. Commentary on the common anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric motifs and recognizable scenes such as the hunting, dancing, and conflict scenes are followed by maps demonstrating their spatial distribution. Then, Anatolian rock art's relation to its landscape is explored from an access-oriented perspective. The rock art sites are examined according to their proposed categories and site types to reveal a pattern regarding their meaning and targeted audience. Lastly, the proposed categories are examined in detail for their style, theme, and problems concerning their dating. Some of the dates offered by previous researchers are rejected, and alternative ways to date the rock at is offered based on the existence or lack of specific motifs.

Finally, Chapter 5 presents the overall summary of the research aim, the methodology, and the data compiled, as well as how they can be employed in further studies.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Rock Art Research and Theory

Rock art research worldwide has diverse research interests: human evolution, cognition, dispersal, and colonization of the world; the origin of the art; ritual activity and particularly shamanism; gender studies and ethnoarchaeology where direct links exist. Major trends in rock art research have proven that a grand theory to explain rock art's appearance worldwide is not possible, even though it is a global phenomenon.

The earliest interest in rock art concerned the origin of art. This "art for art's sake" approach examines the possibility that rock art existed without an exact utilitarian function and is the result of agents' urge to express themselves. Although the hunting magic theory quickly replaced this view, there has been a revival of the art-for-art's sake theory from a cognitive perspective during the last few decades. Helvenston and Hodgson (2010), Dutton (2010), and Correa et al. (2011) recently argued that producing art is also an evolutionary urge, especially useful in sexual selection.

Another early school of thought interpreted rock art as a form of hunting magic, an idea initially offered by Reinach and developed by H. Breuil and Begoun. H. Breuil, who worked on the rock art of Lascaux and Altamira caves and the South African rock art, claimed hunting magic in the form of rock art was a tradition that

originated in Africa and transmitted to the rest of the world with the dispersal of the human population. Hunting magic theory includes explanations on "facilitate magic," where the animal figure is depicted so that the hunter would prevail over the animal; "fertility magic," where the main aim is to increase fertility among the herbivorous herds that are mainly tracked down for game; "destructive magic" as a way to prevent wild animals from attacking (Clottes, 2001, pp.470-3). Until the 1960s, hunting magic remained the dominant explanation for the appearance of rock art before it was rejected for its functional reductionism in the light of later ethnological work. Also, Lewis-Williams points out that not everywhere the majority of the animals depicted in rock art are game animals.

Hunting magic theory is challenged by M. Raphael, A.L. Emperaire, and A. Leroi-Gourhan's structural perspective. Leroi-Gourhan claimed that rock art always appeared in structured compositions regarding how the animals are gendered and how the figures are placed within the caves. He pointed out that there existed a formal organization of the sanctuaries that is more or less followed anywhere where rock art appeared, a view shared by M. Raphael. Laming-Emperaire also believed that rock art was a reflection of a formally organized social system, particularly in which different animals symbolized different social groups (Clottes, 2001, pp. 472-5). Both hunting-magic and structuralist approaches failed to provide accurate explanations as they tried to produce all-embracing grand theories that would explain the function of rock art worldwide. However, the idea of a structured composition is significant in terms of its influence on further studies on the panels' semiologies. The idea that the figures are not mere naturalistic depictions but are symbols within a pre-existing structured schema is crucial for further studies of rock art's grammar and syntax. The basic idea that the spatial distribution of rock art within the landscape is

structured and constituted meaning, which is the basis of this research, relies on structuralism.

Another prominent approach within rock art research is the shamanistic explanation offered by D. Lewis-Williams and Dowson (2012). Lewis-Williams' work relies on cognitive archaeology, neuropsychology, and his well-known ethnographic work on San in South Africa. He points out that shamanism is only one of the possible rock art research outcomes, though a powerful one. He believes rock art production, on some occasions, is the product of altered states of consciousness, created with or without the consumption of mind-altering substances, where the surface of the rock often represents a veil between the natural and the spiritual world. The concept of "taking flight," going underground," "the rock as a vortex opening to another world," or anthropomorphic figures with masks, horns, or wings are often associated with shamanism. Besides figurative art, Lewis-Williams interprets the geometric signs in rock art as a result of the entoptic phenomenon, visions appearing during the lightest stage of the altered consciousness. As the entoptic phenomenon is a natural capability of the human brain, those geometric signs appear on rock art universally and without being bound to time or place. However, Lewis-Williams emphasizes that what shamanism means for a community and the way it is practiced is culture-specific, and similarly, the geometric forms might be actual culture-specific symbols. Therefore it is vital to be cautious while employing a shamanistic explanation, defining shamanism clearly, and familiarizing oneself with the broader ontology of the particular culture. A shamanistic explanation is significant for Anatolian rock art, especially concerning the anthropomorphic figures depicted in "special" headdresses or clothing. Entoptic phenomena are also relevant to this research to analyze the geometric signs appearing in between the figures while

questioning their possibility of being indicators of group identity. J. Clottes (2001) also supports that most rock art, especially European Paleolithic images, results from shamanistic actions. He believes that the worldwide appearance of the hand stencils or paintings can not be mere artistic expressions but has to be related to an action, perhaps involving interacting with the vortex. This is also relevant as this research will also argue that the Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic hand paintings of Western Anatolia reflect the participant's active involvement in a formal event.

Lewis-Williams' shamanism explanation is rooted in a broader theory, called the Southern African Cognitive Archaeology, that became the dominant approach in rock art research. This approach emphasizes the long-lasting cultural structures over the agency of individuals while interpreting rock art. Its practitioners, such as D. Whitley (2018), argue that because these long-lasting structures and cultural continuity exist, it is possible to trace the meaning of rock art in retrospect with informed methods, namely the Direct Historical Approach. Southern African cognitive archaeology is more concerned with explaining why rock art appears as a global phenomenon with recurrent themes and motifs, such as the hand imprints mentioned before. While doing so, it benefits from cognitive universals, such as Lewis-Williams' entoptic phenomenon, the cognitive capabilities all humans share by having a human body. Because the brain capacity and the central nervous system of human beings have not been changed, at least the Upper Paleolithic, southern African cognitive archaeology believes it is possible to reach the meaning of rock art based on embodied metaphors. The idea implied here is that as embodied subjects, humans develop symbolic systems based on their observation of the natural world. Thus symbols in rock art are often rational analogies and not mere arbitrary signifiers, and it is possible to trace their meaning through natural models. These

natural models may include the unchanging chemical and physical qualities, such as the hallucinogenic properties of a plant (Boyd, 2012) or behavioral aggressiveness of a wild animal, or other ecological elements, such as landscapes.

The study of the landscapes and the locations of rock art is one of the common formal methods in rock art research, which became particularly influential in Scandinavia. Nash and Chippindale (2001) focused on rock art production as a way of place-making and landscape construction. They perceive rock art as a way of distinguishing a space into a place that constitutes meaning. The fact that rock art is meant to be a permanent addition to a landscape indicates intentionality. The process of choosing a place for rock art, using and revisiting this place over generations, and developing structural ways of placing motifs within it requires and reinforces both an affinity with the landscape and a degree of social and political organization (Nash & Chippindale, 2001, p.2). They believe, in contrast to the descriptive approaches mainly concerned with the typology and and chronology of the motifs, landscape analysis as a phenomenological perspective, may bring in the lived experience of the agents who actually carved the rock art.

Ethnographic work worldwide showed that analogies between the world understanding and landscape are common natural models such as upper, middle, and lower realms (Ouzman, 1998, p.34). Ramqvist (2002) tried to "read" the landscape of central coastal Norrland through rock art with hunting and fishing scenes. By analyzing the frequency of the motifs, and preference for locations in terms of the verticality of the panels, distance to water resources, and proximity to the different settlement types (base/ field/ extraction/ aggregation camps), he suggests the landscaped inscribed with rock art make up a narrative that can be read as a text. K. Helskog (2004) realized that the major panels of rock art at Alta, Norway are large-

scale compositions reflecting the world-understanding of these communities in narratives. The panels symbolize both the landscape and the cyclical time of seasons in the northern climate. He recognized that there was an analogy between natural weathering and the cracks on the rock surface and the immediate landscape, as cracks were used as natural canvases to represent landscapes. This is also significant for the Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic pictographs of Western Anatolia as a similar pattern on the utilization of the weathered rock surfaces is observed.

Besides reflecting world understandings by analogy, place-making through rock art is known to be related to the dynamics of territoriality, aggregation, dispersal, and group identity. M. Conkey (1980) discusses how some rock art localities may have been occupied as aggregation sites by hunter-gatherer bands through her study on the Lower Magdalenian site of Altamira. She mentions that since the duration and spatial extent of the occupation, cyclical timing, and the range of different activities that took place at the site set challenges when identifying an aggregation site through the archaeological records, ethnographic evidence might be useful. By citing ethnographic work on the Inuit and !Kung San hunter-gatherers, she proposes a cyclical meeting of otherwise dispersed bands at an aggregation site, which provides not only ecological and economic advantages but also serves ritual and social functions. Although the decorated cave itself can not possibly host a large group, she attempts to test the hypothesis that smaller bands gathered around Altamira at seasons when wild red deer and shellfish are abundant. By examining the site's incised bone and antler objects, she creates a hierarchy of design elements and the structural principles governing their execution. Through stylistic comparison with similar objects from surrounding contemporary sites, she determines the extent to which different designs are represented at Altamira, the designs unique to Altamira,

or the designs lacking at the site. Thus, she confirms that the site was used for seasonal aggregation by smaller bands. Her work inspired a whole genre of comparative stylistic analysis of design elements within rock art to understand territoriality, aggregation, and dispersal patterns. Rock art locales as ritual centers, foci for ancestral cults, and markers for territorial boundaries are often instrumental in building and sustaining communal identities. It is used to inscribe prominent landscapes that are important for subsistence strategies and hold a central place in the belief system as either sacred or taboo. McNiven and Brady's (2012) work on the seascapes showed that rock art functioned as an expression of maritime identity and served as an edge marker of a liminal space between the realm of the dead and the living. Bradley's (1997) assessment of the Paleolithic hunter-gatherer rock art sites in Britain and continental Europe shows that rock art is used to mark prominent landscape features as signposts that are essential to navigate their way through foraging territories. These features once held significant economic value and are incorporated into the belief systems as sacred places. As rock art is used to create and reaffirm communal identities, it has also been used to stabilize and reconsolidate identities during periods of significant cultural change. Soggnes (1998) considered rock art locales around Trondheim Fjords, Sweden, as ritual places associated with territorial passages to important hunting plains, which may also have served as migration routes and information exchange. Hayward and Cinquino (2012) show how inscribed enclosures in Puerto Rico functioned as formal venues for the display of power and statements of collective identity among chiefdoms. Besides its obvious use in dating, superimposition offers a way to trace rock art's role in the construction of communal identity through subsequent visits to the site over generations. Ambrosino (2019) analyzed the superimposition of the Kiñan Tanka petroglyphs

(1500-200 BC) in the north-central Andes via photogrammetric modeling and vector rendering to understand how collective memory and placed-based historical narratives are constructed through constant engagement with a place by rock art production. His work revealed an increasing trend over 1300 years in pilgrims' intent to associate themselves with their ancestors, be part of and recreate the collective memory through a palimpsest of petroglyphs. Perceptions of landscapes and the arrangement of rock art are significant to understanding rock art.

Discussions on rock art's relation to the landscape concerning access and the social hierarchies that come within are central to this study. Hood (1988) perceived space as not passive but an arena where ideologies and power relations are contested. In his work on the Stone Age petroglyphs of Finnmark, Norway, he used the concept of access to argue that rock art served as a legitimation discourse. Rock art locales and chert sources were "nodes within a meaningfully constructed socio-symbolic landscape" (Hood, 1988, p. 79), of which access to determining social and economic hierarchies. Similarly, Sognnes' (1998) work on the rock art of central coastal Norway used accessibility and visibility to look for the underlying power relations. Although the rock art sites seemed visible once you are near, their overall distribution within the fjords required specialist knowledge to reach the panels. Therefore, he concluded a restricted group of possibly high-status individuals who were equipped with this secret ritual information also held the monopoly of the community's symbolic capital and their ties to the ancestors. Bradley (2002), also concerned with access, analyzed the distribution of different styles of European prehistoric rock art in terms of their site type. He evaluated the concept of access both as a topographical constraint and also as the mechanism of social control that either enabled or restrained people from using the site. He determined that the

Schematic Style associated with Megalithic burials and the Galician style associated with cist-burials were meant for a smaller, restricted audience, whereas the Galician-Atlantic style was displayed in larger, open-air sites for a wider audience. Nevertheless, as Bradley (1997) points out, even the larger, easy-to-access open-air sites are not meant for any ordinary viewer, as a limited range of supposedly male activities are overrepresented in the iconography. His work is a reminder to look for the dynamics of social organization and not to limit the parameters of accessibility and site size to mere topographical terms.

2.2. Methodology

The methodology used in this study is primarily a detailed literature review of the previous research on Anatolian rock art. Individual publications are systematically reviewed for data on each rock art site's location, dating, technique, style, theme, and content. Attributes examined are the altitude of the locality, site type (Cave, Rock Shelter, Open-Air, Architecture), dating (including multiple periods), primary technique, pigmentation, and the existence of various figures. The information gathered through this survey is stored within a comprehensive spatial database using GIS software, which allows classification, sorting, and visually representing data when necessary.

The majority of the locational data is directly taken from TAY Project's database, which their coordinator kindly allowed to be used in this study. Coordinates are also directly taken on the occasions when the original researchers specify them. If confirmed coordinates are not provided, maps from the publications are digitized in QGIS using six CRP points with Polynomial 1 transformation based on nearest neighbors. This particular transformation type is chosen to reduce the

potential distortions as most of the maps were scanned copies. Then the map is georeferenced several times until the margin of error is reduced to "0.001". Thus, the locations of those sites are slightly off depending on their distance to the edges of the study area. In cases where the rock art site does not have a published map, I approximated their location on Google Earth based on the written descriptions (e.g., direction, distance to a village center, road, or landscape feature). Therefore, the locational data of those few sites are even less reliable. The metadata on the methods of how coordinates are obtained for each site is included in Appendix B.

Through the information gathered, rock art from different periods and geographies is stylistically compared. Based on this stylistic analysis, some of the interpretations and assumptions of previous researchers', often regarding the dating of the site, are rejected. The overall classification for Anatolian rock art, as offered in this study, is the outcome of these stylistic analyses. Lastly, distribution maps for the proposed categories and each attribute are created in QGIS to examine if they yield a significant pattern worth further exploring.

CHAPTER 3

ROCK ART OF ANATOLIA

This chapter constitutes a detailed literature review of all the documented rock art of modern-day Turkey. It is arranged according to the proposed classification of Anatolian rock art. This categorization has its shortcomings and, in some cases, fails to explain the stylistic or technical diversion a certain rock art site exhibit. Therefore, it is not possible to fit in every individual site into one of the proposed categories. Yet, such an attempt of classification is essential while working on a relatively unexplored topic as Anatolian rock art.

To start with, examining the different techniques of rock art, namely the petroglyphs and pictographs, separately is more meaningful than classifying them according to their regional or chronological distribution. The technique of manufacture is the most distinctive aspect of a rock art tradition and implies an already established template of creating rock art. Although a few examples exist of the coexistence of both techniques, a rock art producing culture generally tends to create either petroglyphs or pictographs. Petroglyph, often misused interchangeably with rock art in general, is an umbrella term for a subset of rock art applied on a rock surface by incision, carving, pecking, or relief. In essence, they are modifications of the rock surface without the implementation of paint, whereas the term pictograph simply refers to rock paintings. Classification based on technique is followed by categories based on spatial and temporal distribution of rock art.

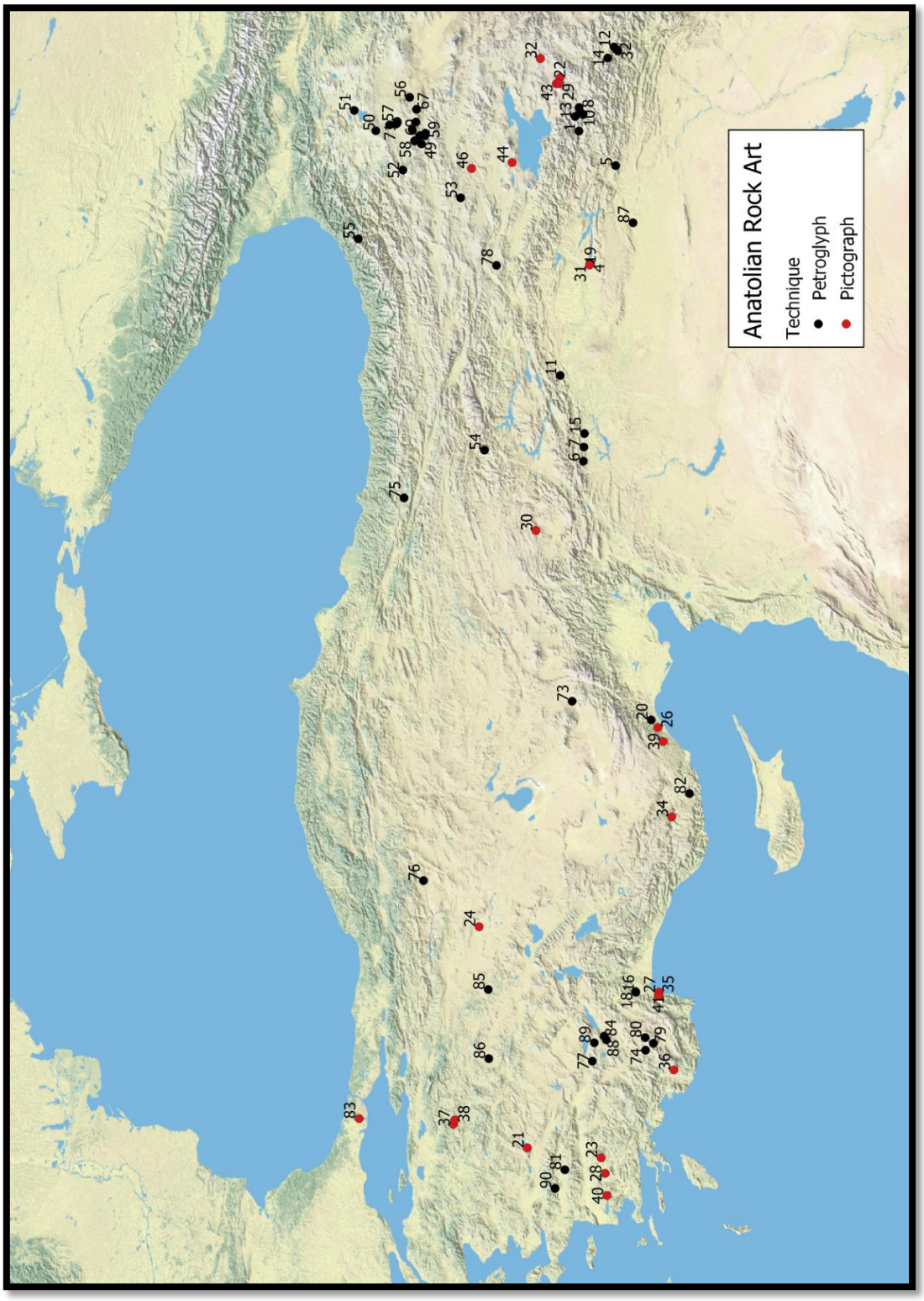

Figure 1. Map of All Anatolian Rock Art

Table 1. List of All Sites

Catalog No	Site Name
1	Narli (Huss Tepe)
2	Sat Dağları- Sat Gölü
3	Sat Dağları- Varagöz Yaylası
4	Dereser- Ezedi
5	Cudi Dağı
6	Palanli- Keçiler
7	Palanli-Pirun
8	Kahn-ı Işkir
9	Baltutan
10	Taht-ı Melik (Tırşin B)
11	Sinek Çayi
12	Gevaruk Plataeu
13	Tirsin Plataeu
14	Yeşiltaş- Reşko
15	Atatürk Baraji
16	Öküzini
17	Kahn-ı Melikan (Tırşin)
18	Karain Cave
19	Dereser- Dereler (Berha Çemika)
20	İnsu Köyü
21	Kanlitas
22	Gevre Bıhri (Hırkanis- Giyimli)
23	Çine-Madran
24	Balkayasi
25	Kurtunini
26	Dogu Sandal
27	Hayitli Göl
28	Cine-Saglik
29	Yedisalkim Cave 1
30	Keçemagarasi
31	Dereser-Yazili
32	Pagan (Yeşilalıç)
33	Kizlarin (Put) Cave 1 - East Cave
34	Akyapi
35	Kum Bucagi
36	Tavabasi
37	Inkaya
38	Baltaliin
39	Arslanlı
40	Latmos
41	Saricinar
42	Başet Dağı
43	Capanuk Tepesi
44	Aliger
45	Kizlarin (Put) Cave 2 - West Cave
46	Dogantas
47	Yedisalkim Cave 2
48	Çiçekli (Çiçeklikaya)
49	Çamuslu-Yazilikaya
50	Doyumlu
51	Basköy
52	Senkaya - Kaynak (Sirvaz Kalesi)
53	Karayazı-Cunni
54	Dilli
55	Demirkapı - Namazgah
56	Digor Dolaylı
57	Borluk- Mağaracık Ataköy
58	Tunçkaya
59	Karaboncuk Çeşmebaşı
60	Çalli- Geyiklitepe
61	Azat
62	Borluk- Köyalti
63	Borluk- Ikisu
64	Ani Alem Köyü
65	Katrankazanı
66	Karaboncuk
67	Yağlıca Kalesi
68	Çamuslu Kurbanaga
69	Kozlu (Ağyar)
70	Kömürlü
71	Borluk-Kervan
72	Dereiçi
73	Gümüşlü
74	Seydikemer
75	Mesudiye
76	Güdül (Asmali Yatak)
77	Bozkurt
78	Serevdin
79	Elmalı
80	Kozagacı (Cagman)
81	Ödemiş Konaklı
82	Gülnar Taşeli Beleni / Körcoluk
83	Yarimburgaz Cave
84	Kümbet Pinarı
85	Kümbet Köyü Kümbeti
86	Aizanoi Çavdarhisar
87	Cerrah Petroglyphs
88	Baynaz Tepe
89	Yanki Tasi
90	Bayındır

3.1. Petroglyphs of Anatolia

3.1.1. Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range (Epipaleolithic to Late Neolithic)

Site Name: Öküzini (No.16)
Location: Yağca, Merkez / Antalya
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Paleolithic

Öküzini Mağarası, located within Yağca Village, 30 km northwest of Antalya, lies within proximity to Karain Cave. İ.K. Kökten initially documented the cave in the 1950s and later led the excavations inside the cave. The cave was named after an engraving of an ox. Unfortunately, this petroglyph did not survive, and the only evidence for the petroglyph is a single moulage drawn by Kökten in the 50s currently in the department archive of Ankara University (Otte et al., 1995, p. 79). A copy is available in Antalya Museum. It can be concluded from the moulage that the engraving is naturalistic, and the single big-figured animal with well-defined deep outlines resembles the Upper Paleolithic rock art of Europe. Besides the petroglyphs, Kökten had revealed four incised pebbles, one with a bovine figure that could be clearly identified (Anati, 1968, p. 26). Based on these findings, Kökten believed the petroglyphs dated to the Upper Paleolithic. However, In 1989, an international team led by Yalçınkaya started excavating at the site, documenting a very detailed stratigraphy for the cave as the Epipaleolithic at the earliest, followed by the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic (Otte et al., 1995)

Site Name: Karain Mağarası (No.18)
Location: Yağca, Merkez / Antalya
Altitude: 360 m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Paleolithic

Karain Cave is located northeast of Yağca Village, 27 km northwest of Antalya. First excavations at Karain Cave were initiated by İ.K. Kökten in 1947, revealed archeological layers from the Paleolithic on. Kökten accounts recognizing a bovine and an anthropomorphic figure on the cave walls, accompanied by a group of cup marks. Anati associates these cup marks with rock art, citing the European Paleolithic contexts where the two tend to be found together (Anati, 1968, p. 22). Dating of the petroglyphs is based on small finds, including a bone tool carved into a schematic human head resembling a Natufian bone object from mount Carmel; a pebble incised with an animal figure, and another pebble carved into a zoomorphic form (Anati, 1968, p. 24).

Site Name: İnsu Köyü (No.20)
Location: İnsu, Yenişehir / Mersin
Altitude: 675m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Neolithic / Chalcolithic (6.000-3.000 BC)

İnsu petroglyphs were first discovered by a group of local villagers in 2021, on the outer walls of a cave within İnsu Neighborhood of Yenişehir, Mersin. Upon their request, M. Durukan visited the site and concluded that the petroglyphs were prehistoric. He believes the primary motive for the petroglyphs' production is to depict the local fauna, as evident in the ibex, deer, and other unidentified animal figures. Durukan suggests the petroglyphs might date to a period between 6.000-

3.000 BC. Similar petroglyphs are also documented in Mezitli and Çeşmeli (Arkeolojik Haber). However, since there has not been scientific research published on petroglyphs yet, this dating should be considered with caution.

Figure 2. İnsu Köyü Petroglyphs (Anadolu Ajansı)

Site Name: Tırşin Yaylası (No.13, No.17, No.10, No.8, No.9)
Location: Tırşin, Gürpınar / VAN
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Tırşin Yaylası is located on the Cilo Mountain, in Narlıdere-Çatak border, 40 km south of Gürpınar, Van (Uyanık, 1974, p. 29). It is a plateau with 2500-2900 meters altitude that has been used as summer pasture. Both M. Uyanık and M. Özdoğan mention fragments of obsidian microliths and cores as surface finds from the immediate region (Uyanık, 1974, p.13; Tümer, 2017, p. 45). The primary technique of manufacture at Tırşin Yaylası is pecking (intaglio). Uyanık could not find any proof for the use of metal tools; however, he had found quartz chips near the petroglyphs, which probably were the excess from the stone tools used for pecking

(Uyanık, 1974, p. 59). Petroglyphs of Tırşin Yayalası are scattered around a vast region. Most of them are clustered around Kahn-ı Melikan, Taht-ı Melikan and Kahn-ı Işkir localities, whereas a smaller number of petroglyphs were found at Ermeni Tırşini and Zirkan Tırşini (Tümer, 2017, p. 50). They were first documented by a local administrator in 1937 but the earliest scientific work on the petroglyphs was conducted by M. Uyanık and M. Özdoğan in 1967. Uyanık made a stylistic comparison of these petroglyphs and classified them into five groups: (1) Naturalistic, (2) Semi-naturalistic, (3) Symbolic, (4) Semi-symbolic, and (5) Plain symbols (Tümer, 2017, p. 50). Recently, H. Tümer (2017) had written a well-detailed master's thesis on Tırşin Plateau. Her work primarily focuses on the Kahn-ı Işkir location, where she surveyed the sites previously documented by Uyanık and Özdoğan (Tümer, 2017, p. 46).

The majority of the animals represented at Tırşin are mountain goats and antelopes, followed by deer and roe deer. Other animals such as snakes, birds, dogs, wolves, and foxes exist in smaller numbers. There are four examples of bison, muffon, buffalo, and cattle and two depictions of pars/leopards. In addition, although it is controversial, Uyanık identified a giraffe and an elephant figure; and noted the striking absence of bear figures (Uyanık, 1974, p. 46). These species are consistent with the prehistoric local fauna of the region (Belli, 2007, p. 51). It is noteworthy that while most herbivorous animals are stylized with simple lines, either with or without volume, the carnivores are consistently represented as volumetric silhouettes. The human figures of Tırşin are also schematized. Uyanık defined some of these abstract anthropomorphic figures as shamans or demons. He documented 35 different poses for human depictions, including "running, walking, kneeling, praying, arrow shooting, dancing, drum-beating, horse riding and shield bearing"

(Uyanık,1974, p. 46). Besides animals and humans, geometric signs and symbols are few and include dots, spirals, tectiforms, and S-shaped and U-shaped motifs.

On the dating of Tırşin Petroglyphs, Anati offers four distinct production phases based on the analogies he drew to the rock art of surrounding regions. He dates (1) the schematic animals and human figures to the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic period; (2) human figures with the bows and arrow and bovid, deer, dog, sheep, and goat figures to the Bronze Age; (3) the anthropomorphic figures that he believes are related to cult activity to from the 2 millennium BCE and (4) the stylized animal figures which he claims to show parallels to Transcaucasian-Schytian rock art to the Iron Age (Tümer, 2017, p. 66). Uyanık consulted K. Bittel and H. Kühn on the dating. Kühn dated the big-figured, realistic bison depictions of the Kahn-ı Melikan to the Epipaleolithic, while Bittel retained from making a judgment (Uyanık, 1974, pp.16-7). Therefore, Uyanık dated this group broadly "from the Epipaleolithic to the historical times" (Uyanık, 1974, p. 17). Özdoğan, suggests that the petroglyphs dated to the Neolithic period based on their similarity to the symbolism revealed at Göbeklitepe and the obsidian tools found nearby (Tümer, 2017, p. 66). Noting the stylistic variety, Belli agrees with the multiple production phases theory and offers a period between 7000-4000 BC for the petroglyphs (Belli, 2007, p. 51).

Site Name: Tırşin - Kahn-ı Melikan (No.17)
Location: Beşbudak, Gürpınar / Van
Altitude: 2850 m
Technique: Petroglyph- Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Kahn-ı Melikan (Fountain of Meliks) is the highest part of the Tırşin Yayalası, located on the northern and the western slopes of the plateau (Uyanık,

1974, p. 32). The petroglyphs are executed by pecking, on big blocks of rock lying on the northern slopes of the hills. Although some figures are stylized with simple lines, most of them are more volumetric than the Kahn-ı Işkir petroglyphs. A linear outline initially defines the volume, and the interior is later executed by pecking (Tümer, 2017, pp.56-8). M. Özdoğan surveyed this area in 1967 and documented animal and human figures as well as geometric shapes. He believes the symbolic world of Kahn-ı Melikan is similar to the Göbeklitepe's (Tümer, 2017, p. 67). The species represented in Kahn-ı Melikan includes ibexes, deer, bulls, bison, snakes, dogs, and several other unidentified animals. There exist two different styles in Kahn-ı Melikan: the large realistic figures and the simple, diagrammatical, symbolic style (Uyanık, 1974, pp.32-6). The realistic style is thought to be executed by well-trained artists and predominantly contains animal depictions. Humans are either absent or shown only in relation to animals, such as in hunting-scenes and always in smaller sizes. The animal figures are considerably big, with widths varying between 54-58 cm. Game animals such as fallow deer, cattle, buffalo, and antelope dominate the big-figured realistic style (Uyanık,1974, p. 34). Their similarity to the Paleolithic rock art of Europe is what led Kühn to date them to the Epipaleolithic (Uyanık, 1974, p. 32). The most prominent example for this earlier style is the so-called "Bison Rock which occupies the dominant position of the gallery" (Uyanık, 1974, p. 34). One particular figure is striking in its level of abstraction as a deer and a bull figure is combined into the same body (Fig.3d). Although Uyanık initially thought the two heads were an outcome of superimposition, he later concluded that the composite animal was a deliberate choice of the artist (Uyanık, 1974, p. 35). A human figure found at Kahn-ı Melikan and later moved to the Van Museum is as remarkable in terms of abstraction. This human is represented as a silhouette with its skeletal

features and ribs shown (Fig.3e) (Tümer, 2017, p. 62). It has a phallus indicating its sex and a circular head lacking facial features. On the contrary, hands are shown with quite a detail to represent the fingers and the holding gesture. It seems to hold an animal, possibly a dog, on a leash. Based on the existence of the domesticated dog, Uyanık thought Kahn-ı Melikan dated to the Neolithic (Uyanık, 1974, p. 35). The geometric signs and symbols of the second type included dots, spirals, tectiforms, circles, L-shaped, S-shaped, and U-shaped angular signs (Tümer 2017,63). Their similarity to the symbols found at Beldibi (Antalya) and Mas d'Azil (France) further encouraged Uyanık that the petroglyphs were Neolithic (Uyanık, 1974, p. 36). Besides the geometric signs, the diagrammatical style is used to depict humans in various positions, including hunting (Fig.3b) and trap scenes, conflict scenes in which a human is depicted while being shot by an arrow (Fig.3c) , and a dancing scene with a drummer and a dancer (Fig. 3a) (Uyanık, 1974, p. 37).

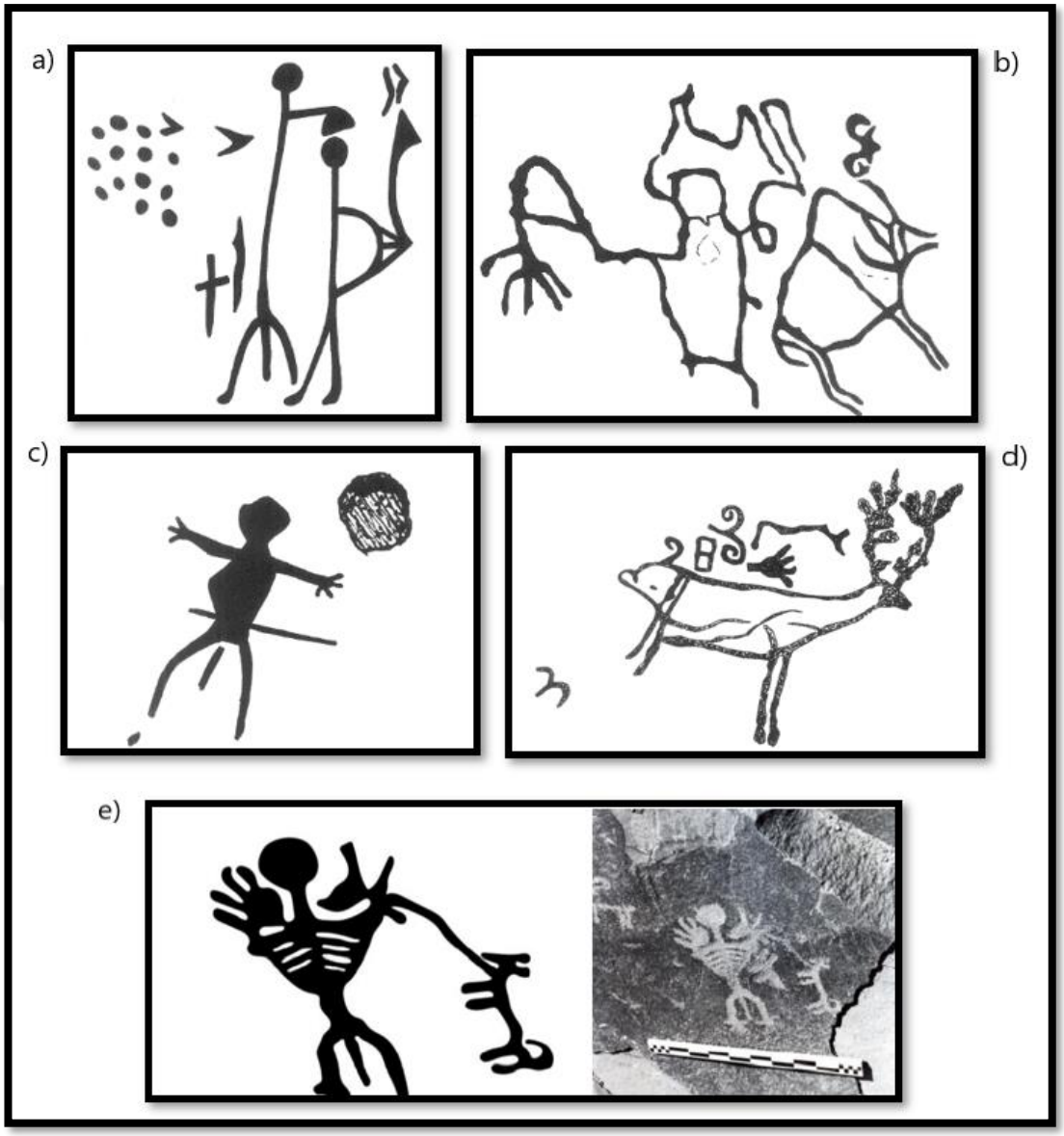

Figure 3. Kahn-ı Melikan Petroglyphs a) The Drummer and the Dancer (Uyanık, 1974, p.38, Fig.16), b) Hunting Scene (Uyanık, 1974, p.35, Fig.12), c) Human Shot with an Arrow (Uyanık, 1974, p.38, Fig.15), d) Composite Animal (Uyanık, 1974, p.36, Fig. 13), e) Skeletal Figure Holding a Dog on a Leash (Tümer, 2017, p.63, Şekil.36)

Site Name: Tırşin- Taht-ı Melikan (No.10)
Location: Beşbudak, Gürpınar /Van
Altitude: 2600 m
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking (Few with Incision)
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Taht-ı Melikan (Kings' Throne) lies 100 meters north of Kahn-ı Işkir and Kahn-ı Melikan, and is named after a large boulder that resembled a throne. Uyanık initially documented the site in 1956 and reports that the rocks displaced from a higher location by water and earthquakes cover an area of 10.000 meters (Uyanık, 1974, p. 32). To research such an extended area, Uyanık divided the field into parcels ranging from A to S according to their altitude. He observed a stylistic difference between the ones "Below G" and the upper ones (Uyanık, 1974, p. 41). However, Tümer was not able to locate those petroglyphs in her 2017 survey (Tümer, 2017, p. 46). In Above G, few figures are incised while most are executed by pecking (intaglio) after their outlines are defined (Uyanık, 1974, p. 32). Most of the figures are animals, including fallow deer, ibex, bison, elk, and two figures identified as a panther/ leopard by Uyanık (Fig.4). One of them seems to attack a bison (Fig.4d) (Tümer, 2017, p. 59). Uyanık identified two figures at Parcel L as a giraffe and an elephant (Uyanık, 1974, p. 46). Humans are depicted as they engage in hunting scenes such as the so-called Archer's Rock, where two hunters follow a deer. Two humans with extended arms run through a herd of ibex on a nearby panel. There are also chariot-wheel-like circular figures identified as "demons" by Uyanık (Uyanık, 1974, p. 40). Besides animal figures and "demons," there are geometric signs and symbols at Taht-ı Melikan, including dots, spirals, tectiforms, circles, and S-shaped and U-shaped angular signs (Uyanık, 1974, p.46). The petroglyphs of Below G are realistic in style and executed by pecking. Uyanık believes this section contains the

oldest petroglyphs in the whole Tırşin Plateau. Human depictions are absent at Below G. Diagrammatic figures accompany species such as bezoar, buffalo, deer, wild boar, and elk which is common in North African rock art. Uyanık observed that horses, among other animals, are overrepresented at Below G and thought it reflected the economic value of the species over other game animals (Fig.4b) (Uyanık, 1974, p. 41).

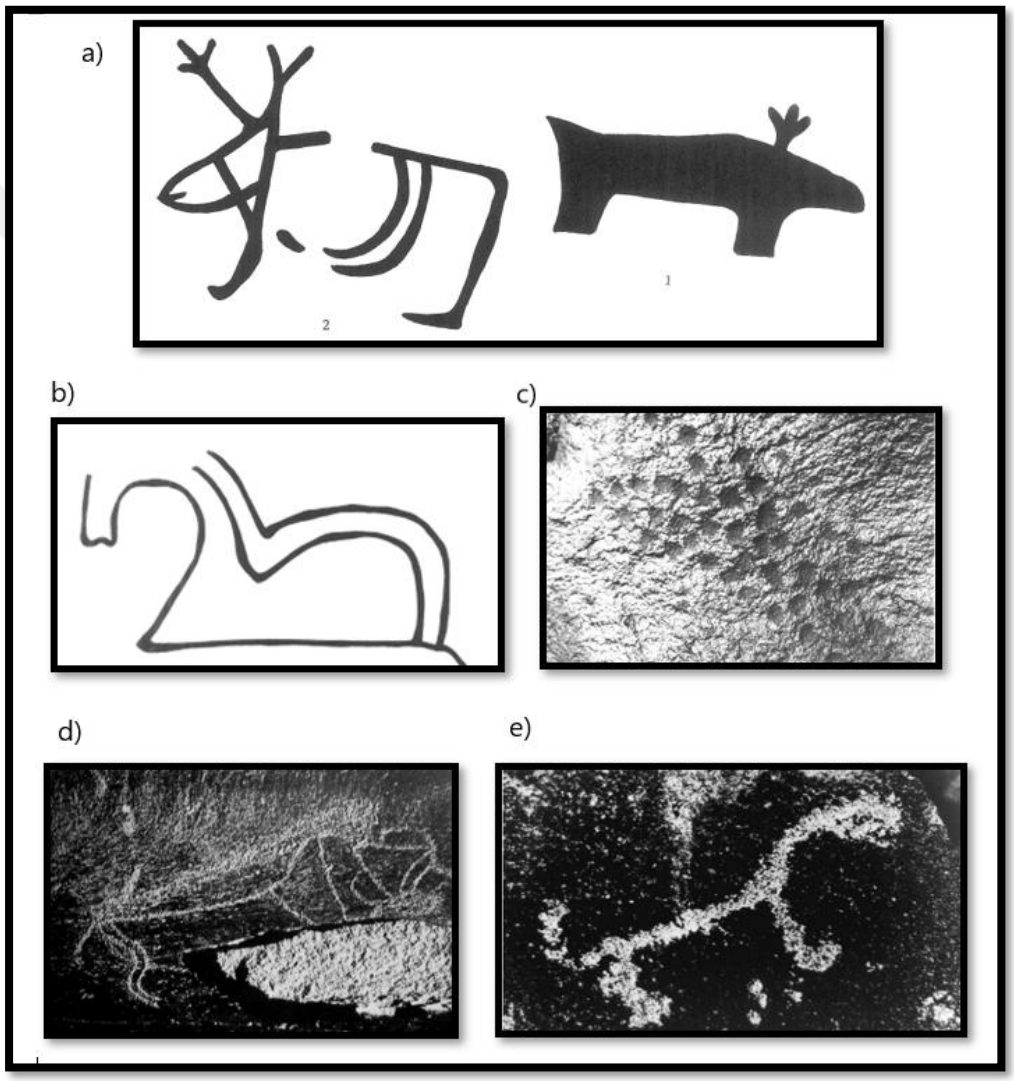

Figure 4. Taht-ı Melikan Petroglyphs a) Elk Figures (Uyanık, 1974, p. 41, Fig.20), b) Stylized Horse Figure (Uyanık, 1974, p. 42, Fig.21), c) Cup Marks (Uyanık, 1974, Fig.114), d) Panther Attacking a Bison (Uyanık, 1974, Fig.73), e) Leopard Figure (Uyanık, 1974, Fig.103)

Site Name: Tırşin - Ermeni Tırşini and Zirkan Tırşini (No. 13)
Location: Dikbıyık, Gürpınar / VAN
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

The petroglyphs of Ermeni Tırşini and Zirkan Tırşini were first identified by Uyanık in 1968. They are located one and a half hours walking distance east of Taht-ı Melikan. He had documented a group of 12 human figures stylized with simple lines that resemble "the stick-men." In contrast to the other sectors of Tırşin Plateau, at Ermeni Tırşini human depictions predominate the scenes, and they are the single representation of humans as groups within the whole plateau. The group is shown in two parallel lines, with lowered hands, performing group activity or dance (Uyanık, 1974, p. 47). Some figures have phalluses to indicate sex (Tümer, 2017, p. 62). Besides "the dancing men", Uyanık identified an elk and a deer (Uyanık 1974, p. 47).

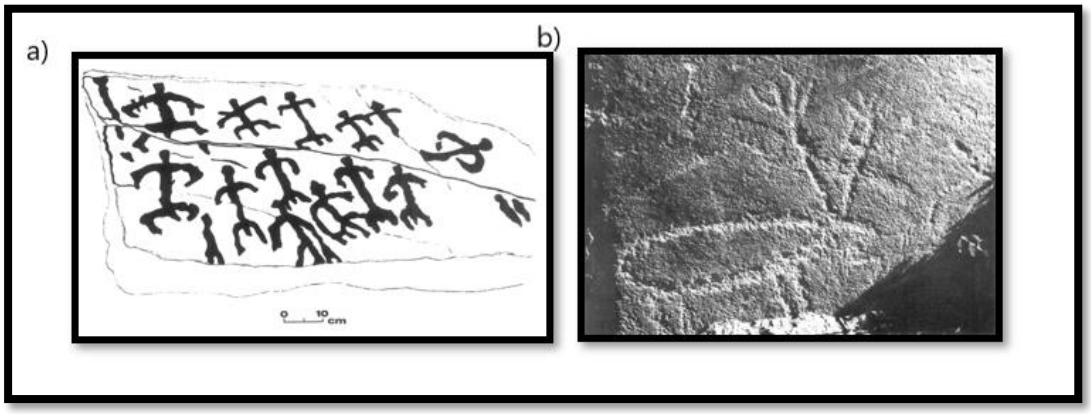

Figure 5. Petroglyphs of Ermeni Tırşini, a) “The Dancing Men” (Uyanık, 1974, p. 45, Fig.24), b) Elk Figure (Uyanık, 1974, Fig.116)

Site Name: Tırşin - Kahn-ı Işkir (No.8)
Location: Beşbudak, Gürpınar/ Van
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph- Incision and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Kahn-ı Işkir petroglyphs are found on small blocks of rock scattered within an area of 2000 square meters, below a stream bed, on the southwestern slopes of Kahn-ı Işkir Hill (Tümer, 2017, p. 46). Over 40 pieces of rocks have been identified to carry either single or groups of petroglyphs, executed by engraving and pecking (Tümer, 2017, pp.48-9). Figures are primarily stylized into simple, linear forms, and except for a few, they are mostly portrayed in static poses. The size of the figures varies from 10 cm to 20 cm (Tümer, 2017, p. 49). Tümer recognized that the surfaces of volcanic rocks such as andesite and basalt had been preferred as they are easier to process. The surfaces were not treated prior to the rock art production. Some panels are damaged due to natural weathering. The most common figures are animals, particularly ibexes and deer, with few examples of carnivores. One group of figures forms a scene with two carnivores attacking a deer from both sides. Tümer interprets the carnivore figures as hyenas and points out the stylistic difference in how the carnivore figures are executed in bold silhouettes in contrast with the linear stylization of game animals (Tümer, 2017, p. 60). There are also human figures in Kahn-ı Işkir. All figures are singular and mostly portrayed with their arms wide open to the sides. In contrast with the animal representations, geometric signs and symbols are scarce. Only a few dots have been identified (Tümer, 2017, p. 63).

Figure 6. Kahn-I Işkir Petrolgyphs, Two Hyenas/Foxes Attacking A Deer (Tümer, 2017, p.60, Şekil 32)

Site Name: Baltutan (No.9)
Location: Baltutan, Gürpınar / Van
Altitude: 1280m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Baltutan petroglyphs are found on the outskirts of a small hill, south of Baltutan village, 74 km south of Gürpınar, Van. The hill is at 11 km distance from Tırşin Plateau. The panel with the most number of figures sizes 4x3 meters, and is located at the top of the hill. The petroglyphs are applied by incision and pecking, and are mostly linearly stylized (Tümer, 2017, p. 98). Only exception is the naturalistic depiction of snakes, and birds in flying position. The figures show a great variety and include animal motifs such as ibexes, deer, snakes, birds, bugs, possibly a turtle, and humans. Snake figures in Baltutan are significantly in abundance compared to other Anatolian rock art (Fig.7a) (Tümer, 2017, p. 100). A possible hunting scene (Fig.7b) depicts a human holding a bow and an arrow surrounded by geometric signs and a particular motif which Tümer interprets as a sun disc. The few

human figures are also stylized with simple lines without much detail. Heads are circular, the legs form a reverse V-shape, and the hands and feet are indicated with little volume. There is no indicator of sex, and if the human figure is not holding a bow or an arrow, it is depicted with its arms opened to both sides (Tümer, 2017, p. 102). The geometric signs and symbols include rectangles (Fig.7c), which Tümer believes may have been a simplified version of an animal (Tümer, 2017, p. 103). Although there are different exclusive figures evident at both sites, Tümer believes Baltutan is stylistically very similar to Tirşin Yaylası petroglyphs (Tümer, 2017, p. 104).

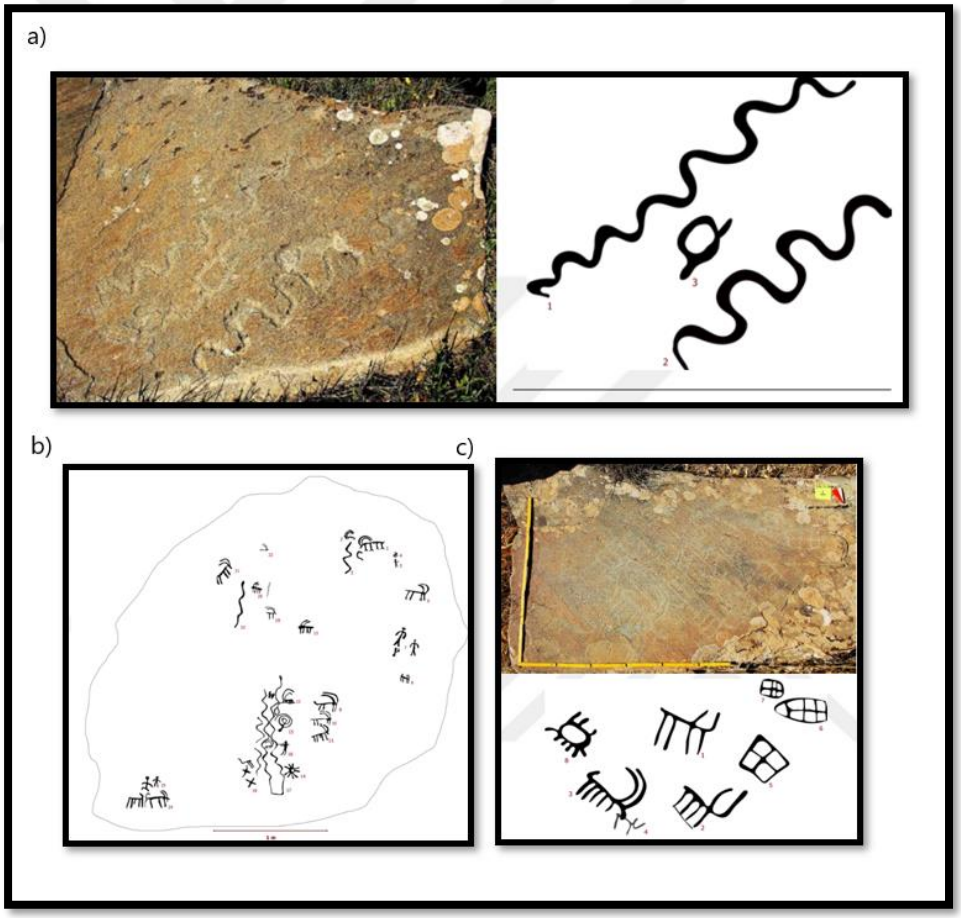

Figure 7. Baltutan Petroglyphs, a) The Snake Panel (Tümer, 2017, p. 108), b)Hunting Scene (Tümer, 2017, p. 105), c) Panel with Rectangular Motifs (Tümer, 2017, p. 107)

Site Name: Gevaruk Yaylası
Location: Gevaruk/ HAKKARİ
Altitude: 3850m
Technique: Petroglyph
Site Type: Open Air
Dating

Gevaruk Yaylası petroglyphs are scattered around a summer pasture within Gevaruk Valley in the Sat-Cilo Mountain Range, northeast of Hakkari. The plateau where most of the rock art is found is at 2900 meters altitude. Its glaciers and cirque lakes mark the Cilo-Sat Mountain Range (Tümer, 2017, p. 121). W. Freh and M. Uyanık, accompanied by a group of Austro-Turkish expedition, identified the first petroglyphs here in 1956 (Uyanık, 1974, p. 18). In 1958, they documented 500 more petroglyphs within the region, followed by a group of British mountaineers documenting approximately 600 more petroglyphs in 1968; and another group of German mountaineers documented 25 petroglyphs near Lake Sat (Uyanık, 1974, p. 20). Uyanık estimates more than 1000 petroglyphs within the region; however, only a tiny percentage of these are documented and published. The petroglyphs are executed by pecking (percussion), and the majority are schematic. Their style is quite different from Tırşin petroglyphs, and most figures do not size more than 20 cm (Uyanık, 1974, p. 74). Animal figures dominate Gevaruk petroglyphs, with bezoars as the highest number. Their bodies are stylized with thick, simple lines, and most have exaggerated horns occasionally sizing as big as the body itself. (Belli, 2008, p.7). Uyanık believes that the over-representation of bezoars among other animals reflects their large-scale hunting due to a substance, called the bezoar's stone, found in the animal's stomach that is thought to have healing properties (Uyanık, 1974, p. 67). Other animal figures include wild sheep (mouflon), foxes, gazelle, deer, wolves, hares, and wild cats (Uyanık, 1974, p. 74). Human figures are also stylized. Some of

them are portrayed bearing spears and sticks, while there are no archers or sling users despite the prominent hunting theme of the petroglyphs (Uyanık, 1974, p. 67). Thus, Uyanık believes the hunting activity involves pushing the game into traps and lassoing (Uyanık, 1974, p. 71). Exceptions are a panel containing a human with a bow and an arrow and two panels that depict humans on horses, while one of them carries an ibex he hunted on his back (Uyanık, 1974, p. 74). Some humans are portrayed frontally, while others are depicted from the profile. The most common position among human figures is the arms-wide-open and arms reaching upward poses (Tümer, 2017, p. 121). Besides the hunting scenes, dancing scenes portray groups of humans lined shoulder to shoulder (Uyanık, 1974, p. 74). One particular panel near Lake Sat contains a boat figure with its passengers (Uyanık, 1974, p. 74). Among the symbols and geometric signs, the figure called a "wheel" (referred as compartmentalized circle in this study) by Uyanık is significant. He believes this represents an architectural feature, perhaps a silo for grains, although no other sign of agriculture exists (Uyanık, 1974, p. 74). Both Anati and Kühn believe the location of the petroglyphs was significant as, in line with the theme of the petroglyphs, the region is very suitable for hunting and animal domestication and has been densely forested until recently. It is also located close to the Shanidar Cave and the Besusun petroglyphs (Uyanık, 1974, p. 21). Kühn thought the Gevaruk petroglyphs were pre-Neolithic, while Anati disagreed, mentioning that they might be executed in a broad timespan (Uyanık, 1974, p. 67). Citing two (7.000 BC-2.000 BC) distinct production phases as in Tırşin, Belli agrees with Anati's multiple production phase hypothesis. He claims that the big-figured realistic depictions date earlier than the small, stylized figures (Belli, 2008, p.9).

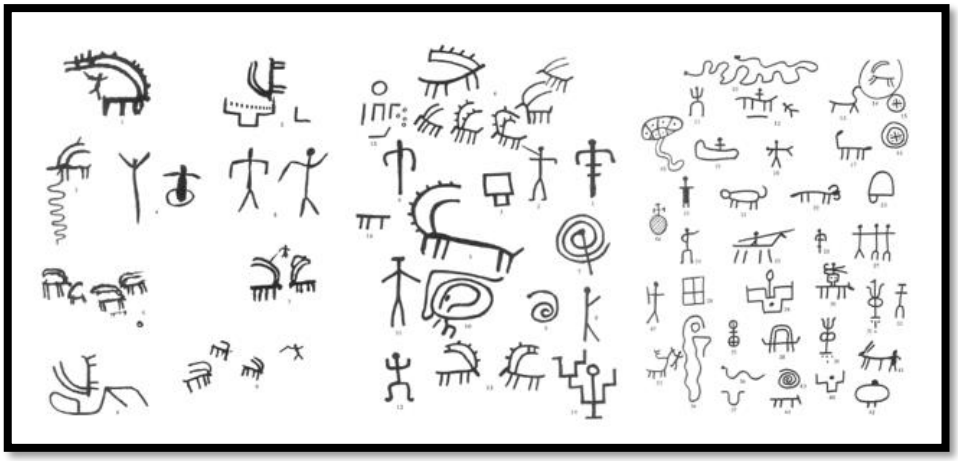

Figure 8. Petroglyphs of Gevaruk Yaylası (Uyanık, 1974, pp.68-72, Fig.31-32-33)

Site Name: Yeşiltaş (Reşko) (No.14)
Location: Yeşiltaş, Yüksekova / HAKKARİ
Altitude: 4165 m
Technique: Petroglyph – Pecking (Percussion)
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Yeşiltaş Petroglyphs are located across Bibabo Zoması on the Reşko (Uludoruk) summit of Cilo-Sat Mountain range. M. Uyanık first identified the site in 1948. The petroglyphs are scattered around a vast area surrounding Oramar Stream. Smooth surfaces of red and black granite blocks seem to be preferred for rock art production. The figures include ibex, deer, stylized humans, and geometric shapes, including crosses and dots (Alok, 1988, pp.7-8).

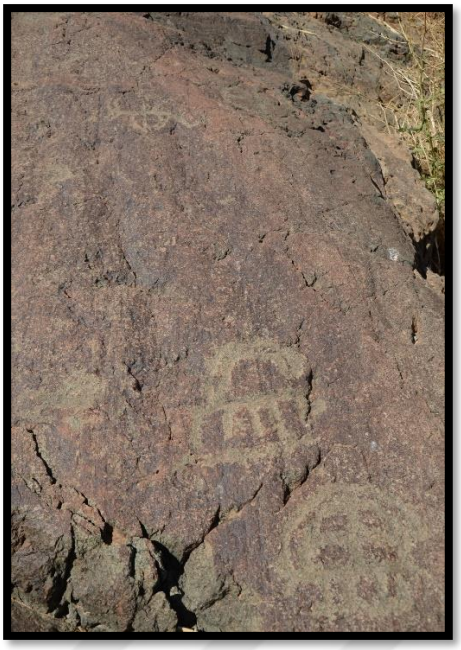

Figure 9. Yeşiltaş – Reşko Petroglyphs (Ü. Şıracı, 2013)

Site Name: Sat Dağları- Tango Mehir
Location: Dağlıca, Hakkari
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph-
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Tango Mehir petroglyphs are located 4 km away from the point where Oramar (Dağlıca) road parts away to the north for Çınarlı Valley (Alok, 1988, p. 60).

Site Name: Sat Dağları- Varagöz Yaylası (No.3)
Location: Hakkari
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: (8000-1000 BC)

Varagöz Yaylası, located near the Çia Mazan peak, was formed by the cirque glaciers melting down the mountains. E. Alok believes the smooth, shiny patina surfaces caused by the melting glaciers were deliberately chosen for petroglyphs,

making the valley a popular place for rock art production. Alok estimates that over 10.000 figures are scattered around the valley of which the majority are animal representations. He believes the stream passing through the valley, as well as the freshwater resources formed by the melting glaciers made the valley “an oasis” for game animals to inhabit and thus he explains the dominant “hunting-theme” of the petroglyphs. In terms of the dating of the petroglyphs, Alok is only able to estimate a wide span between 8.000-1.000 BC (Alok,1988, p. 64).

Site Name: Cudi Dağı (No.5)
Location: Sefine Yeri, Cizre / ŞIRNAK
Altitude: 2189m
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Epi-paleolithic?

Cudi Dağı petroglyphs are found on boulders across the turbeh of Sheik Mustafa, below a popular pilgrimage site called Sefine Yeri in the Cizre, Şırnak. The location is traditionally believed to be the place where Noah's Ark was grounded. Uyanık initially documented the petrgolyhps in his 1974 book. Most figures are geometric, resembling mandalas, whereas some figurative art is also found. The figurative composition includes gazelles with their fawns and a hunter with their two boomerangs (Uyanık, 1974, p. 86). The primary manufacturing technique is pecking (percussion). Uyanık suggests the geometric shapes might be tribal seals belonging to people visiting the locality that has been considered sacred since ancient times. He points out the similarities of these marks to those found in Epipaleolithic rock art in Denmark, France, and Spain and considers the Epipaleolithic as a strong possibility for Cudi Dağı petroglyphs (Uyanık, 1974, p. 87).

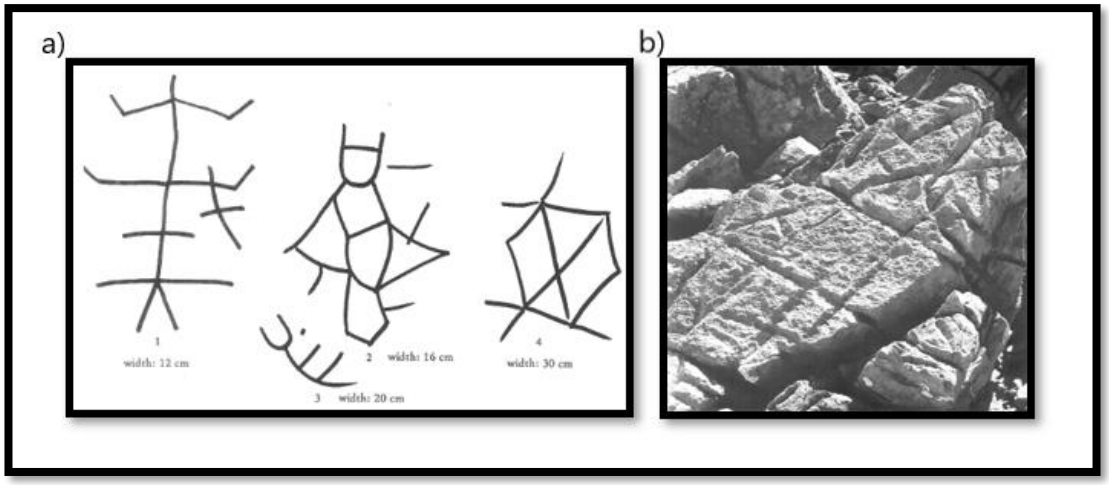

Figure 10. Cudi Dağı Petroglyphs, a) (Uyanık, 1974, p. 84, Fig.42), b) (Uyanık, 1974, fig.135)

Site Name: Palanlı- Keçiler Cave (Palanlı Cave) (No.6)
Location: Palanlı, Merkez, Adıyaman
Altitude: 1100m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping and Pecking
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Upper Paleolithic - Epipaleolithic- Neolithic- Chalcolithic- EBA

Palanlı - Keçiler Cave is located 3 km north of the Pirun Village, 7 km north-northwest of Adıyaman city center. The rock art at Palanlı Cave was first documented by Anati in 1968, followed by an expedition by E. Bostancı in 1970. The petroglyphs were executed by scrapping and pecking. Anati notes that the panel consists of at least 45 ibexes and human figures. He dates these figures to several distinct phases. Based on the stylistic similarities to other rock art in Europe and the near east (the Negev rock art in Israel and Kiwa rock art in Jordan), Anati offers four distinct phases, (1) Paleolithic-Epipaleolithic, (2) Proto-neolithic, (3) Neolithic, and (4) later periods (possibly Bronze Age) for Palanlı- Keçiler Cave. He suggests the larger animal depictions, of which some size almost 1 meter, resemble the paleolithic rock art of Europe. The smaller ibexes and the human figures are similar to the rock

art of Gevaruk Yaylası and Kumbucağı III, leading Anati to date them to the Neolithic. He dated another group of stylized ibexes to the Bronze Age based on the stylistic parallels to the Beldibi III. On the other hand, E. Bostancı believes the larger ibex figures belong to the Aurignacian. In contrast, Mellaart proposes the Chalcolithic period as a more substantial possibility as the ibex figures are stylistically closer to the Halaf pottery. Kökten believes stylistic similarities exist between the human figures of Karain Cave and Palanlı petroglyphs (Tümer, 2017, p. 136). A pebble incised with a similar human figure holding a spear was found in the Upper Paleolithic levels of Karain Cave, and another depiction of a human head was incised on a bone object from the same level.

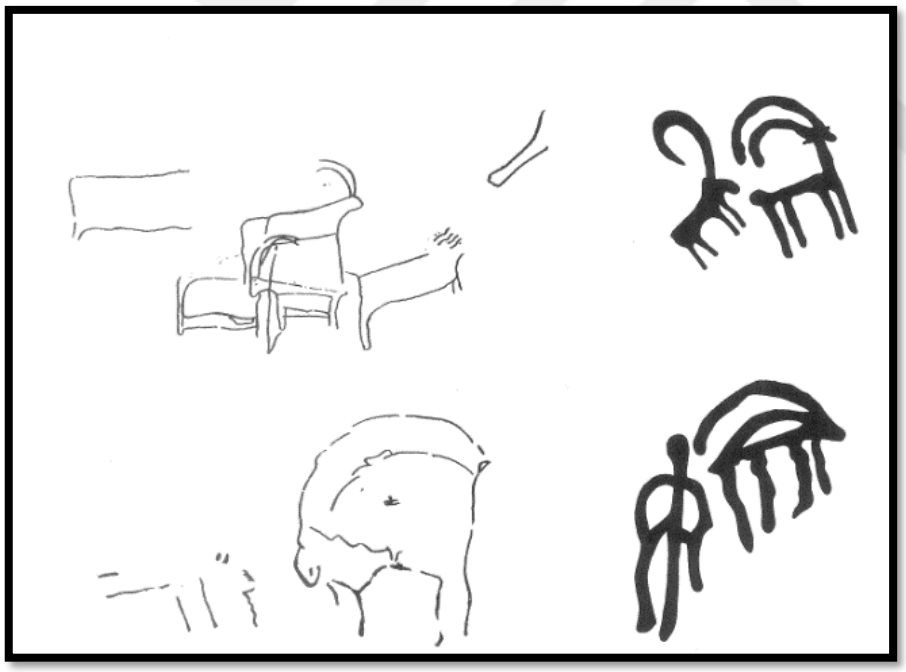

Figure 11. Petroglyphs of Palanlı – Keçiler Cave (Uyanık, 1974, p. 20, Fig.5, after Koşay, Pittard, Kansu)

Site Name: Palanlı- Pirun (No.7)
Location: Merkez, Adıyaman / Rock Shelter
Altitude: 730 m
Technique: Petroglyph
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating:

Palanlı-Pirun petroglyphs, located near the road connecting Adıyaman city center to Malatya, were first identified by E. Pittard, Ş.A. Kansu, and H.Z. Koşay during a prehistoric survey of Adıyaman region in 1938. Pittard had identified at least seven large animal figures (possibly ibexes) and recorded them with drawings. He dated these figures to the Upper Paleolithic based on their similarity with the European Magdalenian cave art with large figures. However, later in his 1964 expedition, Anati could not find the locality (Tümer, 2017, p. 141). Therefore, Pittard's drawings remain the single source for Palanlı-Pirun petroglyphs. The locality of the rock shelter was approximately mapped on the overall map of Anatolian rock art in this research.

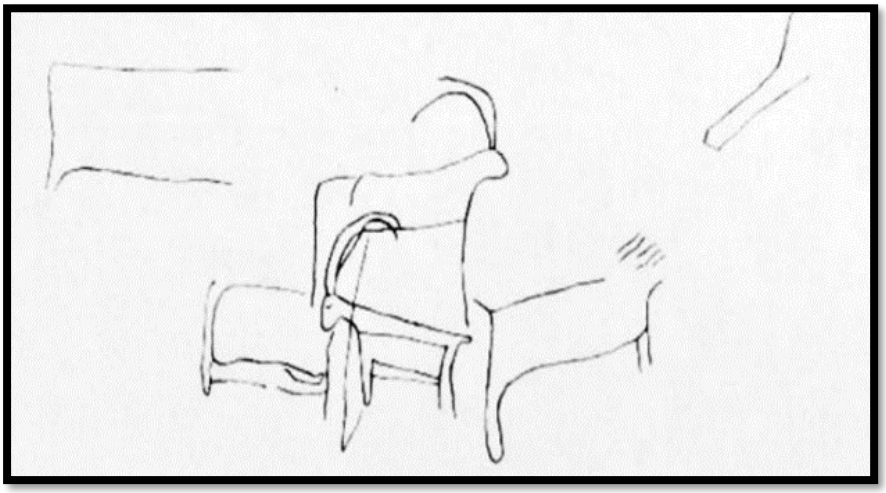

Figure 12. Pittard's Drawing of Palanlı Petroglyhps (Tümer, 2017, p. 141, Şekil 59, after Pittard, 1938)

Site Name: Atatürk Barajı (No.15)
Location: Kahta, Adıyaman / Rock Shelter
Altitude: 530m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Paleolithic- (2200 BC at earliest is a more reliable date)

Atatürk Barajı petroglyphs are located on the shores of Atatürk Dam, in the Kahta, Adıyaman. Local fishers discovered the petroglyphs in the summer of 2018 after a 10-15 m decrease in the water level. M. Alkan, Deputy Manager of Adıyaman Museum, analyzed the petroglyphs upon notice and dated them broadly to the Paleolithic Period. The panel is 8 meters long and 70 cm wide and consists of various figures, including humans, ibexes, horses, wolves, foxes, storks, and other unidentified animals and geometric motifs. All figures are executed by incision. The rock surface contains niches, which Alkan interprets as altars, although he does not specify if the niches are human-made or natural rock formations. Alkan believes the location was part of a paleolithic slope settlement that served a ritual function. The panel may be considered a "hunting scene" as human figures are depicted holding bows and arrows, riding horses, and hunting down ibexes. Alkan notes they will apply to the Şanlıurfa Board of Protection of Cultural Assets for registration; however, no further protective precautions could be taken if the water level rises again. The water did not seem to cause severe destruction to the engravings (Arkeofili, 2018). Given the existence of the so-called "cavalryman" figure, Alkan's dating is likely to be inaccurate. Horseback riding did not become widespread in Anatolia until 2200 BC (Librado et al., 2021); thus "MBA at the earliest" would be a more reliable dating for Atatürk Dam petroglyphs. To evaluate all possibilities, Atatürk Barajı petroglyphs are included both in the "Paleolithic" and "MBA at the earliest" maps in this research.

Figure 13. Atatürk Barajı Petroglyphs (Arkeofili)

Site Name: Sinek Çayı Rock Shelter (No.11)
Location: Sakaltun, Çermik / Diyarbakır
Altitude: 675m
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking and Incision
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Upper Paleolithic - Epi-paleolithic

Sinek Çayı rock shelter lies northeast of the stream it is named after, 1km southwest of Sakaltun Village of Çermik, and 36 km northwest of Diyarbakır (Belli, 2009, p. 68). The location of the petroglyphs is significant as they are near the springhead that feeds the stream (Belli 2009, 69). Belli believes that being located near a springhead, Sinek Çayı petroglyphs served as hunting magic through which the carvers hoped to hunt down the animals gathered there to drink water (Belli, 2009, p. 77). The rock shelter itself is not suitable for permanent occupation as it is very narrow. Belli had documented hunting scenes composed of 16 animal and 11 human figures. Archaeozoologist V. Onar identified the animal species as 14 ibexes, a male goat, and an unidentified animal. Belli noticed two different techniques regarding the execution of the animal figures: volumetric bodies created by pecking

and linear bodies created by incision. Belli believes the unidentified animal with the volumetric body to be a predator, such as a tiger or a panther. He thinks the tools used in their manufacture are the locally found obsidian and based on the minor differences in the figures; he thinks they were applied by different individuals (Belli, 2009, p. 72). The size of the figures also varies: ibex figures have a height of 18 to 25 cm and a width of 30 to 36 cm. By comparing them to the ones at Kağızman-Karaboncuk (Kars), Belli concludes that the bigger figures date earlier than the smaller ones. Some animals only have their upper torso drawn while the rest of the body is left incomplete. This is probably due to the most critical features, such as the head and horns are on the body's upper half. This artistic choice is similar to the petroglyphs of Borluk Valley (Kars), Çallı (Kars), and pictographs of Upper Paleolithic caves of Bedeilhac, Freres, Niaux, Font-de Gaume, Combareles and Lascaux (France). Belli emphasizes that all animal figures face right as if they are fleeing, while human figures face both left and right. This composition gave him the idea that the scene depicts a drive-hunt (Belli, 2009, p. 73). Two of the humans drive the game into the trap by shooting arrows, where they would be met by nine more archers on the other side. The size of the human figures varies between 0.9 to 14 cm, and they are all depicted frontally. They have circular heads without facial features. Belli interprets the variety in size as an effort to show men from different age groups participating in the drive-hunt (Belli, 2009, p. 74). He compares the scene to the other hunting scenes found at Borluk Valley (Kars), Camuşlu (Kars), and Kahn-ı Melikan (Van) and claims Sinek Çayı dates earlier than these examples where the hunter figures are singular. He proposes that the Epi-paleolithic rock art of Castellon (Spain) would constitute a better comparison as a similar drive-hunt scene with multiple hunters is found (Belli, 2009, p. 76). He proposes Palanlı (Adıyaman)

petroglyphs dated to the Upper Paleolithic and are similar to the bigger ibex figures at Sinek Çayı. Therefore, he concludes that the bigger figures in which the bow and arrows are absent date to the Upper Paleolithic before these tools were invented, and the other figures date to the Epi-paleolithic (Belli, 2009, p. 77).

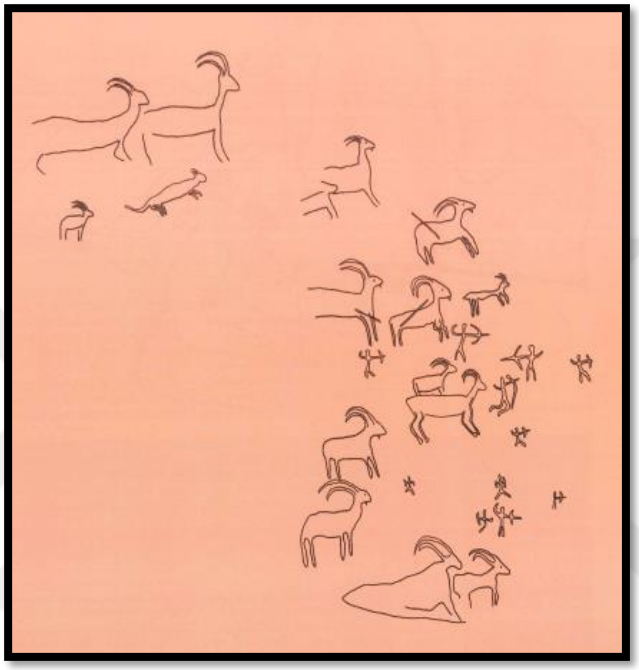

Figure 14. "The Drive-Hunt" Panel at Sinekçayı Rock Shelter (Belli, 2009, p. 75)

Site Name: Deraser
Location: Deraser, Gercüş/ BATMAN
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking and Incision
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Upper Paleolithic - Epi-paleolithic

Deraser Mezrası is a hard-to-reach small summer pasture near Bağözü Village of Gercüş, Batman. In 2012, E. Soydan documented three caves with rock art within the plateau during a survey. All three caves, namely Yazılı Cave (Berha Nivisandi), Dereler Cave (Berha Çemika) and Ezedi Cave, are close to each other and the Tigris River. The caves' secluded location helped to preserve the rock art but

delayed their documentation. Near the caves, Soydan documented foundations of a public building sizing 40x 20 m, remains of a fortress, and several rock-cut tombs, which he believes are related finds. Ilısu Dam currently floods these remains but as being located on a hilltop; the three caves with rock art survived (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 667). Although local villagers report the existence of other rock shelters with rock art within the region, none of them could be identified (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 669). The main subject of Deraser rock art is humans, particularly humans within their community. This theme is most evident in the ceremonial dancing scenes of Yazılı Cave where both male and female figures are shown celebrating, or in conflict scenes where humans are depicted in a fight. In this sense, Yazılı Mağara is culturally closer to the Late Neolithic - Early Chalcolithic red pictographs; thereforewill be listed in the following section. The majority of figures have a sense of movement (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 671). Although it is not possible to accurately date Deraser rock art in the lack of systematic research, Soydan and Korkmaz propose the Neolithic period as the ceremonial scenes (the spring festival - the marriage ceremonies) and the existence of the domestic animals are indicative of the Neolithic way of life (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 672).

Site Name: Deraser- Dereler Mağarası (Berha Çemika) (No.19)
Location: Bağözü, Gercüş / Batman
Altitude: 620m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping and Pecking
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Neolithic

Dereler Mağarası is a very small shelter cave located 1,5 km south of Deraser Mezrası. The panel is on the eastern wall and contains at least 100 figures of humans and animals executed by scrapping and pecking. They resemble the figures on the

outer walls of Yazılı Cave (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 668). Both the wild animals and the domesticates are represented at Dereler Cave. Most of the ibex figures are highly stylized with simple lines (Fig.14a). The panels contain "conflict scenes" in which humans are depicted with weaponry, fighting against each other (Fig14c). In one particular scene, a "warrior" shoots another one down with an arrow (Fig.14b). Soydan and Korkmaz believes these petroglyphs are later than the pictographs of nearby Yazılı Cave (2013, p. 684).

Figure 15. Deraser- Dereler Cave Petroglyphs, a: Linearly Stylized Ibex Figures (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 685, Res.12), b: A Warrior Shooting Another Warrior (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 684, Res.11), c: The Conflict Scene with Animal Figures (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 686, Res.15)

Site Name: Dereser- Ezedi (Çalgıcı - Şikefta Mıtırba) Cave (No.4)
Location: Bağözü, Gercüş / Batman
Altitude: 630m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision, Scrapping
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Neolithic

Ezedi Cave is the biggest one among Deraser Caves. Also, it is the cave with the smallest number of figures (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 668). Soydan and

Korkmaz believe this is due to the poor preservation of the cave which is almost next to the pastureland and has been used as a temporary shelter during summers. Although a small number of petroglyphs are still visible, most are thought to be under the layer of soot. Soydan and Korkmaz suggest Ezedi Cave once functioned as a sanctuary with niches suitable for placing cult statues (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 669).

Site Name: Şerevdin Yaylası (No.78)
Location: Solhan / B. Bingöl
Altitude: 2550m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping and Incision
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Epi-Paleolithic – Neolithic

Şerevdin Yaylası petroglyphs were first documented by a team led by S. Tiryaki near a shelter cave in Kıce Merg locality of Solhan, Bingöl. The rock façade where the petroglyphs are stands on a slightly higher level. Most of the figures at Şerevdin are wild animals such as ibex, deer, and gazelles, accompanied by sun discs, floral and geometric designs (Tiryaki, 2020, p. 254). Based on stylistic analogies with Uyanık and Tümer's work on the southeast Anatolian petroglyphs, Tiryaki dates the Şerevdin petroglyphs from the Epi-Paleolithic to the Neolithic (Tiryaki, 2020, p. 255). Tiryaki believes Şerevdin petroglyphs are the representation of a "hunting culture". The focus of the site is the rock with the Grand Panel which other panels are directed to. There are deer, ibex, and gazelles running on the Northeastern Panel. All animal motifs are big-figured, the largest sizing 120 cm. The deer have exaggerated antlers shown either with single or double lines (Tiryaki, 2020, p. 256). The Northwestern Panel has only two animal figures: a deer (32x34x20 cm) and a gazelle (34x15x cm), accompanied by a floral design (50cm).

The Western panel has two façades. On the first façade, big-figured deers are running towards the south (Tiryaki, 2020, p. 257). The other façade hosts big-figured deers and gazelles running towards the north and an 80cm-long plant with seven branches. Tiryaki believes this motif represents a native plant that is still locally available, and it is also sized 80 cm. A circular figure executed by the incision is on a separate rock 4 meters west of the Western Panel. Tiryaki identified a rock shelter that could potentially shelter 3-4 people, 20 meters near the petroglyphs (Tiryaki, 2020, p. 258).

Figure 16. Big-Figure Animal Petroglyphs of Şerevdin Yaylası (Tiryaki, 2020, p. 261, Levha 4)

3.1.2. Petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia

Site Name: Alem Köyü Ani Harabeleri (No. 64)
Location: Alem, Digor / KARS
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Alem petroglyphs are located at Alem Village of Digor District, Kars, at an 11 km distance from the ruins of Ani. The petroglyphs consist of horses, dogs, ibex, deer, and human figures executed by pecking and scrapping. Officers from the Regional Board of Protection of Cultural Assets believe the petroglyphs broadly date to the prehistoric periods. The 15 panels at Alem are mostly hunting- scenes in which humans bearing bows and arrows are shown while hunting deer and ibex, with the help of dogs with curly tails. While the animals are stylized with simple lines, the human form is portrayed as silhouettes (Bradshaw Foundation).

Figure 17. Ani Alem Petroglyphs (Bradshaw Foundation)

Site Name: Tunçkaya (No.58)
Location: Tunçkaya, Kağızman / KARS
Altitude: 1996 m
Technique: Petroglyph- Incision and Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Tunçkaya petroglyphs are located in the south of Tunçkaya Village, Kağızman, Kars. They were first documented by a team led by A. Ceylan. The team surveyed the area and found evidence for settlement from the Paleolithic Period to the Middle Ages (Ceylan, 2018, p. 180). The panel in Tunçkaya consists of three figures: two deers and an ibex. The outlines of the deer figures were initially incised, and the volume of their bodies was later filled by scrapping. Two deers are positioned on top of one another; the feet of the upper deer touch the back of the lower figure which is significantly bigger. Below these two deers, an ibex figure is executed with the same technique. All three animals face towards west, and the western side of the panel is framed with two perpendicular lines. Ceylan believes these lines are similar to the ones found in Geyiklitepe, which meant to represent ladder-shaped traps. Another stylized ibex figure, executed by engraving, is found on a block west of Tunçkaya. On the upper side, traces of two animal figures are visible. Ceylan dates these two unfinished figures to a later period than the rest of the Tunçkaya petroglyphs (Ceylan, 2018, p. 181).

Figure 18. Tunçkaya Petroglyphs (B. Bingöl, 2020, p.153)

Site Name: Çallı- Geyiklitepe (No.60)
Location: Çallı, Kağızman / KARS
Altitude: 2247m
Technique: Petroglyph - Engraving
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: 11th century AD (Multiple Production Phases Possible)

Geyiklitepe petroglyphs are located 5 km southeast of Şaban, 3 km northwest of Çallı, and 2 km east of Sekasen Neighbourhoods of Kağızman, Kars. They were first identified by a team led by A. Ceylan in 2004. The site consists of two panels, namely the Grand Panel and the Small Panel, applied on andesite blocks. On the Grand Panel, there exist 26 animal figures, including deer, gazelle, ibex, dog, fox, birds, and a possible camel, executed by engraving. Some of the animals have their heads turned back, providing a sense of movement to the scene. In between the animal figures, A. Ceylan identified “trap” and “tree of life” motif as well as and runic writing (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 177). The figure identified as a “trap” consists of diagonal lines forming a net-like design (Belli, 2006, p. 183). The panel is interpreted as a hunting scene where the game animals are chased into traps with the

help of dogs (Belli, 2010, p. 90). Belli claims similar drive-hunt scenes are found at Kurbanağa Cave in Kars and in Upper Paleolithic caves of "Altamira, Pasiage, Marsoulas, Font de Gauma, Buxu, Combralles and Pindal" (Belli, 2006, p. 183). However, he thinks the Neolithic Period is a more likely possibility for the Grand Panel based on the existence of domesticated dogs with similar morphology in Gevaruk Valley, Tepecik-Çiftlik, Hallan Çemi, and Tırşin (Belli, 2006, p. 186). The Smaller Panel lies 15 m west, and the figures are closer to the ground level than the Great Panel, which gave way for later superimposition of various signs. The Small Panel consists of 17 animal figures applied by engraving: ibex, gazelles, sheep, foxes, dogs, and birds. They are also shown in movement. One of the deer is engraved near a "trap" and "a tree of life," forming a scene A. Ceylan suggests the artists were undoubtedly of Central Asian origin. He claims the deer figure is a reindeer that holds a significant place in Turkic culture. Based on this assumption and the existence of "the tree of life", a common figure found in Central Asian rock art, A. Ceylan identifies Geyiklitepe as one of the earliest Turkic settlements in Anatolia (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 178). This assumption is problematic as A. Ceylan apparently tries to establish a direct link between the petroglyph producers and the modern Turkish population. On the other hand, A. Ceylan is likely to be right about the Turkic origins of Geyiklitepe. The inscription he identified as "runic writing", which has been misidentified as archaic Armenian by Belli, was decoded by Saltaoğlu and occurred to be a hunting and healing prayer in Oghuz-Kıpchak dialect of Turkish (Saltaoğlu, 2018, p. 832). The prayer appeals to the moon, offers her the meat of the hunted deer and in reciprocity, asks her to heal someone and defy evil spirits. Since Saltaoğlu is not a professional archaeologist nor linguist, B. Bingöl consulted Turkologists Ercilasun, Ölmez and Yazgan on Saltaoğlu's transcription

who confirmed the transcription's accuracy (B. Bingöl, 2020, p.125). Therefore, 11th century AD is a likely date for Geyiklitepe. However, as Belli noted, this inscription, as well as the bird, fox, and "tree of life" figures are superimposed on the earlier hunting scene. Therefore, they might date to a much later period. Therefore, Belli claims the hunting scenes composed by ibex and traps in both the Grand Panel and the Small Panel date to the Neolithic, whereas the Small Panel was reworked during the historical times (Belli, 2006, p. 187).

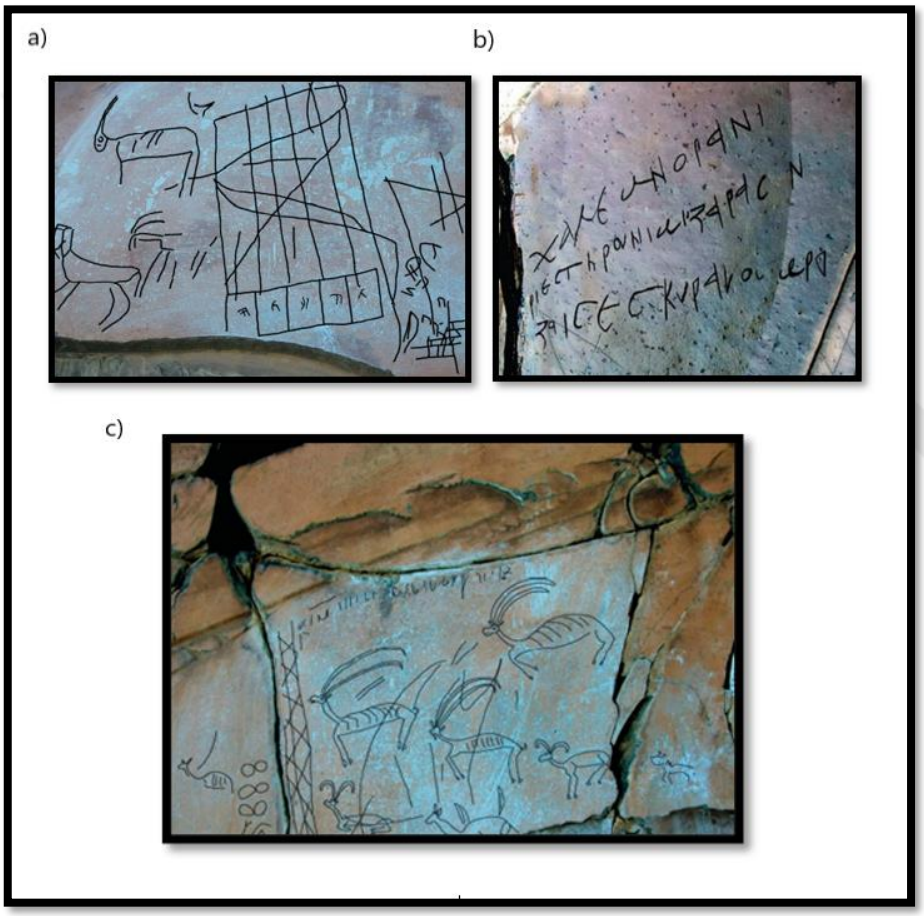

Figure 19. Çallı – Geyiklitepe Petroglyphs, a: "Trap Scene" with a Net (A.Ceylan, 2018, p.200, Photo.20), b: Inscriptions A. Ceylan identified as Turkic runic writing and Belli identified as Armenian (B. Bingöl, 2020, p.125), c: The Grand Panel where ibex are driven to a net-like trap (A. Ceylan, 2018, p.200, Photo.21)

Site Name: Karaboncuk (No.66)
Location: Karaboncuk, Kağızman / KARS
Altitude: 1812 m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Neolithic – Bronze Age – 11th century AD ?

Karaboncuk petroglyphs are in Aşağı Kom locality, 1 km south of Karaboncuk Village, 21 km west of Kağızman District, Kars (A. Ceylan, 2018, pp. 178-9). They are applied on a self-standing andesite block close to the Aras River. Belli discusses how the rich fauna and flora of the region might have been appealing to prehistoric communities to the point that most game animals would become extinct at the end of the Chalcolithic Period due to overhunting (Belli, 2006, p. 176). The panel consists of 7 figures: 4 ibexes, a kid, and two dogs. Their outlines are incised, and the volume of the bodies is later filled by pecking. The figures are quite large, sizing 30x35 cm on average, with the central ibex figure sizing 50 cm. In this way, Karaboncuk petroglyphs are different from the ones in Çallı. Their size and vivid portrayal with a strong sense of movement distinguish Karaboncuk ibex figures from the rest of Kars petroglyphs (Belli, 2006, p. 177). On the other hand, the manufacturing technique of the ibex figures resembles the Kurbanağa Cave petroglyphs dated either to the Neolithic or to the Bronze Age (Belli, 2010, p. 91). Belli notes superimposition on of the smaller figures on the bigger ibex figures, indicating possible multiple production phases (Belli, 2006, p. 179). Although he can not provide an exact date, Belli believes the earliest petroglyphs dated to the Neolithic (10.000 BC) based on the existence of the domesticated dog (Belli, 2006, p. 181).

Figure 20. Karaboncuk Petroglyphs (A. Ceylan, 2018, p.201, Photo.22)

Site Name: Karaboncuk Çeşmebaşı (No.59)
Location: Karaboncuk, Kağızman / KARS
Altitude: 1835m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision and Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Karaboncuk - Çeşmebaşı petroglyphs are in the Çeşmebaşı locality, at 1.5 km distance to the Karaboncuk Village of Kağızman, Kars. The panel consists of three ibex figures implemented on the southern façade of singular basalt rock. The outlines are executed by incision, and the volume is later filled by scrapping (B. Bingöl, 2020, p. 129).

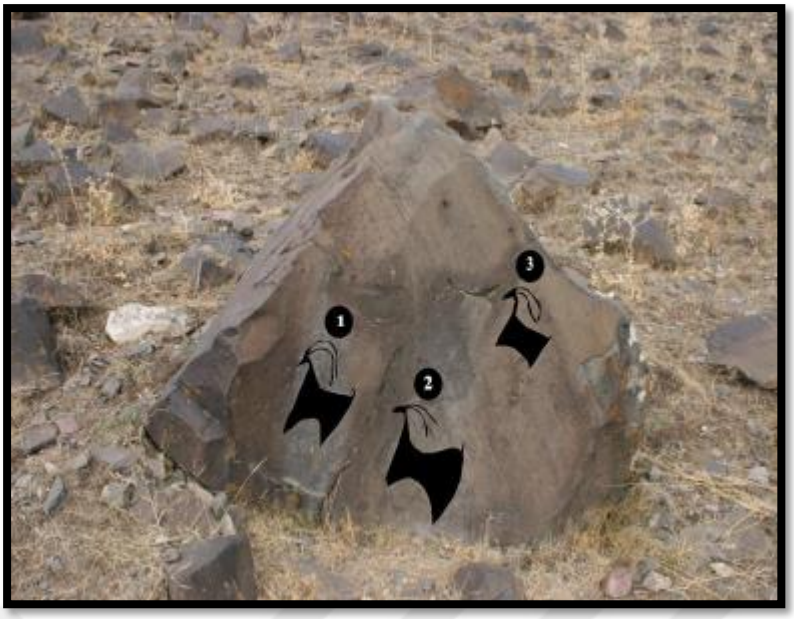

Figure 21. Karaboncuk- Çeşmebaşı Petroglyphs (B. Bingöl, 2020, p.130)

Site Name: Camuşlu – Yazılıkaya (No. 49)
Location: Camuşlu, Kağızman / KARS
Altitude: 3134 m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision and Pecking (Percussion)
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Middle and Upper Paleolithic (Kökten) 15.000-7.000 BC (Belli)

Yazılıkaya petroglyphs are found as two distinct panels on the smooth surfaces of a basalt rock located at Yaylaaltı locality of Elmalı Yaylası, 22 km west of Camuşlu Village of Kağızman, Kars. They were first discovered by a local teacher who notified İ.K. Kökten in 1965. Kökten examined the panels, which he named the Grand Panel and the Small Panel, and conducted surveys within the surrounding area during which he collected obsidian tools dated to the Paleolithic. Kökten identified a small shelter cave beneath the Grand Panel and excavated through a sounding, revealing Early Bronze Age pottery (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 182). The Grand Panel is on a 4-meter wide and 14 meters long single andesite block with a surface smooth as glass (Belli, 2010, p. 84). On the Grand Panel, there exist approximately 100 animal

and human figures. Kökten identified 77 deers, of which 54 are male, 11 are female, 12 are fawns, 13 ibexes, and various human figures. On the other hand, Karpuz, who later examined the panel, identified cattle, bulls, horses, and donkeys within the figures. Most of the figures size 10-13 x 7-8 cm and are naturalistic in style. There are seven male deer, three female deer, three humans, and one donkey figure on the smaller panel (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 183). In particular, the deer figures are executed with two different styles and techniques: the full-bodied deer applied by pecking (percussion) and the simpler deer done by incision. Belli interprets this difference in style as an outcome of multiple production phases in the hands of different artists (Belli, 2010, p. 86). One of the human figures holds a bow, adding a hunting theme to the scene (Budak, 2014, p.69). It is striking that the human depictions are relatively smaller than the animal figures, and besides the aforementioned single figure, they are unarmed. Belli believes the closest parallel to this panel is the Sinek Çayı (Diyarbakır) drive-hunt. He believes both groups of petroglyphs are either a form of hunting magic to invoke a successful hunt or serve other ceremonial purposes (Belli, 2010, p.86). Kökten notes recent superimpositions on the lower part of the panel. He collected surface finds around the Small Panel, including flint and obsidian tools and parts of bone ornaments he dated to the Middle and Upper Paleolithic (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 183).

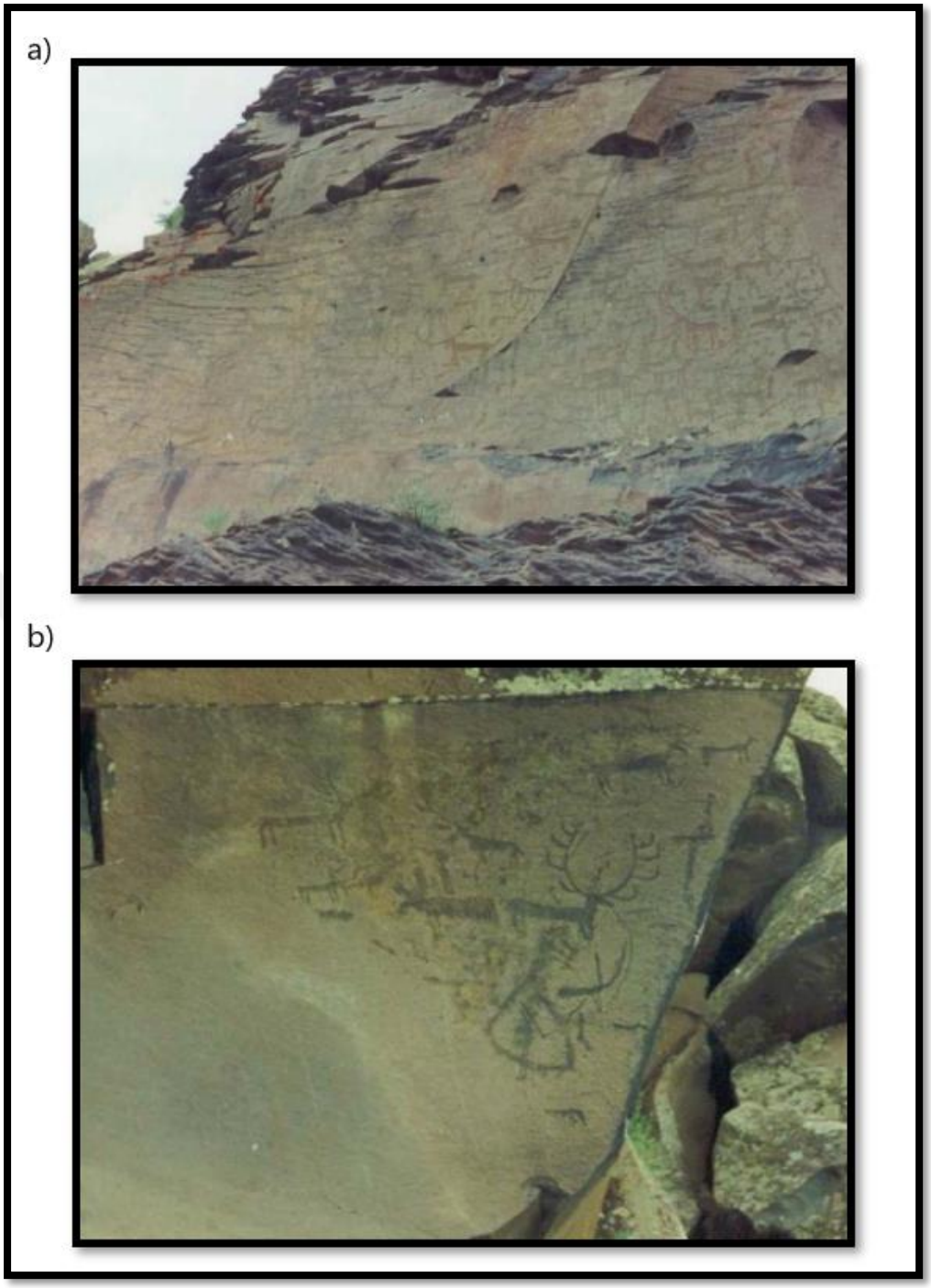

Figure 22. Camuşlu – Yazılıkaya Petroglyphs (A. Ceylan, 2018, p.206, a: Photo.32, b:Photo:33).

Site Name: Camuşlu- Kurbanağası Mağarası (No.68)
Location: Camuşlu, Kağızman /KARS
Altitude: 1660 m
Technique: Petroglyph- Incision and Pecking
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Upper Paleolithic (Kökten) – Turkic (A. Ceylan)

Camuşlu - Kurbanağa Cave (11.5 x 5.5 x 12.5 m) is located 6 km south of Yazılıkaya petroglyphs, south of Camuşlu Village of Kağızman, Kars. The cave was first documented by İ.K. Kökten who conducted a trial trench in the cave, in 1969. Kökten's excavation revealed Early Bronze Age pottery in the upper layers and several Middle and Upper Paleolithic stone tools and hearths. Based on these finds, Kökten dates the petroglyphs to the Paleolithic (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 180). The petroglyphs are on the outer walls and the ceiling of the cave. The figures include ibex, nets, "traps", and lasso-like ropes. Some figures are executed by incision, and the others are by pecking. Few ibexes are depicted while being shot by arrows or caught by the ropes, adding a prominent hunting-theme to the panel (Tümer, 2017, p. 143). Although located very close to Yazılıkaya, Kurbanağası Cave is stylistically different. (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 180).

Figure 23. Petroglyphs of Kurbanağa Cave (A. Ceylan, 2018, p.203, Res.26)

Site Name: Çiçekli Petroglyphs (No.48)
Location: Tunçkaya, Kagizman / KARS
Altitude: 2003 m
Technique: Petroglyph- Engraving and Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Turkic??

Çiçekli petroglyphs are located on the upper benches of Çiçekli Stream, 500 m south of Tunçkaya Village of Kagizman, Kars. The figures are four deer, and an ibex executed on the smooth surfaces of an andesite block. Like Tunçkaya, initially the outlines of the figures are engraved, and the body volume is later scrapped. The composition gives the impression that the animals are riding up to the mountains. Although the figures are severely damaged, the deer motif on the west is still in good condition. This figure seems to be an abstract combination of a deer and an ibex within into a single body. A. Ceylan claims this complex creature represents a Central Asian species called ‘Sigun’,and based on this assumption he concludes that the Çiçekli panels are of Turkic origin. Another ibex motif is applied to the upper part of the panel with the same technique (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 174). There are also

two more deer figures on the east of the panel. However, as these two figures are less elaborate, A. Ceylan thinks they are later replicas of the original panel (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 175).

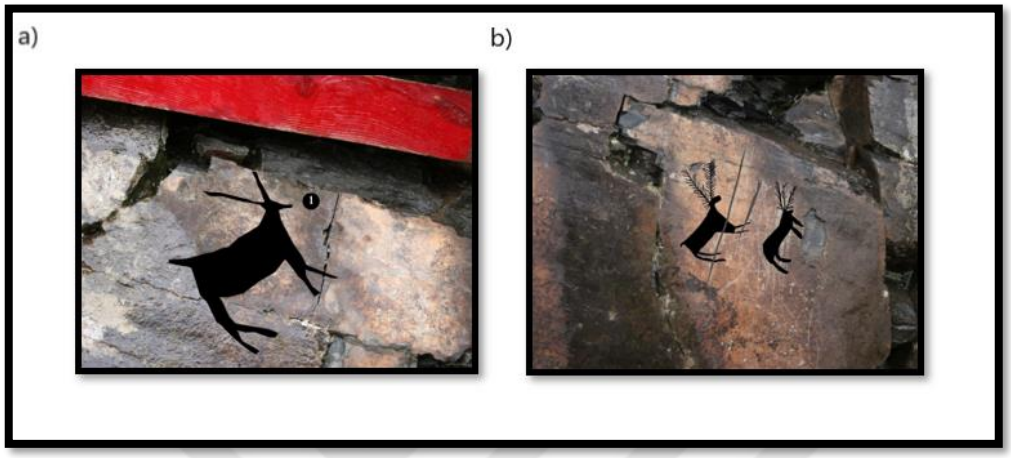

Figure 24. Çiçekli Petroglyphs (B. Bingöl, 2020, a: p. 97, b:96)

Site Name: Kömürlü (No.70)
Location: Kömürlü, Kağızman / KARS
Altitude: 2111 m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Kömürlü petroglyphs are carved on the 1.5 km-long Karacaören Rocks which are located 4 km north of Kömürlü Village of Kağızman, Kars. The panel is on the southern façade of the rock and consists of 70 animal figures, including ibex, mountain deer, "the cavalryman", horses, birds, ducks, and foxes. A. Ceylan believes Kömürlü petroglyphs are stylistically similar to Saymalıtaş and Tamgalısay petroglyphs in Central Asia (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 179).

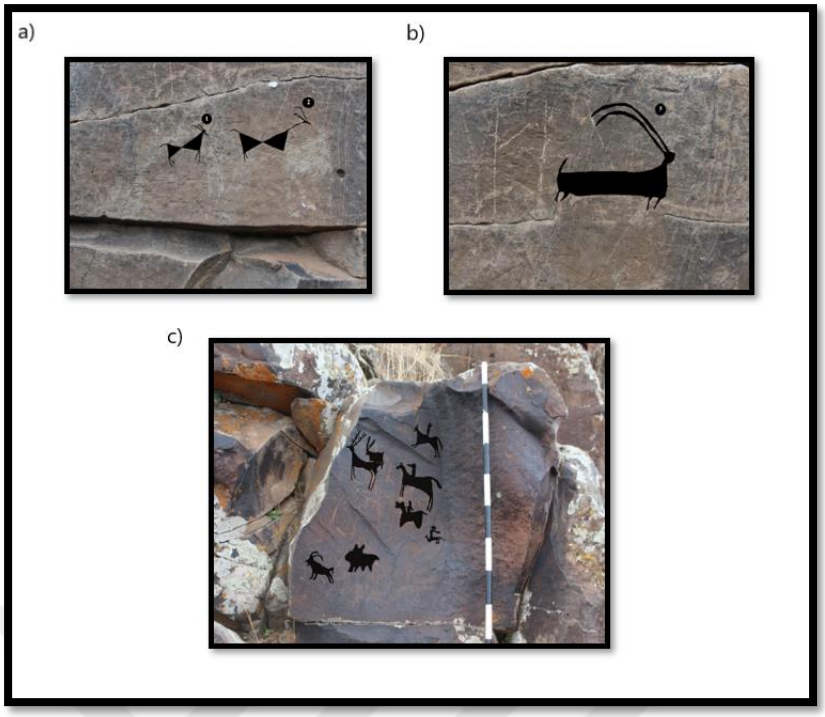

Figure 25. Kömürlü Petroglyphs (B. Bingöl, 2020, a:p.141, b: p.142, c: p.139)

Site Name: Kozlu Ağyar Petroglyphs (No.69)
Location: Ağyar, Kağızman / KARS
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Neolithic (Belli) / Chalcolithic- EBA (Özel) / Turkic (A. Ceylan)

Kozlu - Ağyar petroglyphs contain human figures similar to those found in Azat and Camuşlu- Kurbanağa Cave (Belli, 2012, p. 44). Belli dates them to the neolithic (Belli, 2012, p. 50).

Site Name: Yağlıca Kalesi (No.67)
Location: Kağızman / KARS
Altitude: 2090 m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Bronze Age - Iron Age- 11th century AD?

Yağlıca Kalesi petroglyphs are executed on monumental rock panels located north of Yağlıca Kalesi, a fortress used during the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. The fortress is 1 km northeast of Yağlıca Village of Kağızman, Kars. The area is surrounded by various Early Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements and other rock art sites, including Geyikli, Camuşlu, Kurbanağa Cave, Yazılıkaya, Karaboncuk, Kömürlü, Tunçkaya and Çiçekli (N. Ceylan, 2016, p. 410). However Yağlıca Kalesi stands out among these sites as the main manufacture technique here is scrapping opposed to the incision employed in the aforementioned sites. The panel is on an andesite block sized 2 meters in width and 1 meter in height and contains an image of a snake sized 70 cm as well as a group of human figures. As located at the entrance to the fortress, N. Ceylan believes the panel functioned as a protective amulet (N. Ceylan, 2016, p. 411). The snake figure is the central focus of the panel. N. Ceylan uses this figure as a departure point to claim that the panel has Central Asian connections by mentioning the prominence attained to the snakes in 12-animals Turkic Calendar (N. Ceylan, 2016, p. 415). N. Ceylan's assumptions should be critically read as they hint at an effort to prove Turkish presence in Anatolia before the Battle of Manzikert rather than scientifically analyzing the petroglyphs. Although the petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia express stylistic similarities with Central Asian and Iranian rock art, further evidence is needed before associating them with a particular period or culture.

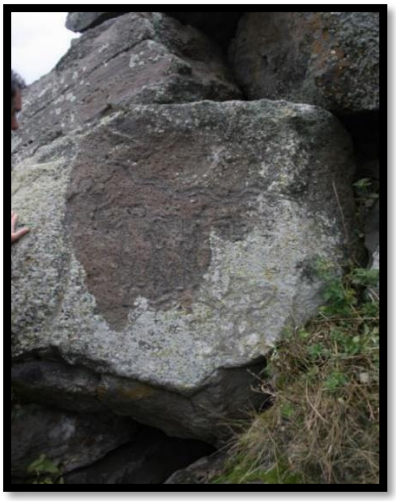

Figure 26. Panel at Yağlıca Kalesi (N. Ceylan, 2016, p. 421, Photo.6)

Site Name: Dereiçi Rock Art Site (No.72)
Location: Çakmak, Merkez / Kars
Altitude: 1798
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: 11th century AD?

Dereiçi petroglyphs are found on the east side of the road that connects Kars to Ardahan. They are executed on the smooth surfaces of an andesite block located on the outskirts of Kars Stream. The figures, ten animals, and two trap motifs are applied on the panel (2.1 x 2m) by incision. Their manufacturing technique is very similar to Geyiklitepe. However, in contrast to Geyiklitepe, Dereiçi petroglyphs are more stylized and elaborate. The panel consists of deer, horse, ibex, and dog motifs as well as a motif called 'the cavalrymen' composed of a human figure riding a horse. As in Geyiklitepe, Dereiçi animal figures are shown in movement. There exist four horse figures, of which one is shown in a rear-up position. Its mouth is open, and its eyes are detailed to capture the sense of movement. Despite the detail given to the horse figures, the humans are stylized with simple lines. All three "cavalrymen" are depicted in different poses. Below the horse figures, an ibex motif seems to be

running away from "the trap" (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 175). The antlers of the deer are depicted elaborately whereas their body is simply stylized. There exist two "trap scenes" on Dereiçi panels. One of them is a ladder-shaped trap at the center, and the other is on the western side and checked-patterned. Those "trap scenes" are also similar to the ones at Çallı- Geyiklitepe. Therefore, A. Ceylan concludes that the two sites were contemporary. Besides the figures mentioned above, there exist various lines and geometric symbols that can not be deciphered (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 76).

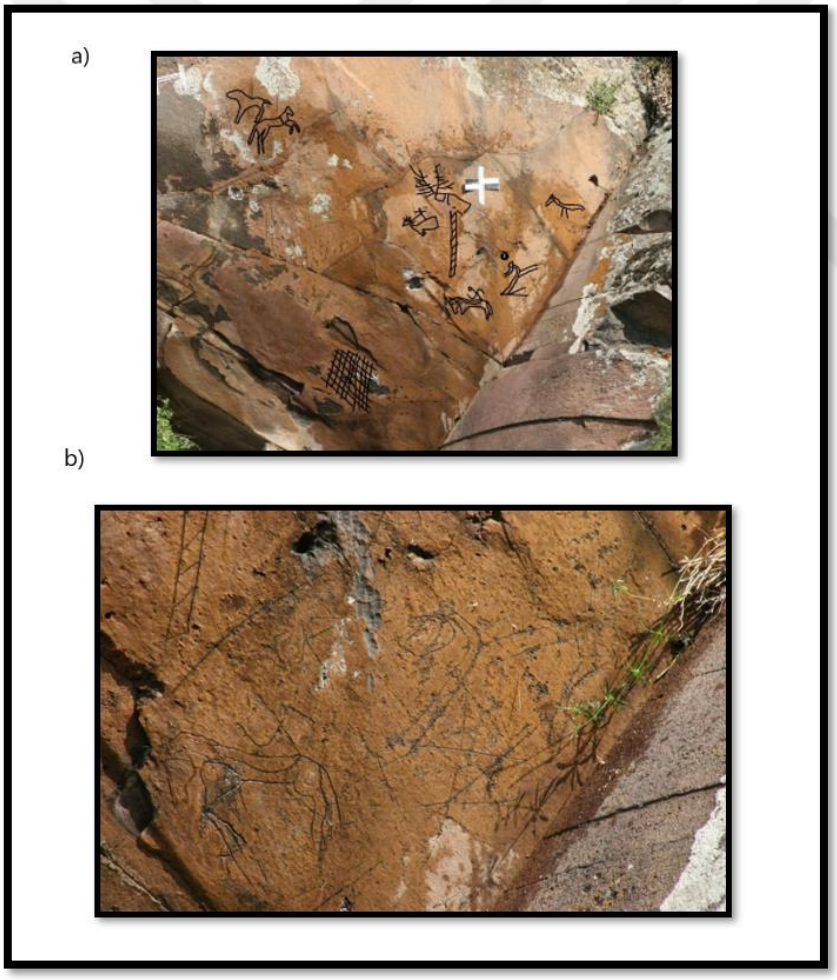

Figure 27. Dereiçi Petroglyphs, a: The Trap Scene (B.Bingöl, 2020, p. 100), b: The Cavalrymen (S. Üngör, 2016, p. 370, Photo.5)

Site Name: Doyumlu Petroglyphs (No.50)
Location: Doyumlu, Susuz/ KARS
Altitude: 1980m
Technique: Petroglyph -Scrapping and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Doyumlu Petroglyphs are located near Doyumlu Village, 24 km northwest of Susuz, Kars. In terms of style and technique they are consistent with the rest of the petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia. The petroglyphs are executed by scrapping and pecking. Alongside a group of 5-6 humans holding hands, several animal figures and unidentified symbols exist at Doyumlu (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 176). Animal figures include ibexes, horses, and dogs which are stylized with simple lines. Human figures are also stylized and portrayed without much detail. Günaşdı notes that, in contrast to the lack of detail within the body, particular care is given to the fingers to highlight the hand-holding gesture. He interprets this scene as a "dancing/ festivity scene", and by comparing it to the Central Asian "toy- festivity" concept, he drives a parallel to the Central Asian petroglyphs (Günaşdı, 2016, p. 398). Other human figures are portrayed frontally, without detail, and often in the arms-wide-open pose. Besides the "dancing/ festivity" scenes, Günaşdı also identifies a "hunting/trap" scene where humans are depicted on top of animals, standing beside traps. The prominence of cavalrymen figures in the petroglyphs of Kars is significant as it can be used as a terminus ante quem given that horseback riding was not widespread in Anatolia until 2200 BC (Librado et al. 2021). Additionally, the researcher’s claims of early Turkic migrations or association with so-called "Proto-Turks" should be cautioned as they signal an underlying political bias.

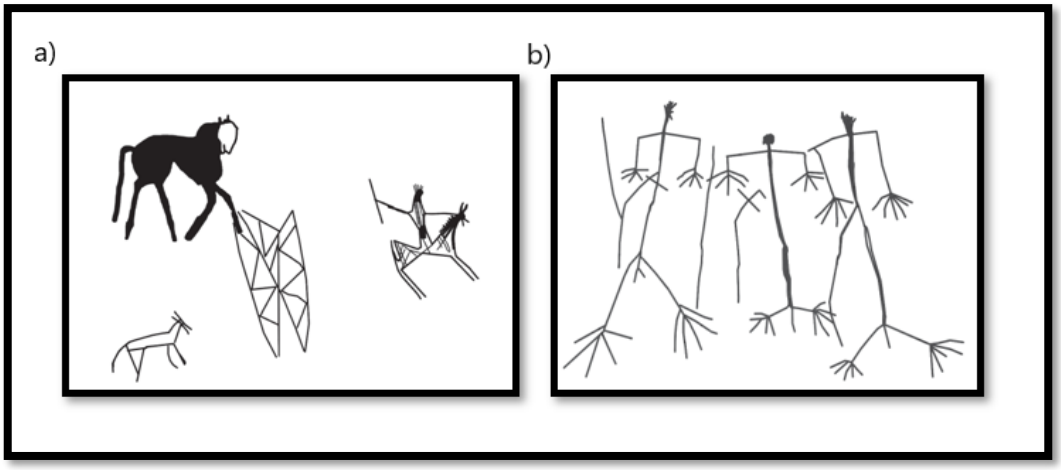

Figure 28. Doyumlu Petroglyphs, a: Horse, Trap, Dog and A Cavalryman (B. Bingöl, 2020, p.116), b: Dancing Scene (B. Bingöl, 2020, p.117)

Site Name: Doyumlu Petroglyphs (No.50)
Location: Doyumlu, Susuz/ KARS
Altitude: 1980m
Technique: Petroglyph -Scrapping and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Borluk Vadisi, located 8 km southwest of Kars city center, is an 11 km-long valley created by the Borluk Stream. The valley occupies a prominent position as it functions as a gateway from the Southern Caucasus to Anatolia. It has a unique climate that is very different from its surrounding area, with abundant water sources fed by Borluk Stream (A. Bingöl, 2016, p. 349). The valley has been identified as the center of origin of Early Bronze Age Kura- Aras Culture and Middle-Late Bronze Age Aras Boyalıları culture (Yardımcıel & Gizlenci, 2016, p. 53). On the west, the valley is surrounded by Azat Village and Azat Höyük (Dündar Tepe) where Kökten had excavated and revealed MBA Aras Boyalıları pottery in 1952. On the south it is bordered by Mağaracık Village and Harman Tepe (Yardımcıel & Gizlenci, 2016, p. 52). Dündartepe is known to have continuous occupation from the Bronze Age to the end of the Urartu Kingdom and is enclosed by a roughly worked andesite

fortification built sometime between the Late Iron Age or the Urartu Kingdom (Belli, 2006, p. 165). 186 petroglyphs have been identified, scattered within the valley, in locations called Azat Village, Kervan, İkisu, Köyaltı, Mağaracık-Ataköy, Karataş, Taşocağı, Dereçayırı, Dört Tüneller, Sarıçayır and Katrankazanı (Belli, 2010, p. 79). The average altitude of these locations is 1830 m. Both pecking and scrapping is used in their production. The southern façades of andesite blocks were chosen for rock art production. (Yardımcıel & Gizlenci, 2016, p. 56). Although the area was registered as an Grade 1 Archaeological Site Area, most of the petroglyphs were damaged during the extension of Kars Airport (Belli, 2010, p. 80). Based on their 2011-2012 archaeological survey within the region, Yardımcıel and Gizlenci believe Borluk petroglyphs dated to 3000 BC at the earliest (Yardımcıel & Gizlenci, 2016, p. 57). Most petroglyphs depict animals, including "extinct stag, wild cattle, wild boars, ibex, mountain sheep," and deer, both male and female (Belli, 2010, p. 80). Contrary to the group of researchers associating the petroglyphs of the Kars region with Central Asia, Yardımcıel and Gizlenci suggest that all the animals depicted within the valley are indigenous fauna from the valley in 3000 BC and the petroglyphs were of a local tradition (Yardımcıel & Gizlenci, 2016, p. 60). Belli also agrees that the Borluk petroglyphs depict local fauna that has become extinct. Some petroglyphs are contemporary with Dündartepe; however, he believes multiple production phases existed as some petroglyphs date as early as 12.000 BC (Belli, 2010, p. 81). The human figures, a so-called "mother-goddess," and hunters shooting arrows accompany the animals (Belli, 2010, p. 80).

Site Name: Borluk – Azat (No.61)
Location: Azat, Merkez / KARS
Altitude: 1830 m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Chalcolithic the earliest Bronze Age the Latest

Azat Petroglyphs are located 350-400 m east of Dündartepe on the northern outskirts of Borluk Valley, close to Azat Village, 8 km northwest of Kars (Tümer, 2017, p. 144; Belli, 2006, p. 166). The petroglyphs are scattered within the area, on southern façades of andesite blocks, and executed by scrapping and pecking. As they are on easily accessible land, Azat petroglyphs are severely damaged by later incisions. On the panel (1,20 m x 1,40 m), there are four human and 24 animal figures. The animal figures are identified as nine male ibex, three female ibex, three mountain goats, four wild cattle, a goat, two wild boars, and a deer. Another animal with an exaggerated jaw could not be identified. Their volume is executed by pecking while the contours are applied by incision. The size of the figures immensely varies (Belli, 2006, p. 166). Almost all humans are depicted frontally without facial features, fingers, or toes. The deer with exaggerated antler is not stylistically similar to those at nearby Çallı, Katrankazanı, or Çamuşlu (Belli, 2006, p. 167). Belli claims to observe a significant lack of deer figures on local Bronze Age petroglyphs; therefore, concludes that the species became extinct due to overhunting at the end of the Chalcolithic Period. The wild boar figures, easily distinguished with their prolonged noses, are similar to the ones at Katrankazanı, Karaboncuk, Camışlı, Çallı, Bahçecik-Kale, Kurbanağa Cave, and Kozlu- Ağyar. Belli thinks the wild boar, which used to be an important game animal, also became extinct (Belli, 2006, p. 169). The wild sheep are similar to Çallı petroglyphs and resemble the modern wild sheep in Northwestern Iran. The wild cattle figures are almost the same as Camışlı

wild cattle and similar to the ones at Yazılıkaya. Belli believes the wild cattle had also been hunted to extinction.

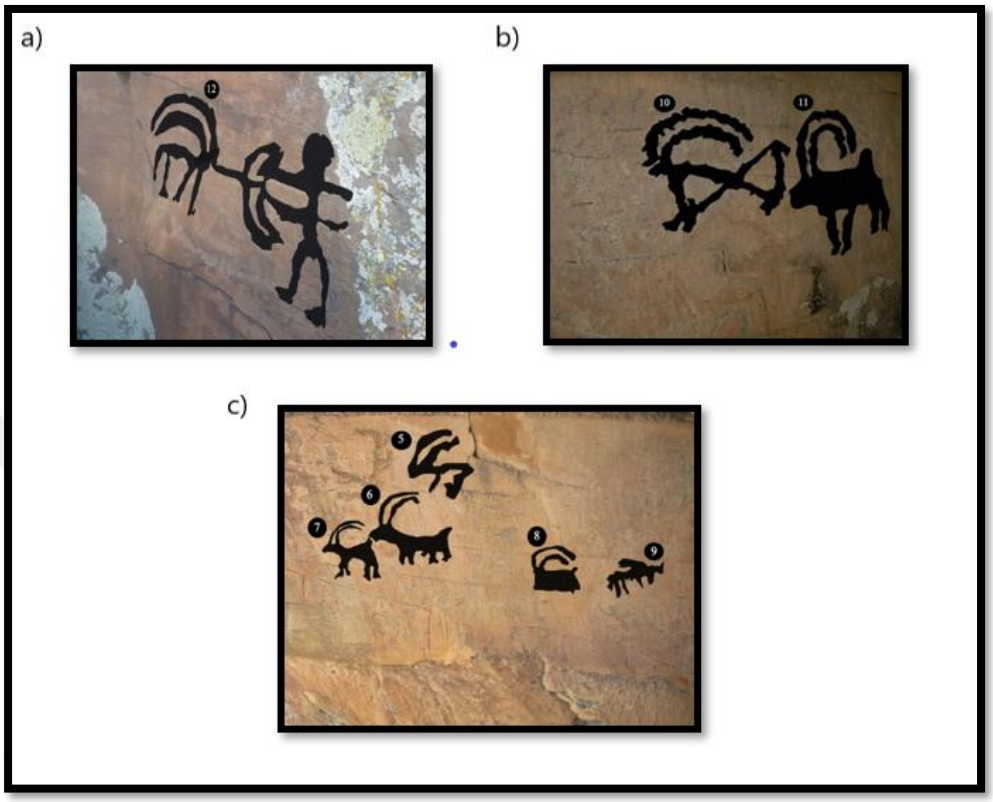

Figure 29. Azat Petroglyphs (B.Bingöl, 2020), a: Hunting Scene (p.85), b: Ibex in Different Style (p.84), c: Four Ibex and A Wild Boar (p.83)

Site Name: Katrankazanı (No.65)
Location: Azat, Merkez / KARS
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Upper Paleolithic??

Katrankazanı petroglyphs are located just 500 meters away from MBA mound Dündartepe (Yardımcıel & Gizlenci, 2016, p. 54) and 170 m east of Azat petroglyphs. Like Azat, Katrankazanı petroglyphs are also carved on andesite blocks on two separate panels. On the eastern façade, a large, elaborate deer figure was

initially incised before its volume was filled by pecking. The tools used in its production were most likely made of obsidian (Belli, 2006, p. 171). Its most significant feature is the exaggerated antler. Similar figures are known from Azat, Camışlı, and Çallı petroglyphs. As Belli believes the local deer species became extinct as the nearby Dündartepe was being settled, he proposes Katrankazanı deer should date earlier, to the Upper Paleolithic. Below the deer, another group of animal figures exists. However, due to the severe damage, it was impossible to count this group's exact number. The figures identified here include several ibex and hunters (Belli, 2006, p. 172). The ibex is simply executed by incision, and they are more similar to Azat, Kurbanağa, and Kozlu-Ağyar rather than the first group of deer mentioned above (Belli, 2006, p. 173).

Site Name: Borluk – Kervan (No.71)
Location: Azat, Merkez / KARS
Altitude: 1820m
Technique: Petroglyph
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: 3000BC at the earliest

Kervan petroglyphs are located 700 m away from Azat Village. The panel consists of 4 humans, nine ibex, three sheep, four cattle, two pigs, and a deer figure. Yardımcıel and Gizlenci associate a piece of antler obtained in the excavations at Azat Village to the deer figure in the Kervan panel (Yardımcıel & Gizlenci, 2016, p. 58).

Figure 30. Borluk Kervan Petroglyphs (Yardımcıel and Gizlenci, 2016, p. 58, Fig.7)

Site Name: Borluk – İkisu (No. 63)
Location: Azat, Merkez / KARS
Altitude: 1820m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: MBA- LBA

İkisu petroglyph are located on the northern banks of Borluk Stream, 1.3 km east of the center of Azat Village. The panel at İkisu consists of ibex figures.

Figure 31. Borluk -İkisu Petroglyphs (Yardımcıel and Gizlenci, 2016, p. 54, Fig.2)

Site Name: Borluk – Köyaltı (No.62)
Location: Ataköy, Merkez / KARS
Altitude: 1875m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: MBA – LBA?

Köyaltı petroglyphs are located on the southern banks of Borluk Stream, 1.9 km southwest of Ataköy Village. The panel consists of a single "cavalryman" motif and various other figures too damaged to be identified.

Figure 32. Borluk – Köyaltı Petroglyphs (Yardımcıel and Gizlenci, 2016, p. 57, Fig.6)

Site Name: Borluk- Mağaracık Ataköy (No.57)
Location: Ataköy, Merkez / KARS
Altitude: 1910m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: MBA-LBA?

Mağaracık-Ataköy panel is located on the northern banks on the Borluk Stream, 630 meters northwest of Ataköy İlköğretim Okulu. The panel consists of a single "cavalryman" figure.

Figure 33. Borluk – Mağaracık Cavalrymen Figure (Yardımcıel and Gizlenci, 2016, p. 57, Fig.5)

Site Name: Digor / Dolaylı Petroglyphs (No.56)
Location: Dolaylı, Digor / KARS
Altitude: 1570 m
Technique: Petroglyph- Incision and Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Bronze Age- Iron Age?

Digor/ Dolaylı petroglyphs are clustered around two locations, 2 km northeast of Dolaylı Village of Digor, Kars. They are executed on the weathered surfaces of basalt rocks. The first location contains three panels, and the second location has a single panel. The first panel of locality 1 contains a "trap scene" with a human figure and an unidentified animal captured by a trap. The second panel of locality 1 has four ibex motifs, of which two are addorsed to each other. They are depicted in movement and with prominent horns. The third panel of locality 1 is interpreted as a ceremonial scene by B. Bingöl. This panel has several ibexes and a human figure with a weapon and a shield. There is also a human figure that seems to be riding an ibex, forming unusual imagery. B. Bingöl claims this iconography has parallels in Saymalıtaş petroglyphs. The upper level of the panel has multiple human figures portrayed holding their arms upwards, which was interpreted as a ceremony by B. Bingöl. A

"cavalryman shooting backward" motif accompanies "the ceremony." (B. Bingöl, 2020, p. 103). The second locality has two rows of ibexes shown in movement. The westernmost ibex, perhaps leading the herd, is given particular care (B. Bingöl, 2020, p. 104).

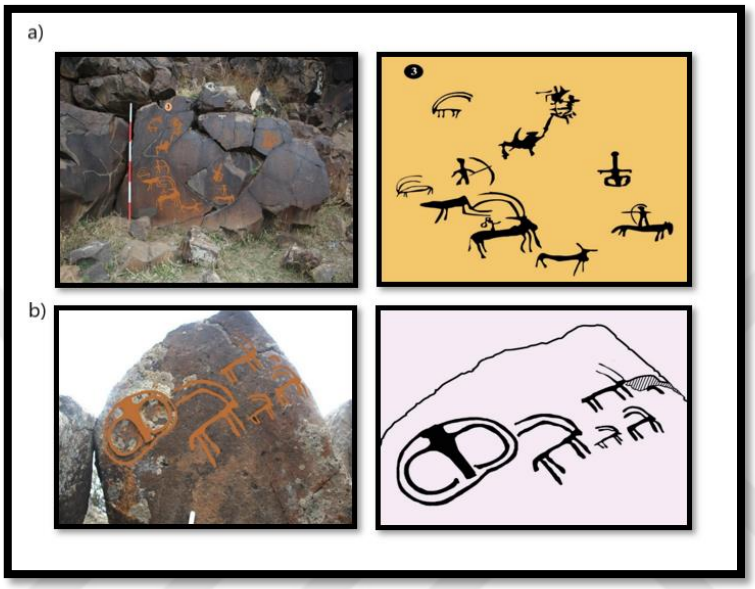

Figure 34. Digor-Dolaylı Petroglyphs, a: "Ceremonial Panel" (B. Bingöl, 2020, pp.105-6), b: Ibex Figures (B. Bingöl, 2020, pp. 106-7)

Site Name: Başköy (Deresi) (No.51)
Location: Damlıca, Çıldır / Ardahan
Altitude: 2225 m
Technique: Petroglyph- Incision and Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

Başköy petroglyphs are incised on the southern façades of the basalt rocks located north of Başköy Stream, 1.7 km east of Damlıca Village of Çıldır, Ardahan. The panel includes horses, dogs, ibex figures, and humans and cavalryman. Some humans are depicted while holding shields and spears. The primary technique is incision, whereas the shields are executed by pecking. All figures are lined from right to left and form a narrative of a "hunting scene" with fleeing ibexes chased by

the armed men and dogs (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 165). Ceylan believes the scene belonged to the symbolic world of Central Asia; thus he associates the panel with early Turkic migrations to Anatolia (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 166).

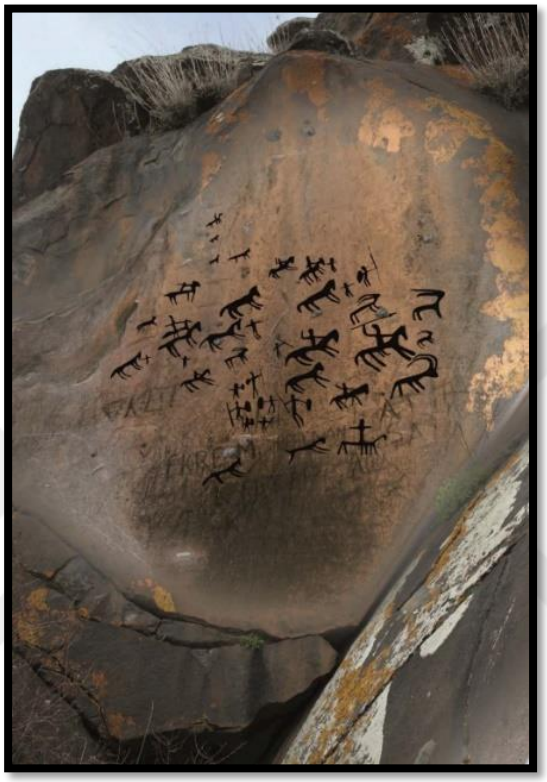

Figure 35. Başköy Petroglyphs (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 190, Photo.3)

Site Name: Cunni Cave (No.53)
Location: Salyamaç, Şenkaya / Erzurum
Altitude: 2135
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Cave
Dating: 11th century AD at the earliest??

Cunni Cave is located 6 km northeast of Salyamaç Village of Şenkaya, Erzurum. It was first identified by İ. Yalçın and H. Vary in 1965. Since 1998, a team led by A. Ceylan has been working on the petroglyphs. They documented that the cave has two stories, and there exists a small Middle Age church with an absis on the

lower story (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 169). The petroglyphs of Cunni Cave are mostly executed by incision. The figures include ibex and horses, the "cavalrymen," and various geometric shapes interpreted as Turkic tamgas by Ceylan. Ceylan claims all these motifs are unique to the Turkic culture; therefore, the carvers were of Turkic origin (A. Ceylan, 2018, p. 171). A geometric figure bearing strong resemblance to the Tamga of the Oghuz clan supports his hypothesis. Therefore, it is likely that Cunni petroglyphs date later than the 11th century AD.

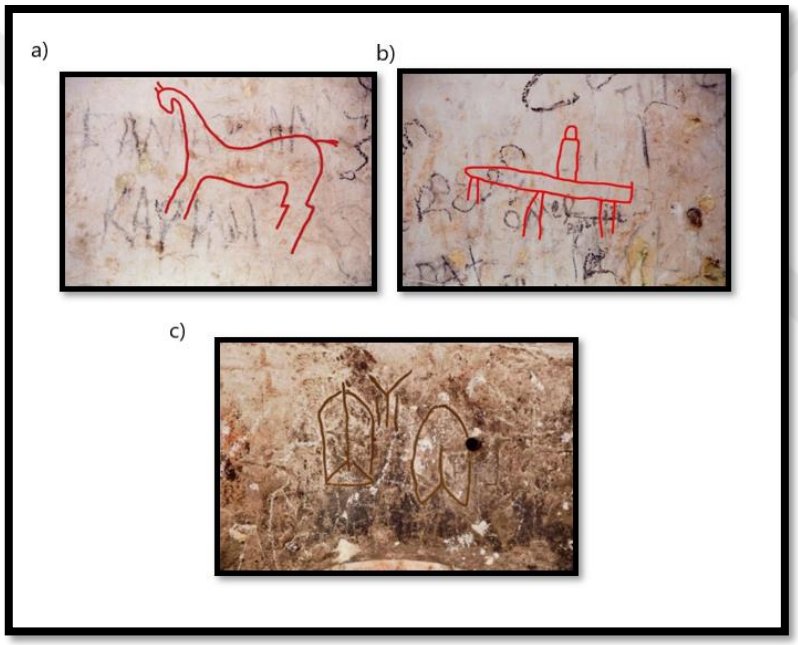

Figure 36. Cunni Petroglyhs (A. Ceylan, 2002), a: Horse Figure (p. 438, Fig.8), b: Cavalryman Figure (p.439, Fig.10), c: Figures Ceylan identified as Tamga of the Oghuz Clan (p. 436, Fig.4)

Site Name: Şenkaya - Kaynak (Çağlayan) Petroglyphs (No.52)
Location: Kaynak, Şenkaya / Erzurum
Altitude: 2329m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision and Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:??

Şenkaya- Kaynak petroglyphs were first identified by C. Sevindi in 2011 and later in 2012 documented by O. Özgül. They are located near a Bronze Age-Iron Age fortress (Şirvaz/ Çağlayan Fortress), 7 km east of Kaynak Village, and 48 km southeast of Şenkaya, Erzurum (Özgül, 2015, p. 177). The petroglyphs are found on self-standing andesite blocks located on the outskirts of Cırcınardı Stream, near the remains of a watchtower (Sevindi & Tavukçu, 2013, p. 157). The three panels consist of deer, horse, ibex, bird, dog/wolf motifs, and "sun-discs" executed by incision and scrapping (Özgül, 2015, p. 177). Özgül highlights the stylistic and technical parallels to Kars Dereiçi, Camuşlu, Geyiklitepe, Çiçekli and Tunçkaya petroglyphs. He claims the ibex and deer motifs on Panels I and III indicate ties to Central Asia and the Turkic culture. However, considering the wide geographical distribution of the ibex and deer motifs and their continuous significance from the Paleolithic on, Özgül's argument is oversimplifying. The horse figures in Panel II are shown with their harness and leashes on. They are depicted frontally, with details such as eyes and ears. One of the horses is accompanied by a "sun disc." Özgül bases his thesis on early-Turkic tribes on these horse figures, claiming that the Turkic people were the first to domesticate the horses and spread horseback riding. Similarly, Sevindi and Tavukçu believe the "tamga" motifs and sun discs are comparable to Central Asian rock art. Therefore, they establish a connection between the population once inhabited Şirvaz Fortress and the Central Asian nomads. They also date the Şirvaz petroglyphs to the 4th century BC (Sevindi & Tavukçu, 2013, p. 170), which contradicts with their nomadic Turkic clans thesis. Although a cultural connection with Central Asia is very likely for Şirvaz- Kaynak petroglyphs, these assumptions should be dismissed as the so-called "proto-Turks" claim hints at a political bias.

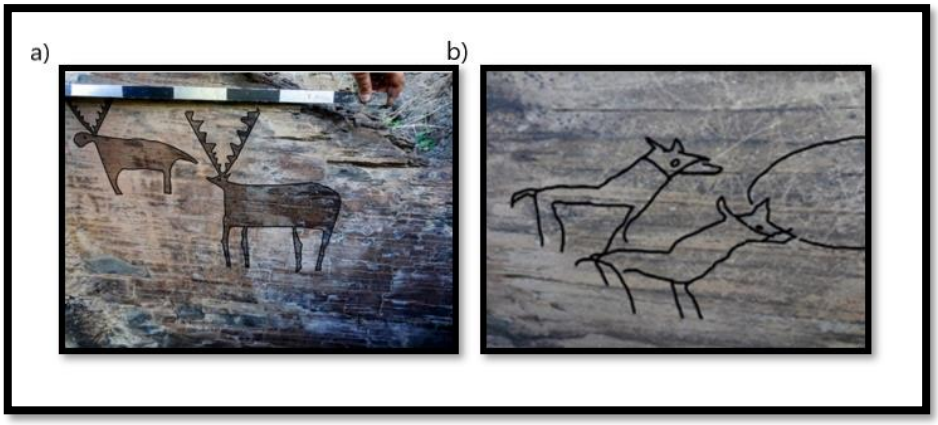

Figure 37. Petroglyphs of Şirvaz Kalesi, a: Deer with Exaggerated Antler (Özgül, 2016, p. 390, Fig.11), b: Horses with Bridle-Bit (Özgül, 2015, p. 190, Photo.9)

Site Name: Narlı Kaya (Huşş Tepe) (No.1)
Location: Narlı, Çatak / VAN
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking (Intaglio)
Site Type: Open Air
Dating:

A local primary school teacher discovered Narlı Kaya petroglyphs in 1970, near a castle north of Narlı Village, 27 km southwest of Çatak, Van (Tümer, 2017, p. 125). Uyanık analyzed the petroglyphs in 1970. He identified cavalrymen armed with shields, swords, and spears, alongside other anthropomorphic figures, gazelles, demon figures, cup-marks, and geometric shapes, including stars and wheels. The figures are applied by pecking (intaglio) (Uyanık, 1974, p. 78). He believes Narlı petroglyphs are the continuation of the earlier rock art tradition at Tırşin into historical times (Uyanık, 1974, p.78). Based on the existence of specific weaponry and horse-riding, he dates the petroglyphs to the Iron Age at the earliest (Tümer, 2017, p. 125). It should be noted that local villagers dug up several ceramic sherds in the close vicinity of Narlı petroglyphs, and those ceramics were later taken to Van Museum; however, they have not been analyzed (Uyanık, 1974, p. 79).

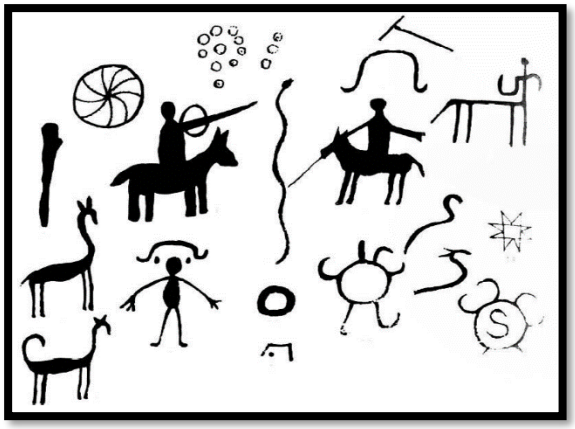

Figure 38. A Selection of Narlı Petroglyphs (Uyanık, 1974, p. 78, Fig. 37)

Site Name: Namazgah - Arılı (Demirkapı) (No.55)
Location: Arılı, Arhavi / Artvin
Altitude: 2200m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping - Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: EBA-MBA at the earliest?? Early Turkic?

Namazgah- Demirkapı petroglyphs are located 6,5 km southwest of Arılı plateau and 20 km southwest of Arhavi, Artvin (Özgül, 2021, p. 782). O. Hacıoğlu identified them in 2015 on pieces of rock that broke and fell through the valley's slope. Hacıoğlu documented more than 100 petroglyphs within the plateau, which has been traditionally used as summer pasture. Later in 2019, the site was surveyed by O. Aytekin, then by O. Özgül. Aytekin observed uniformity within the technique of manufacture and a particular preference for the smooth, weathered surfaces for rock art production (Aytekin, 2020, p. 294). Özgül has documented 56 figures on 11 different panels, including hunting scenes composed by deer with exaggerated antlers, sun discs, and the cavalrymen figures, executed by scrapping and pecking. Also, several fish figures distinguish Demirkapı petroglyphs from the other Northeast Anatolian petroglyphs (Özgül, 2021, p. 786). Özgül believes the coexistence of the fish with the other figures is the result of the geographical

proximity to both the sea and the pasture lands. The first panel depicts a pastoral scene with 25 figures, including ibex, fish, "man with a snake," dog, fox, other unidentified animals, and geometric motifs, executed by scrapping and pecking (Özgül, 2021, p. 787). This panel also contains ring marks that Özgül had missed in his interpretation. He believes the zigzag and meander motifs represent the mountainous landscape. He offers two possible interpretations for the panel: a ceremonial scene or a scene from daily life based on the stylistic parallels with ceremonial scenes from the other northeastern Anatolian petroglyphs and the marked representation of a landscape with so-called "yurt" motifs, respectively (Özgül, 2021, p. 788). The second panel contains four figures: an unidentified figure, a bird, a "man with a snake," and an anthropomorphic figure (Özgül, 2021, 792). The third panel consists of 5 deer figures and is located 20 m below Panel 1, where it probably had fallen from its original location (Özgül, 2021, p. 794). The researcher gives the fourth panel the name "The Fish Panel" based on seven fish and two boat motifs. All the fish figures have flippers and are portrayed in motion, and each boat has four human figures (Özgül, 2021, p. 796). The fifth panel has boat figures carrying humans, a standing man, a fish, a "wild-donkey," and several unidentified animals and geometric motifs (Özgül, 2021, p. 798). In other rock art contexts worldwide, the boat figures are known to symbolize carriage between the world of the dead and living where the sea functions as a liminal space (McNiven and Brady, 2012). Özgül believes this interpretation also applies to Demirkapı context. The sixth panel contains a singular sun-disc sized 10x15 cm, with radial beams coming out of it. Sun-disc motifs have also been identified in Şenkaya-Kaynak (Erzurum), Doyumlu (Kars) and Dilli (Erzincan) petroglyphs. However, while all these sites have a singular sun disc, Panel 6 at Demirkapı has a sun disc positioned on top of an object

with five adjacent lines. Özgül interprets this object as a heart and claims the figure is associated with some form of a fire cult (Özgül, 2021, p. 799). The seventh panel contains a singular horse motif, portrayed in motion and executed by scrapping and pecking. Based on Hoppal's stylistic chronology, Özgül dates this figure to the EBA and argues for parallels to the Başköy (Ardahan) horse figures (Özgül, 2021, p. 801). Although the manufacturing technique and the portrayal of movement are similar, Özgül underestimates the stylistic differences between the two petroglyphs. Başköy horses have bold silhouette torsos, whereas the Demirkapı No.7 horse is highly stylized with simplistic lines. The eighth panel has a singular figure of an unidentified animal (Özgül, 2021, p. 803). Panel 9 is located close to Panel 1 and is a four-figure hunting scene where a hunter hunts down a male goat with a bow and arrow. The hunter is stylized with simple lines and is on foot. Below the male goat, a deer with exaggerated antler, just shot, falls (Özgül, 2021, p. 804). The fourth figure is a spider, drawn as large as the other figures, unique compared to the region's petroglyphs. Özgül compares this hunting scene with the ones in Dolaylı (Kars). The tenth panel is the initial panel identified by Hacıoğlu in 2014. However, because the rocks are constantly moving within the valley, Özgül's team could not locate the panel and evaluate it based on earlier photographs. The panel consists of two cavalrymen figures and a sun disc executed by pecking (Özgül, 2021, p. 807). The eleventh panel contains a boat figure with 11 passengers and a quadruped animal, executed by incising (Özgül, 2021, p. 809).

Özgül associates Demirkapı petroglyphs with the central Asian pastoral nomads migrating into Anatolia through the Caucuses. He argues for a spatial correlation between kurgan-type burials and petroglyphs in Central Asia and Anatolia, as observed in Tamgalısay (Kazakhstan), Sarmışsay (Uzbekistan), and

Dolaylı-Digor (Kars) petroglyphs. Based on their spatial correlation, Özgül claims the communities that produced Demirkapı petroglyphs and nearby Yaylalar kurgans were the same. Also, he highlights the geological and morphological similarities between Demirkapı and Saymalıtaş (Kyrgyzstan) sites and the common styles, techniques, and thematic scenes. Özgül believes these similarities, indicative of pastoral nomads migrating into Anatolia, are also shared by a group of petroglyphs in Erzurum, Kars, Ardahan, and Hakkari (Özgül, 2021, p. 783). Although systematic research on the dating of petroglyphs is not available, based on stylistic analogies with local pottery and Central Asian rock art, Özgül dates this group, very broadly, to the Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age (Özgül, 2021, p. 813).

Figure 39. Demirkapı (Namazgah or Arılı) Petroglyhps (Özgül, 2021), a: Panel No.9 – The hunting scene and "the spider" (p. 805, Drawing.19), b: Panel No.11 – The stylized boat with sailors (p. 810, Drawing.23), c: Panel No.10 – The cavalrymen and the "wheel" (p. 809, Drawings.21-2)

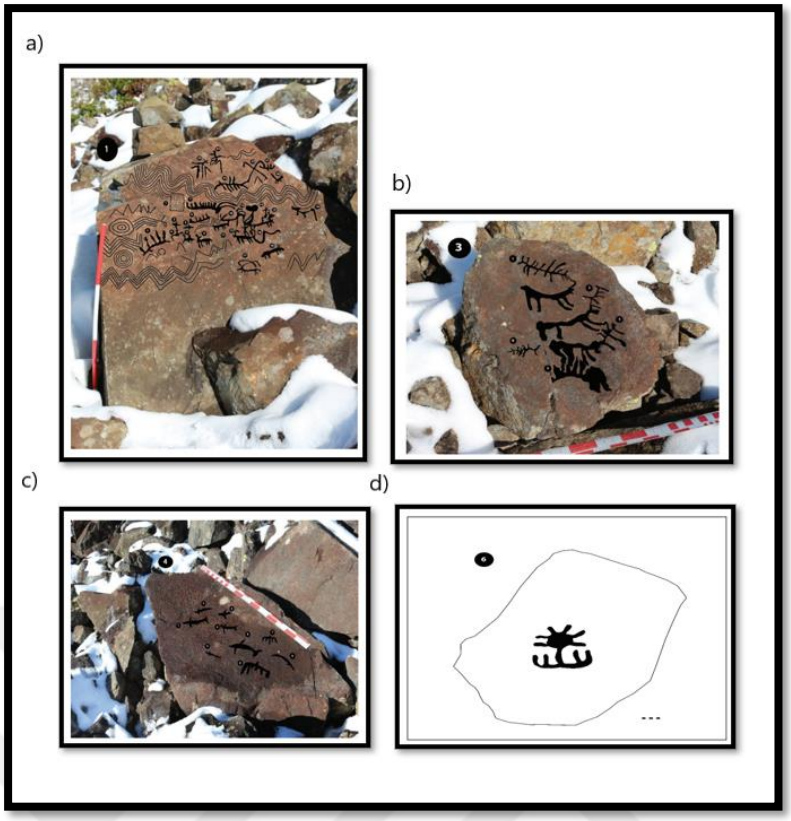

Figure 40. Demirkapı (Namazgah or Arılı) Petroglyphs (Özgül, 2021), a: Panel No.1 (p. 788, Çizim 1), b: Panel No. 3 p. 795, Çizim 7), c: Panel No. 4 – "The Fish Panel" p. 797, Çizim 8), d: Panel No.6 – "The Fire- Sun-Disc" p. 801 (Çizim 13)

3.1.3. Other Petroglyphs

Site Name: Mesudiye Esatlı (No.75)
Location: Esatlı, Mesudiye / ORDU
Altitude: 1350m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: 1-2 c. AD (Demir) – Historical (Proposed)

Esatlı petroglyphs are located in Esatlı Village of Mesudiye, Ordu. They are 5 km south of Tokat-Ordu road, surrounded by Türkköyü, Kışlacık, Göçbeyi, Çaltepe and Ilışar Villages. N. Demir, who is primarily interested in the linguistic aspect of the inscriptions, first documented the petroglyphs in 1994, and he believes the carvers were 1-2 century AD pre-Islamic Peçenek Turkomans. He claims the

petroglyphs marked a ritual place high in the mountains that functioned as a burial space and a gate to communicate with the divine through sacrifices and ritual cleaning (Demir, 2009, p. 5). Demir identified several tumuli surrounding the petroglyphs and inscriptions and suggests that tumuli's systematic analysis would better understand the petroglyphs (Demir, 2009, p. 6). The deer motifs, executed by incision, are similar to the ones found in Dilli (Erzincan), Narlı (Van), and Geyiklitepe (Kars) (Demir, 2009, p. 7). Hunting scenes involving horses and cavalrymen are prominent among Esatlı Petroglyphs (Demir, 2009, p. 12). Demir believes the so-called "Doğanlı Bey" figure, depicting a man riding a horse while holding a hawk, is significantly related to the hunting theme and is the signature tamga of the Peçenek tribe (Demir, 2009, p. 15). Besides these figures, there are sun and moon figures at Esatlı, which led Demir to conclude that they are related to the pre-Islamic Turkic culture (Demir, 2009, p. 18). Another figure in Esatlı is the fish, which is represented very sporadically in Anatolian rock art. By comparing them to the fish figures worldwide, Demir again associates this figure with the pre-Islamic tengrism (Demir, 2009, p. 24). Demir identified the so-called "sacrificial axe" figure that he thought to be related to the sacrifices happening in the marked space and snake figures that may represent mythical creatures (Demir, 2009, p. 29). He uses these petroglyphs to establish an earlier date (1-2 centuries AD) for the diffusion of the Turkic culture into Anatolia. Although it is most likely that Esatlı petroglyphs, like most of the Northeastern Anatolian petroglyphs discussed within this thesis, have Asian connections, Demir's dating should be evaluated with skepticism in the lack of archaeological or historical evidence.

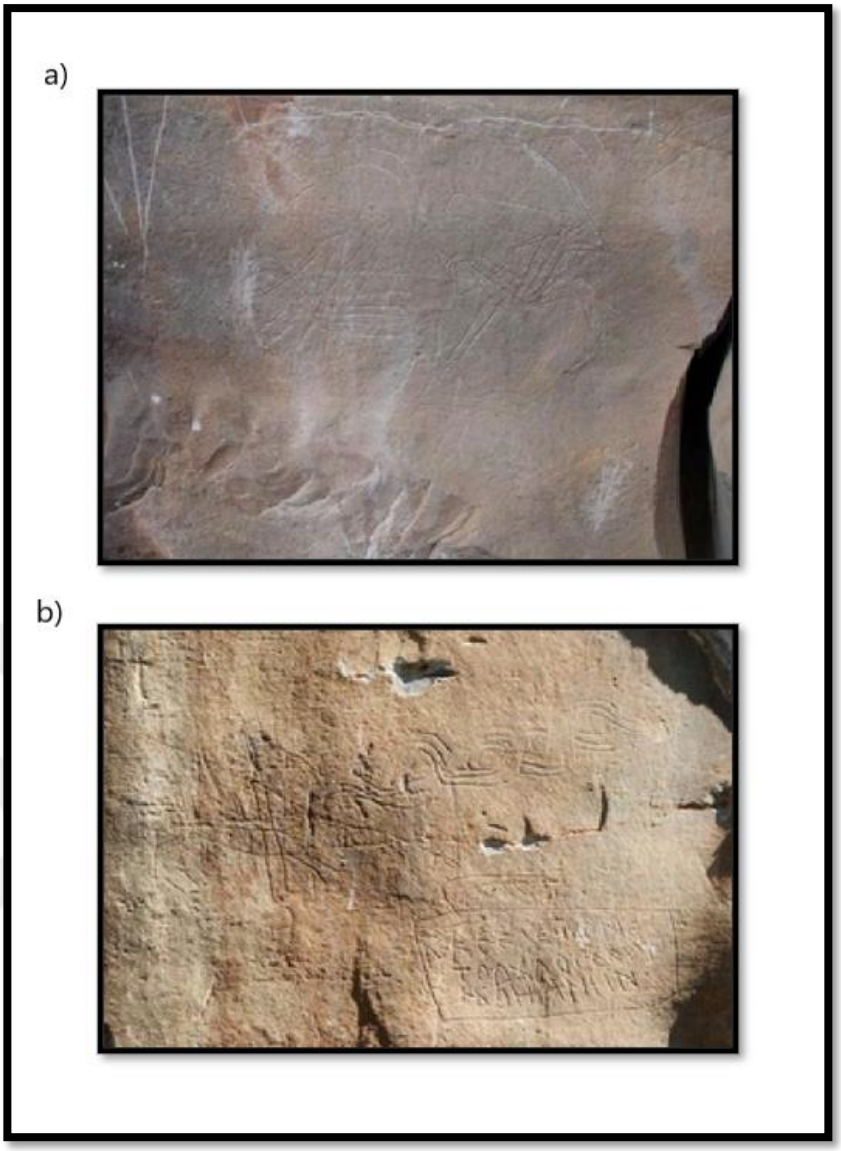

Figure 41. Mesudiye – Esatlı Petroglyphs, (Demir 2009), a: "Bey with a hawk" (p. 16, Photo.15), b: The snake/ monster figure and the runic writing (p.28, Photo.29)

Site Name: Güdül (Asmalı Yatak) (No.76)
Location: Salihler, Gudul/ Ankara
Altitude: 950 m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision, Scrapping and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: 3000 BC (Aksoy)- Historical (Proposed)

Asmalıyatak petroglyphs are scattered around the Salihler Village, Güdül, Ankara. Kurgan-type burials and an enclosure wall of 7-8 km surrounding the petroglyphs led Aksoy to consider the area a sacred enclosure (Aksoy, 2018, p. 204).

To the north of the petroglyphs, there is a Kayı-tamga engraved on a rock façade, although Aksoy does not give a date for it. Above the "tamga", there exists a panel interpreted as a ceremonial scene by Somuncuoğlu and Aksoy. The panel is given the name "Kağan Panosu" based on the belief that the nearby kurgan-type burial belonged to a kagan. The so-called "Kağan Panosu" comprises approximately 150 figures belonging to a single production phase. Among them are human figures on foot and on horseback, depicted in various poses such as playing drums, holding weaponry, or engaging in sexual activity. Above the "Kağan Panosu" is a niche interpreted as an altar by Aksoy. On top of the niche, there are three panels on single blocks, given the name "Büyük Kağan Panosu ." Aksoy believes these three blocks were spolia moved from elsewhere to build the monument near the kurgan (Aksoy, 2018, p. 205). Another nearby panel, "Süvariler Panosu," has petroglyphs executed in two separate phases, one by pecking and one the other by carving and scrapping. Both phases are represented by human figures riding horses. These "cavalrymen" are highly stylized with simple lines (Aksoy, 2018, p. 208). Besides these panels, Somuncuoğlu had documented Western Turkic Runic Writing on the interior walls of a rock shelter given the name "Çoban Barınağı" (Aksoy, 2018, p. 206). In another panel situated in the open air, Somuncuoğlu detected several tamgas that he thought resembled the tamgas of Avşar and Salur clans. Near these, a single stylized figure, called "Tek Savaşçı" is depicted holding a sword and a shield upwards while riding a horse (Aksoy, 2018, p. 209). Aksoy dates Tek Savaşçı to 3000 BC. Aksoy's dating is likely to be inaccurate, given that the use of domestic horses for horseback riding did not become widespread in Anatolia until 2200 BC (Librado et al., 2021). Aksoy may have been trying to give an earlier date for the Turkic migrations to Anatolia as an

ideological bias. Thus, Güdül petroglyphs are most likely to be dated to a much later period.

Site Name: Kümbet Köyü Petroglyphs (No. 85)
Location: Kümbet, Seyitgazi /Eskişehir
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph -
Site Type: Architecture
Dating: Later than 13th century AD

Kümbet petroglyphs are carved on the walls of a 13th century Seljukid Kümbet with an octagonal plan, located in the Kümbet (Meros) Village, southwest of Seyitgazi, Eskişehir. With the Aizenoi-Çavdarhisar and Temple of Apollo petroglyphs, they constitute the rare examples of treating an architectural façade as the rock surface for petroglyph production. Because the architecture constitutes a terminus ante quem, these petroglyphs serve as a solid base for stylistic comparisons for other rock art in Anatolia. There are 21 petroglyphs executed by scrapping on the walls of the Kümbet. The figures include a walking quadruped, a rabbit, a "cavalryman", deer, "tree of life", a sun disc, "tamgas" and geometric shapes, ibex, fish, horses, and other unidentified animals. All the figures are stylized into a simple linear form. The sense of movement is given with the running postures (M.K. Şahin and Varis, 2017). The figure, which is interpreted as a sun disc by M.K. Şahin and Varis, is stylistically different from the rest of the petroglyphs. Considering that Byzantine spolia had been used in the construction of Kümbet, the so-called sun-disc is more likely to be a Byzantine ringed-cross that dates earlier.

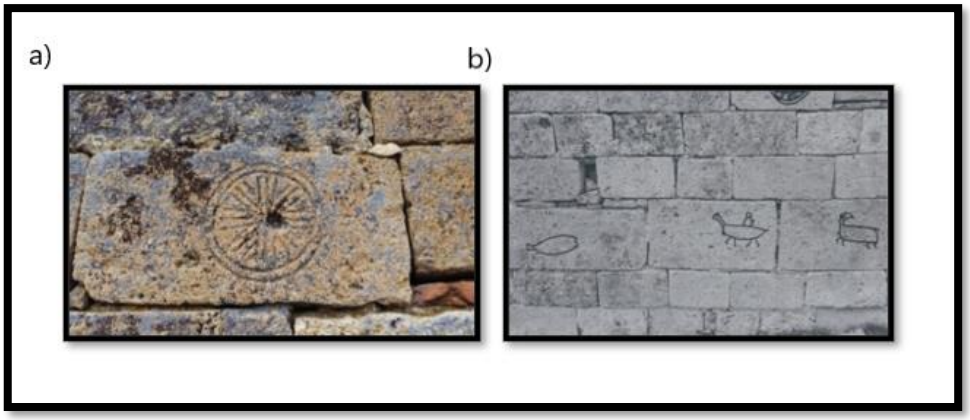

Figure 42. Kümbet Petroglyphs (M.K Şahin and Varis, 2017), a: Probable Byzantine Decoration misinterpreted as a sun-disc (p. 646, Photo.13), b:The fish, cavalryman and ibex figures on the southern façade (s. 645, Fig.8)

Site Name: Bayındır (No.90)
Location: Çenikler, Bayındır / İZMİR
Altitude:
Technique:
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: ?

A local villager identified Bayındır Petroglyphs in 2018 near an olive grove in Çenikler Village of Bayındır, İzmir. Upon his notification, Çilingiroğlu and Gürbıyık visited the petroglyphs, which were already damaged by illicit diggers. They registered the site as a first-degree archaeological site in 2019. The petroglyphs are on three separate blocks, located in a prominent position that overlooks the Bozdağları Range. The perpendicular-standing blocks with weathered surfaces were preferred for rock art production. The first block has a singular motif of an unidentified quadruplet with a spiral tail. The second block contains a better-preserved panel (175 x 190 cm) with nine animal figures. All nine figures are executed with the same style and form, and their size slightly varies. They depict tulip-eared, spiral-tailed, four-legged animals with paws and fur. They all look in the same direction, a behavior interpreted as organized herd behavior by the researchers.

After dismissing the possibility of the spiral-tailed African dog breed Basenji, Çilingiroğlu and Gürbıyık suggest the panel depicts a possible hunting or animal husbandry scene where shepherd dogs are used based on the continued use of Anatolian Akbaş-Kangal shepherd dogs (Çilingiroğlu & Gürbıyık, 2019, p. 162). The third block contains three similar images (12 x 12 cm) of animals, and a fourth block found 50 meters north contains traces of petroglyphs; however, they can not be clearly identified due to recent damage. Çilingiroğlu and Gürbıyık could not identify archaeological deposits related to the petroglyphs, and the petroglyphs seem to show no parallels to the known rock art in Anatolia or Greece, which poses a problem for dating. The closest stylistic parallels are found within the Central Asian and Southeast Asian rock art, especially with Tamgalı in Kyrgyzstan and Sumda Rikpa Bao in Upper Tibet (Çilingiroğlu & Gürbıyık, 2019, p. 166). Those petroglyphs are dated from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (1500 BC- 100 AD); however, considering the lack of cultural connections and geographical distance, it is impossible to date Bayındır rock art based on this stylistic comparison (Çilingiroğlu & Gürbıyık, p. 166).

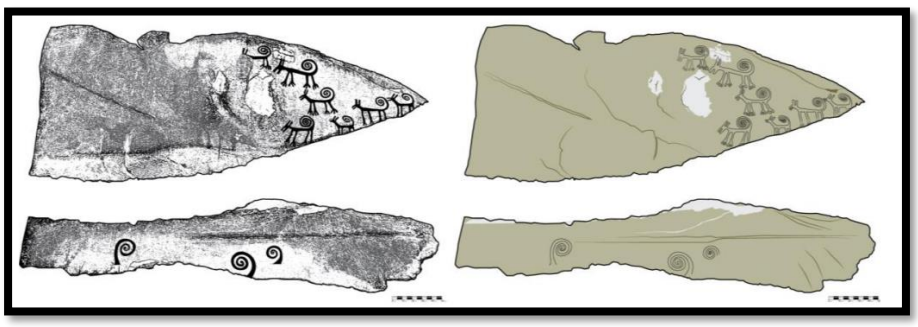

Figure 43. Panel at Bayındır with Multiple Dog Figures (Çilingiroğlu and Gürbıyık, 2019, p. 164, Fig.8-9)

Site Name: Aizanoi -Çavdarhisar Kaya Resimleri (No.86)
Location: Yukarı, Çavdarhisar, KÜTAHYA
Altitude: 1010m
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking
Site Type: Architecture
Dating: 13th century AD

Aizanoi - Çavdarhisar petroglyphs are engraved on the northern, southern, and western façades of the Temple of Zeus in the ancient city of Aizenoi in Çavdarhisar, Kütahya (Beyazıt, 2014, p. 87). Like the ones in Temple of Apollo at Dydima and Eskişehir Kümbet, these figures are more like graffiti than petroglyphs proper. They are implementing the idea that an architectural façade could be used as a canvas for rock art production, just as the natural rock surfaces. The temple's construction ended in the 3rd century AD, setting a terminus ante quem for the graffiti. The figures at Aizanoi - Çavdarhisar include cavalrymen with spears, bows, and arrows; humans, different animal species, geometric figures, and tamgas. The majority of the graffiti is found on the northern façade of the temple (Beyazıt, 2014, p. 87). On this façade, apart from cavalrymen, humans, and horses, there is also a figure that Beyazıt interprets as a musical instrument (kopuz) with radial beams coming out of it (Beyazıt, 2014, p. 88). A similar figure appears on a different part of the northern façade, accompanied by an unidentified animal (Beyazıt, 2014, p. 90). On the interior walls, there are multiple panels depicting humans with similar musical instruments alongside animals and cavalrymen (Beyazıt, 2014, p. 97). Based on the prominence of these figures, Beyazıt believes the petroglyphs were representations of troubadours of pastoral-nomadic clans and the panels depicted their daily life and festivities. He suggests that 13th-century Çavdar Tatars are most likely to be engravers of Aizenoi petroglyphs.By stylistic analogy to Kümbet

(Eskişehir), Beyazıt proposes these two sets of petroglyphs are contemporary (Beyazıt, 2014, p. 113).

Figure 44. Scene on the Interior Northern Wall of Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi, with the cavalryman, dogs and "troubadours" (Beyazıt, 2014, p. 94, Photo.16 and Fig.10)

Site Name: Bozkurt (No. 77)
Location: İnceler, Bozkurt / Denizli
Altitude: 1080m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Historical

Bozkurt petroglyphs are first identified by a local environmental association called DOSEV (Doğa Sevenler Derneği) in 2012, in İnceler Village of Bozkurt, Denizli. The panel at Bozkurt has ibex, cavalryman and unidentified animal figures as well as geometric shapes, runic writing and "tamga" motifs (Gökçe & Akgün , 2020, 35).

Figure 45. Bozkurt Petroglyphs (Gökçe and Akgün, 2020, p. 36)

Site Name: Seydikemer Petroglyphs (No. 74)
Location:, Seydikemer / Muğla
Altitude:
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: 6-8 AD

Gökçe first documented Seydikemer petroglyphs in 2019 after a local shepherd notified him about their existence. The petroglyphs are executed by incision and pecking. Figures include ibex, cavalrymen, unidentified animal figures, and various geometric shapes. Gökçe claims these motifs and their execution resemble the 6-8th century AD Göktürk rock art. To further understand the petroglyphs, Gökçe surveyed the area and started to excavate a nearby kurgan-type burial in collaboration with Elmalı Museum. They obtained ceramic vessels, arrowheads, and metal artifacts from the kurgan (Gökçe and Akgün, 2020). When the geographical proximity to Kozağacı-Çağman (Antalya), Yankı Taşı and Kümbet Pınarı (Burdur) panels, it is most likely that the Seydikemer petroglyphs are related to Turkic clans. However, in the lack of a secure date, Gökçe's dating remains speculative.

Figure 46. Seydikemer Petroglyphs (Gökçe and Akgün, 2020, p. 35, Fig.10)

Site Name: Yankı Taşı (No.89)
Location: Alanköy, Yeşilova / Burdur
Altitude: 1100m
Technique: Petroglyph - Incision, Scrapping and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Later than Roman??

Yankı Taşı petroglyphs are executed on the façade of a Phrygian-style Roman burial chamber on the southern slope of a rock known as Yankıtaşı in Alanköy Village of Yeşilova, Burdur. Yankıtaşı petroglyphs are superimposed on the relief of the burial structure, therefore date later than the Roman tomb. The petroglyphs consist of stylized ibex motifs with horns, which are depicted from the profile. They are executed by pecking and size 23 cm on average. Some of the ibex motifs had their contours scrapped in a later period. Özsait believes the artists were local shepherds grazing their herds. There are also cruciform of varying sizes (18-23 cm in height and 6-14 cm in width) and a figure interpreted as a “genie” by Çankaya. The upper part of the rock-cut tomb is damaged by illicit digging, and on the crushed blocks, there exists evidence for more petroglyphs. Çankaya reports two mounds

with Bronze Age surface finds and several other rock-cut tombs around Yankıtaşı (Çankaya, 2015, p. 50).

Site Name: Kümbet Pınarı (No. 84)
Location: Sazak, Yeşilova / Burdur
Altitude: 1346m
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Iron Age?

Kümbet Pınarı petroglyphs are found on the blocks of rock on the upper terraces of Kümbet Pınarı spring, located on the northern slopes of Büyükdamık Mountain, near Sazak Village of Yeşilova, Burdur. The petroglyphs are at 1346m altitude. A. Çankaya observed a particular choice on the weathered surfaces of rocks that directly face the sun. The petroglyphs are executed by pecking and consist of 4 ibex motifs, sizing between 19 to 21 cm. The ibex are portrayed in a gesture in which they bump their horns to each other. There also exists a deer figure, size 3 cm in height and 20cm in width, with antlers resembling the branches of a tree. Within the airline distance of 100 to 300 meters, a prehistoric slope settlement, three mounds, and a Phyrigian-Lydian settlement exist. These settlements and the stylistic similarities in between the Kümbet Pınarı ibex and the ibex motifs on Phrygian pottery led Çankaya to date the petroglyphs to the Iron Age (Çankaya, 2015, p. 50).

Site Name: Baynaz Tepe (No. 88)
Location: Başkuyu, Yeşilova / Burdur
Altitude: 1260m
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: ??

Baynaz Tepe petroglyphs are executed on the southeastern façade of a monoblock boulder located north of a streambed passing through the north of Baynaz Tepe, Başkuyu Village of Yeşilova, Burdur. Near Baynaz Tepe, a partially destructed prehistoric flat settlement and a slope settlement exist. Baynaz Tepe petroglyphs are executed by pecking and include three stylized ibex motifs, each with two heads, triangular bodies, and exaggerated horns. All are depicted from the profile and size 20cm in height and 14cm in width. Near the ibex motifs, there are unidentified geometric figures. In the 300m distance to Baynaz Tepe, there is a rock shelter with petroglyphs of labrys, axes, cruciform figures, and Greek letters. In front of the block, a small sounding revealed nothing but a few Eastern Roman and Seljukid coarse pottery (Çankaya, 2015, p. 50).

Site Name: Elmalı (No.79)
Location: Yörenler, Elmalı / ANTALYA
Altitude: 1545m
Technique: Petroglyph - Scrapping and Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Early Turkic

Elmalı petroglyphs are located in Yörenler Village of Elmalı, Antalya. The panel consists of nine identified and several unidentified figures executed by scrapping and pecking on the surface of a self-standing singular limestone block. Ceylan and Aydın observed uniformity in style and theme within the panel; therefore, they believe the same artist inscribed all petroglyphs within a single phase. The nine identified figures include: a cavalryman with a spear, sized 10x10cm, portrayed from the profile; five ibex of varying sizes; a fox, a dog and a sun-disc. Ceylan and Aydın consider the panel as a narrative of a hunting scene. Pairing of the ibex and the sun-disc motifs is also known from Şenkaya-Kaynak panels at Erzurum

(Ceylan and Aydın, 2021, p. 540). In terms of the hunting theme and composition, Elmalı petroglyphs are similar to Çıldır-Başköy (Ardahan) and Doyumlu (Kars) petroglyphs. Because "the cavalryman", sun-discs and ibex are the three most common motifs of pastoral-nomad Turkic rock art, Ceylan and Aydın believe Elmalı petroglyphs are the product of early Turkic migrations from Central Asia to Anatolia. They further emphasize the similarity of the Elmalı panel to Meshkin (Iran), Gobustan (Iran), and Armenian rock art (Ceylan and Aydın, 2021, p. 542). Although Ceylan and Aydın's conclusions on the pastoral-nomad Turkic culture are probably accurate, their dating, LBA-Early Iron Age, is inconsistent.

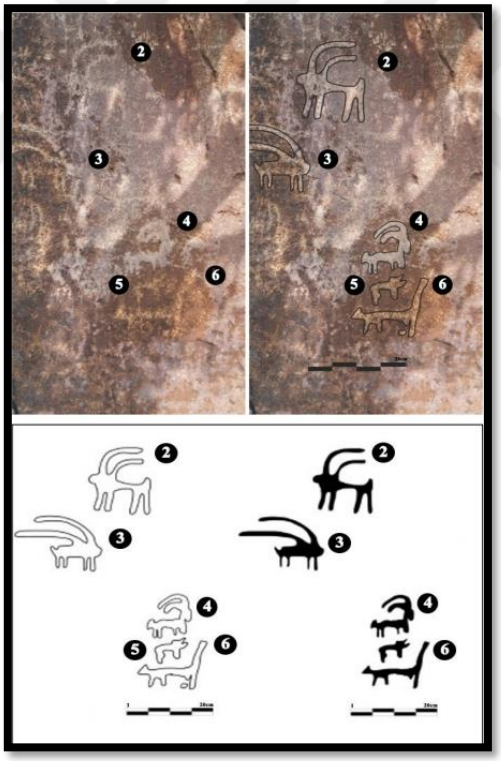

Figure 47. A Section of the Elmalı Panel (Ceylan and Aydın, 2021, p. 550)

Site Name: Kozağacı - Çağman (No.80)
Location: Kozağacı, Korkuteli / ANTALYA
Altitude: 1630m
Technique: Petroglyph - Pecking
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Later than 2nd century AD- Early Middle Ages??

Kozağacı (Çağman) Petroglyphs are located near Kozağacı Village, Korkuteli, Antalya. They were initially identified by Çankaya, an archaeologist commissioned by the Burdur Museum to survey the ancient Pisidia region in 2009. There exist a slope settlement and a necropolis within the immediate surroundings of the petroglyphs, with the surface finds dating from the Iron Age to the Late Roman Period. The Roman settlement overlaps with the modern-day Turkmen village Kozağacı which is divided by the Çağman Spring. The petroglyphs are executed on the lower façade of a Roman Stele that dates to the 2nd century AD, which serves as a terminus ante quem. The stele being located near a historical Turkmen cemetery led Çankaya to associate the petroglyphs with the pastoral-nomadic Turkmen clans. The petroglyphs are executed by pecking and include frontally depicted human figures holding bows or other weaponry. Several "cavalrymen" turn their torsos ⅓ backward to shoot an arrow, a pose well-known as the “Parthian Shot” in literature. There are several other cavalrymen and ibex figures of varying sizes. Çankaya highlights their stylistic similarities with the Aizanoi-Çavdarhisar and Ordu-Esatlı petroglyphs in Anatolia, Tuva and Hakas petroglyphs in Russia, and the petroglyphs of the Gobi Desert in Central Asia. She broadly dates the petroglyphs to the early Turkic migrations during the "Early Middle Ages" (Çankaya, 2015, p. 51). Later in 2019, C. Saltaoğlu visited the site, and he claims there is a runic inscription "Ulug Ab" (Grand Hunt) on the panel as well as "tamgas" belonging to the "Dodurga" branch of Oghuz clans. Saltaoğlu suggests the panel dates to the 6th-9th centuries

AD based on its linguistic properties (Saltaoğlu, 2018). Although the "Parthian Shooter" is a common motif in Central Asian rock art, Saltaoğlu's claims on the runic inscriptions and the suggested dating are speculative, considering he does not hold a formal education neither in Turcology nor in archaeology.

Figure 48. Kozağacı-Çağman Petroglyhps (Saltaoğlu)

Site Name: Taşeli Beleni - Körcoluk (No.82)
Location: Körcoluk, Gülnar / MERSİN
Altitude: 790m
Technique: Petroglyph
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Turkic??

Taşeli Beleni / Körcoluk petroglyphs were first identified by İ. Şahin in 2009, during a survey in the area around Karşu (Meydancık) Kalesi. The petroglyphs are found on a 20-meter-long single boulder across the fortress. The figures include 11 tamgas, an unidentified figure, and runic writing (İ. Şahin, 2012, p. 275). This rock also hosts a headwater that gives the village its name and today is used as a fountain (İ. Şahin, 2012, p. 280). The tamga motifs are found 6 meters right of this fountain at 50 cm height. Their size varies from 6 cm to 13 cm. (İ. Şahin, 2012, p.282). İ. Şahin believes a certain tamga called “teke tamgası” is a common motif among Turkic rock

art and has also been found in Öngüt petroglyphs (İ. Şahin, 2012, p. 283). Similarly, he suggests the so-called “eb tamga” and “istavroz tamga” are common motifs found across Anatolia that belonged to Oghuz, Dodurga and Kıpchak Turkmens. Thus, while pointing out the difficulty of offering secure dating, İ. Şahin thinks the carvers were of Turkic origin (İ. Şahin, 2012, p. 298).

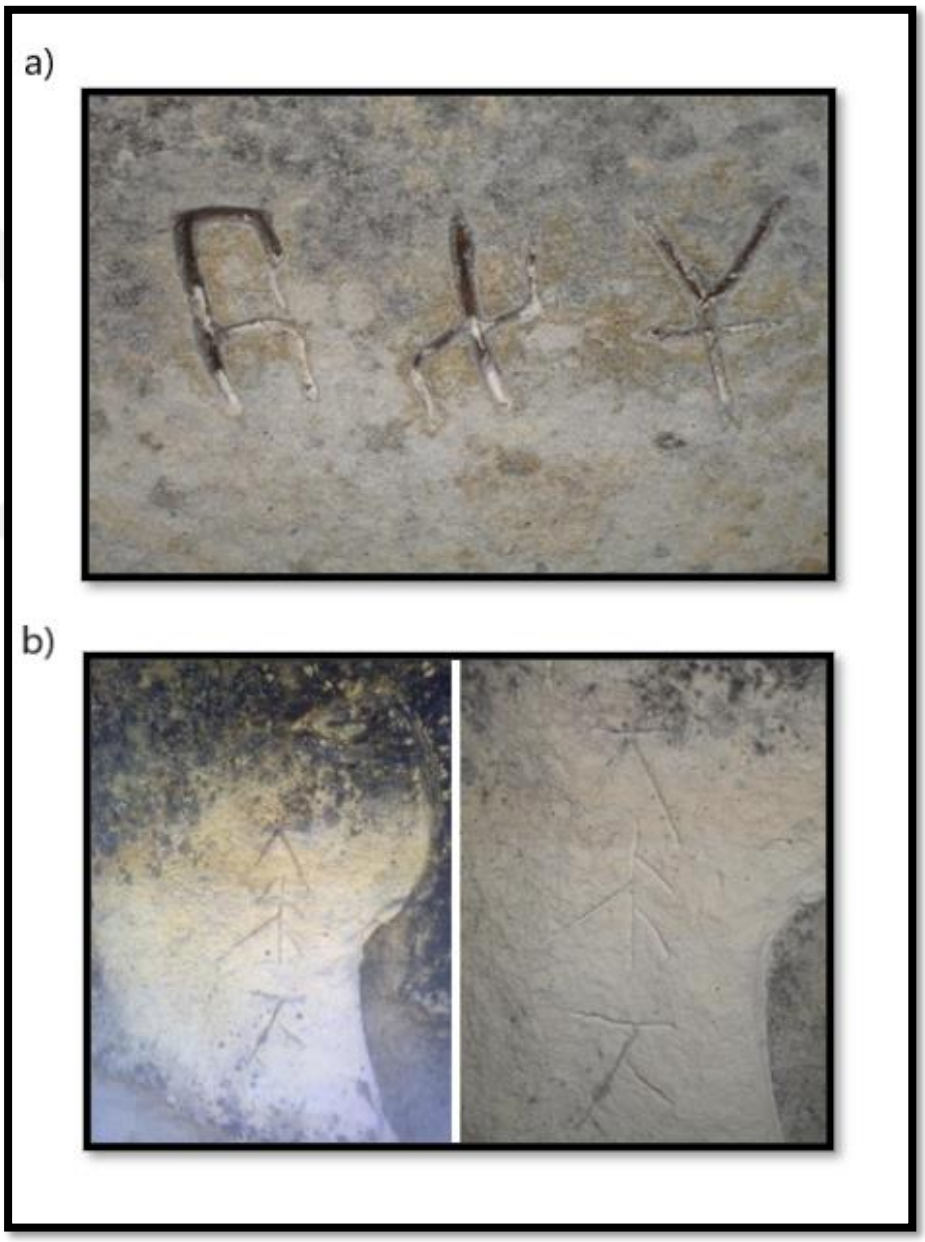

Figure 49. Taşeli Beleni – Körcoluk Petroglyphs (İ. Şahin, 2012), a: Insciptions identified as Göktürk Alphabet by İ. Şahin (p.294), b: Inscriptions identified as Kanji Alphabet by İ. Şahin (p.296)

Site Name: Cerrah (No.87)
Location: Kozluca, İdil / ŞIRNAK
Altitude: 530 m
Technique: Petroglyph – Incision and Scrapping
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: MBA at the Earliest

Cerrah petroglyphs are located on the 3 km south of Kozluca Village, Şırnak near the Syrian border. They were first documented by Erip in 2021 (Diyarbakır Bölge Koruma Kurulu Document No: 73.04.42). The petroglyphs are randomly scattered on the rocks and contain images of a cavalryman, standing camels with their leash, a standing human, and an ibex (Diyarbakır Bölge Koruma Kurulu Document No: 73.04.42). Cerrah petroglyphs are significant as they present one of the rare examples of camel figures in Anatolian rock art. Citing the parallels with the petroglyphs of North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and the Iranian Plateau, Erip dates Cerrah petroglyphs to the Bronze Age at the earliest (DBKK: 73.04.42). This dating is primarily based on the widespread domestication of camels within the region; thus, provides only a terminus ante quem. The Regional Protection Board of Diyarbakir offers a wide period from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages for the dating of the petroglyphs (DBKK: 73.04.42) .

Figure 50. A Camel and Human Figure from Cerrah Petroglyphs (TRT Haber)

Site Name: Gümüşlü (No. 73)
Location: Efendibey, Gümüşler / NİĞDE
Altitude: 1370m
Technique: Pictograph (Light Red) & Petroglyph (Pecking)
Site Type: Architecture
Dating: Byzantine at the Earliest

Gümüşlü Kaya pictographs are painted on the Byzantine frescoes of the assembly hall in the underground monastery of Gümüşler, in Efendibey Village of Gümüşler District, Niğde. They depict hunting scenes with a lamb and a wolf taking refuge in a castle, and ibexes, gazelles, and lions being hunted down by armed humans. They are initially carved with metal tools and then applied with a light shade of red, and stylistically very simple, although the sense of movement is given quite vividly. The superimposition and the obviously simpler style makes it clear that the pictographs are later additions to the Byzantine frescoes. The number of the figures exceeds 100. Uyanık suggests the superimposition on Byzantine frescoes makes Gümüşlü Kaya petroglyphs a perfect reference for further stylistic comparisons to date of other petroglyphs in Anatolia that are thought to belong to historical times (Uyanık 1974, 82).

Figure 51. Petroglyphs Style Graffiti on Gümüşler Monastery (Uyanık, 1974, Fig.133)

3.2. Pictographs of Anatolia

Most of the pictographs in Southeastern Anatolia are clustered around the Yedisalkım Village, 76 km southeast of Van. To the west, a long canyon gives passage to Mount Başet (3684m). Although today the region is baren, it used to be covered with dense oak forests, pastures, and abundant water resources during prehistory (Belli, 2003, p. 29). Until the 20th-century, hunting remained an essential mode of subsistence for the local people. With the widespread use of firearms, a significant proportion of the local wild fauna became extinct. The region's suitable environment for hunting encouraged Belli to consider the hunting-magic theory for most of the rock art around Yedisalkım (Belli, 2007, p. 5). Small streams unite and form Geli Stream, which falls to the canyon's east. Among 60 small caves found around the Geli stream, only four of them host rock art. All four of these caves are located on the relatively steeper, hard-to-reach sides of the canyon's northern

outskirts. The lowest cave is 32 m above the village center while the highest is 78 m above (Belli, 2003, p. 32). Belli dated most of Yedisalkım Caves from the Epi-paleolithic to the Chalcolithic periods based on stylistic analogies. However, these dates are not supported with archaeological evidence. Currently, Çavuşoğlu is conducting a survey in the rock shelters of Yedisalkım Village. Although the survey report has not been published yet, in an interview with the local media Çavuşoğlu said the preliminary finds were suggesting the Late Chalcolithic- Early Bronze Age (Varol, 2020).

Site Name: Yedisalkım Cave 1 (No.29)
Location: Yedisalkım, Gürpınar / VAN
Altitude: 2454 m
Technique: Pictograph / Red
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Neolithic- Chalcolithic??

Rock Shelter No.1 is the lowermost of Yedisalkım Caves. It has a triangular shape, and sizes 10.20 x 3.70x2.10 meters. The entrance of the rock shelter faces north (Belli, 2003, p. 32). The rock shelter contains 4 pictographs, painted with ochre. Only one of the pictographs, a figure of a male ibex (Capra aegagrus), is preserved well enough to be identified. It is located on the eastern wall at 1.10m above the ground. The ibex is portrayed quite naturalistically with proportionate body parts. Although the rest of the body is depicted from the profile, the horns are shown frontally. The horns are long and curled backward. Overall, the ibex figure resembles the one found at Kızların Cave (Belli, 2003, p. 32). Belli associates these pictographs to hunting magic and dates them later then the Kızların Cave (Belli, 2003, p. 35).

Site Name: Yedisalkım Cave 2 (No.47)
Location: Yedisalkım, Gürpınar / VAN
Altitude: 2476 m
Technique: Pictograph / Red
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Neolithic- Chalcolithic??

Cave No.2 is located approximately 40-50 m west of Cave No.1 and 54 m above Geli Stream. It has a small front terrace from where the only access is through a 3-meter climb. The cave has two entrances: entrance A faces north, and entrance B faces northeast. The pictographs are close to entrance B where the rock surface is relatively smoother. There exist 7 randomly scattered pictographs on the eastern wall executed with similar techniques and materials (ochre). Five of the pictographs are severely damaged by natural weathering (Belli, 2003, p. 32). The remaining two are identified as an ibex and an unidentified quadruped. The ibex figure 1 m above the ground is highly stylized without much detail, and it faces left. The other quadruped faces right and is similar in style and composition. (Belli, 2003, p. 34). As of Cave No.1, Belli believes these pictographs were painted as a form of hunting magic and date later to the ones in Kızların Cave (Belli, 2003, p. 35).

Kızların (Put-Maiden's) Caves

Kızların Mağarası (The Cave of Maidens) is a site composed of two separate caves and an extensive terrace, located in Yedisalkım Village of Gürpınar, Van. The caves are found 2 km west of the village fountain, on the southern end of the canyon that gives passage to Mount Başet. The complex is only accessible through a 78-meter climb from the village. While climbing to the cave, one passes Yedisalkım 1 and Yedisalkım 2 rock shelters. The complex is named after the so-called "dancing-goddess" pictographs found on the interior walls of Cave No.2 (Belli, 2007, p. 36).

The two caves, 18 meters apart, were first documented by Belli in 1971 after Okayer notified him. Since then, the cave was revisited by Alok in the 1980's and H. Tümer in 2017. It is known from Belli's accounts that both caves contained pictographs, however, by the time Tümer visited the caves, the pictographs in Cave No. 1 (East Cave) were no longer visible (Tümer, 2017, p. 109)

Belli could not identify any archaeological deposits in either of the caves which presented a problem for the dating. In his survey around the region, he could not find evidence for permanent occupation before the Iron Age Urartu. Therefore, he believes the caves were not inhabited, but temporarily used only for cultic reasons, perhaps by prehistoric pastoral nomads (Belli, 1975, p.17). It is possible that the later dark brown phase of Cave No.2 (West Cave) is contemporary with the Cave No.1. Belli associates this late phase with the Neolithic by analogy to the steatopic female figurines of Çatalhöyük and Hacılar (Belli, 2007, p. 42).

Site Name: Kızların (Put) Mağarası 1 - East Cave (No.33)
Location: Yedisalkım, Gürpınar / VAN
Altitude: 2500 m
Technique: Pictograph / Red & Dark Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating:

Cave No.1 is 150 m above Geli Stream (Belli, 1975, p. 4), at the northeastern end of the terrace, and has two chambers. Chamber A, where the main entrance is, is devoid of pictographs. It has a 42 m depth and height of 2.70 m. Chamber B, where the pictographs are, faces north and is 6 m high (Belli, 2007, p. 36). Significantly, the interior walls do not contain any pictographs. All pictographs are located at the entrance of Chamber B, which opens to a steep cliff and is not suitable for entry or occupation. The panel sizes 5 m and contains approximately 30-35 pictographs, all

painted with red ochre. Ten of the pictographs are too damaged by natural weathering to be identified. Although the figures are quite small, the details shown are remarkable. The most prominent figures are stylized humans, cruciforms filled with dots, hunting/trap scenes, humans standing on top of deer, numerous male ibexes, and a deer. (Belli, 2007, p. 36). The ibex figure (11.5 x 4x 8.5 cm) with long horns is portrayed in a galloping gesture. The cruciform that is filled with nine dots is located just near the ibex. The human standing on top of an animal is a typical composition in Anatolia and Mesopotamia to represent divinities. Therefore, Belli interprets this human figure as a god (Belli, 1975, p. 5). The god figure is portrayed in a position with its arms reaching upwards, a pose which Belli called the salutation. Its hands are shown only with three fingers, which Belli believes is a conscious choice reflecting a local cult. The deer on which the gods stand is naturalistic in style. It has an elaborate head and antler, but the rest of its body below the neck is either not drawn or faded in time. The first human figure is 1 meter on top of the god-on-deer. The execution of the body is quite simple and stylized, and out of realistic proportions. Its head, drawn as an inverted triangle, is placed on a long neck. Its arms are opened to the sides and have disproportionately short legs. (Belli, 1975, p. 6). Belli believes the figure represents a dancer who performs a hunting-magic or another ceremonial dance. The second human figure is placed near the first one and is in the same shade of red. It is quite similar to the first one; however, has an extra line on its lower body, likely to represent the genitalia that Belli believes are associated with fertility and abundance (Belli, 1975, p. 7).

Site Name: Kızların (Put) Mağarası 2 - West Cave (No.45)
Location: Yedisalkım, Gürpınar / VAN
Altitude: 2482 m
Technique: Pictograph / Red & Dark Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Two production phases btw Neolithic- Chalcolithic (8000-5000BC?)

Kızların Cave No.2 is located 18 meters west of Kızların No.1. The cave is composed of a single chamber with a wide entrance opening up to the northwest (Belli, 1975, p. 7). It sizes 22 m in depth, 4 m in height, and 7 m in width. The deepest sections contain fill that Belli believes to be prehistoric (Belli, 2007, p. 36). The ceiling and the sidewalls of the cave are covered by soot. The pictographs are painted on both walls of the cave. Most of the approximately 60 pictographs had deteriorated due to natural weathering and soot (Belli, 2007, p. 37). The pictographs of this Cave N.2 are much richer in quality and quantity than those in Cave N.1. They are painted on both the northern and southern walls of the cave. As in Cave No. 1, the pictographs are painted in easily accessible, sunlit sections (Belli, 1975, p. 8). Interestingly, different shades of pigments were used in their production. Some pictographs are painted with red ochre while the rest is with a brownish-red color. The superimposition suggests at least two production phases where the brown figures date to a later period (Belli, 2007, p. 37). The earlier red figures are naturalistic in style in contrast to the stylization of the brown figures. They belong to different time periods with different conceptualization. Belli believes the stylization of the later brown “goddesses' ' resembles the Neolithic Çatalhöyük and Hacılar female figurines. Therefore, he offers a dating of 8000-5000 BC for Kızların Cave petroglyphs (Belli, 2007, p. 42).

The panel at the northern corner of the cave contains only four pictographs of “dancing humans”, and is named the “Dancers’ Panel” accordingly. They are all

similar in their posture and execution, yet each has distinctive features. The dancers are portrayed with their arms stretched upwards or to the sides, without facial details, fingers, or toes. Their body is proportionate (Belli, 2007, p. 37). They have exaggerated hips and legs with S-shaped bellies, which gives a sense of movement as if the figures were dancing. Belli claims some of them have male reproductive organs shown with single lines (Belli, 1975, p. 9).

The southwest wall contains a panel sizing 8 m. The panel, called “the Grand Panel " has humans, goddess figures with upwards-reaching arms and exaggerated buttocks, goddess figures standing on top of animals, hunting/trap scenes, male ibex, sun motifs, and several other unidentified animals (Belli, 2007, p. 38). The first figure on the panel is a stylized deer that Belli thought resembled the Alacahöyük deer. It is portrayed from the profile with disproportionate body features and exaggerated antler (Belli, 1975, p. 9). Just below the deer figure, another highly stylized human figure holds an object in its hand. Belli interpreted this object as an ax and initiated the scene with the concept of a hunt, hunting magic, or war in general. This figure did not survive up today. Right to the cave entrance, there is a sun disc with 12 beams coming out of it. Next to it, there is a realistic ibex figure painted with ochre (Belli, 1975, p. 10). Besides these figures, there is another “goddess on an animal” composition 1.80 meters inside the cave. It is on the right wall and painted with a darker shade obtained by combining ochre with soot. The so-called goddess is portrayed from the profile and steatopic. Belli prefers the “mistress of animals” interpretation rather than the “mother goddess” (Belli, 1975, p. 11). Focusing on the animal's antler below her, Belli identifies the animal as a kid, fawn, or calf. Another group is the two dancing figures found on the right side of the cave, 1.20 meters away from the entrance. Belli identified one of the figures as a goddess.

The “goddess” has delicate features up above the hip with V-shaped arms in contrast to her bold, exaggerated buttocks. This steatopic depiction led Belli to consider the figure a goddess (Belli, 1975, p. 11). By drawing a parallel to the Çatalhöyük and Hacılar female figurines, Belli associates these “goddess” figures with fertility (Belli, 2007, p. 38). Another possibility he considers is that the bold hips and legs represented shalwar-like baggy trousers. The second dancing figure, which Belli named “the high priestess”, is just near the “goddess”. Like the “goddess”, “the high priestess” also raises her arms dancing while slightly bending towards the “goddess” (Belli, 1975, p. 12). Another goddess figure is found 1.30 inside the cave on the right wall of the cave. It is very similar to the first “goddess” figure; however, she has a cylindrical head instead of a delicate upper body. Belli thought it was the depiction of another move of the same dance. The fourth goddess figure is at the cave entrance and painted a dark shade of red. The lower body consists of a heart-shaped singular unit. Below her raised arms, she has bulges, perhaps to represent the breasts (Belli, 1975, p.13). Another quadruped animal figure on the right side of the cave is also shown with bulges below its feet to depict genitalia or breasts full of milk. Next to it, another animal is painted with the same dark shade of red. Again, a trap figure exists on the right side of the cave (Belli, 1975, p.14). Belli believes Kızların Mağarası pictographs were scattered randomly within the walls and were not by any means structured. He associated them with the hunting-magic theory, which perceives rock art production as an effort to dominate game animals (Belli, 2007, p. 39). As accessible only through a 78 m rough climb, the cave could not have served a daily purpose and must have held ritual meaning.

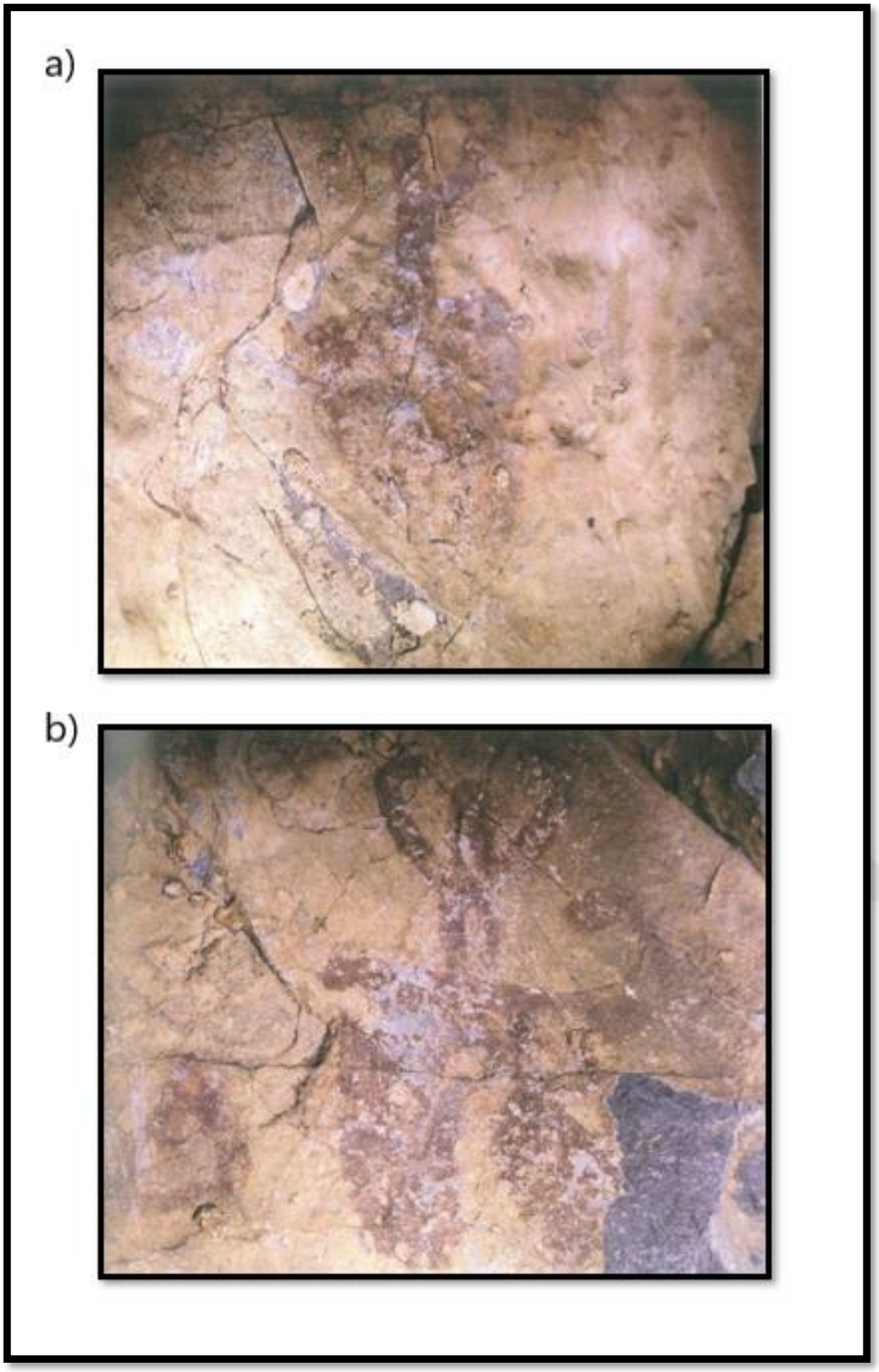

Figure 52. Kızların Cave Pictographs (Belli 2007), a: “The Mother-Goddess” (p.40), b: “The Dancing-Goddess” p.41)

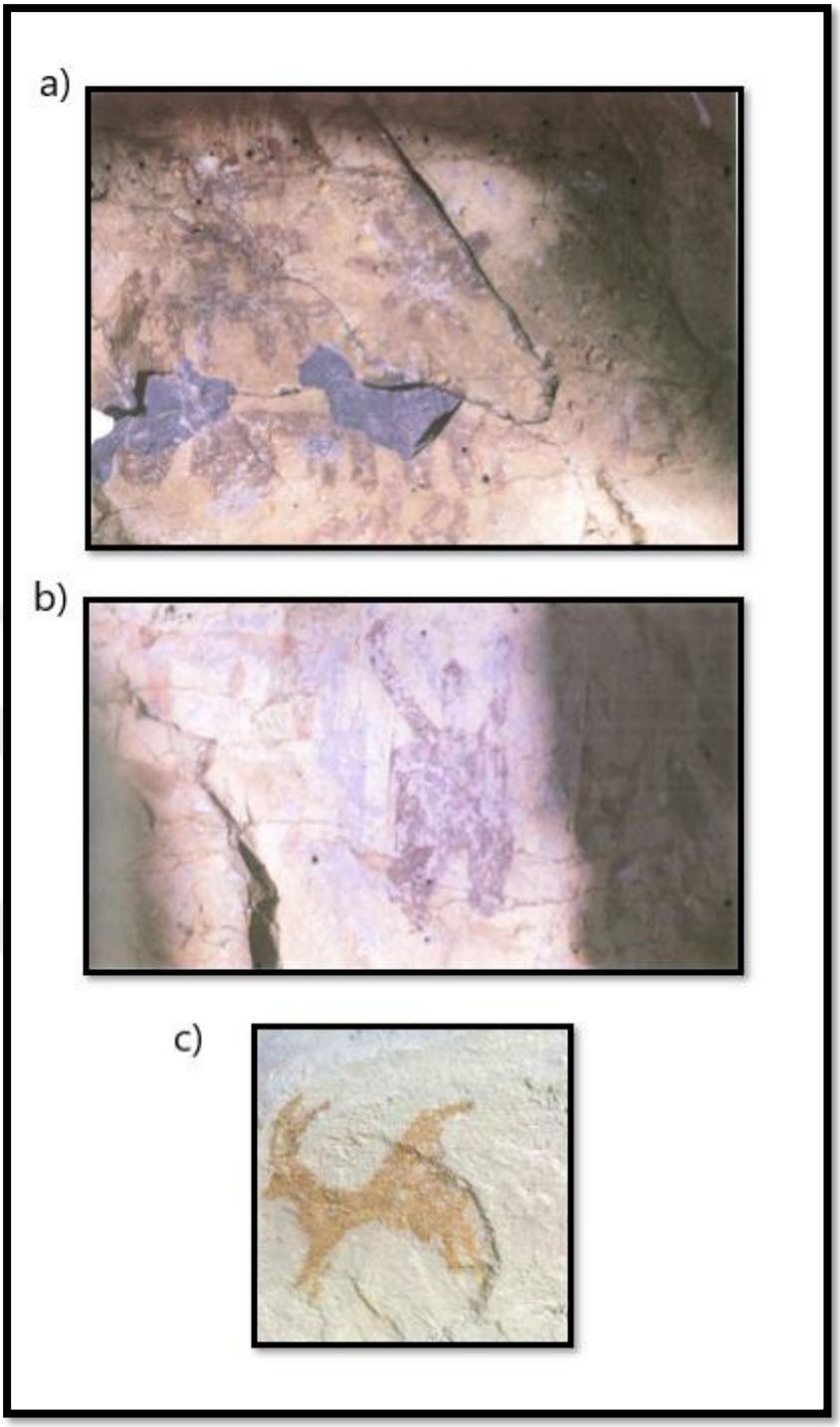

Figure 53 continiued: Kızların Cave Pictographs (Belli 2007), a: "Goddess Standing on an Animal" (p.38), b: Dark-brownish Goddess Figure Superimposed on an Earlier Light-red human (p.39), c: Light-red Ibex Figure (p.39)

Site Name: Çapanuk Tepesi (No.43)
Location: Yedisalkım, Gürpınar / Van
Altitude:
Technique: Pictograph - Dark Red
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating:??

Çapanuk Hill lies on the eastern outskirts of Mount Başet, 2.5-3 km northwest of Yedisalkım Village, on the northern end of the canyon. Fertile summer pastures surround it. The cave containing pictographs is within one of these pastures named Varemir Yaylası. Although there are numerous other small caves within the region, none of them proved to contain pictographs or surface finds. The cave with the paintings is on the northeastern end of Çapanuk Hill and faces northeast (Belli, 2003, p. 35). It has a triangular shape and size of 8.40 x 5 x 11 meters. It contains two pictographs, both located on the eastern wall and painted with dark-red ochre by similar techniques. One of them is a stylized quadruped portrayed frontally, perhaps while walking from right to the left. The other figure is hard to identify. Significantly, they are painted on the deepest part of the cave (Belli, 2003, p. 36).

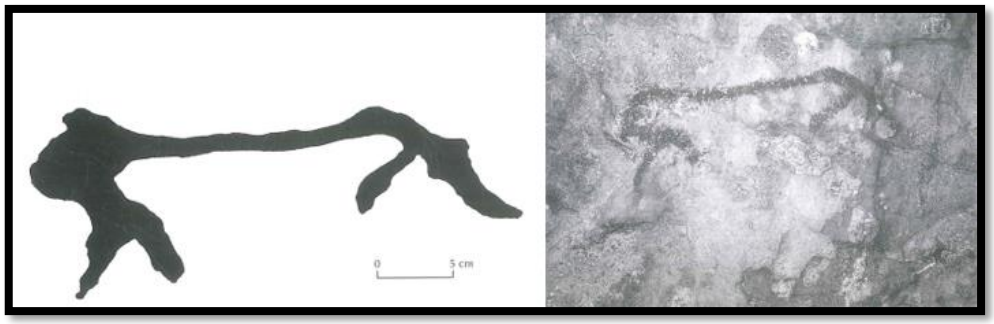

Figure 53. Çapanuk Tepesi Animal Pictograph (Belli, 2003, p. 37, Fig.6 and Photo.6)

Site Name: Mount Başet (No.42)
Location: Gürpınar / Van
Altitude: 3720m
Technique: Petroglyph- Pecking and Pictograph-Red
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: 4000-2000 BC? For Pictographs – 13th century AD for Petroglyhps

Mount Başet Petroglyphs are located within a rock shelter at 3720 m altitude. Alok identifies the figures as ibex, snakes, stylized birds, and cavalrymen bearing spears. Alok claims the stylized bird is stylistically similar to the ones in Pagan petroglyphs and the cavalrymen are parallel to the ones found on the walls of the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi. Apart from the petroglyphs, there are also red painted figures in the Başet Mountains. The pictographs are found on the interior walls of a rock shelter on the northwestern slope of the mountain. The figures are executed with red paint and include a snake figure on the lower left side of the shelter, accompanied by two ibexes and several vertical lines. Alok interprets the figures as the expression of sexual desire, the desire for eternal life, or hunting magic. He dates the pictographs between 4000-2000 BC, and the petroglyphs to 2000 BC. As valuable as the works of Alok for the documentation of rock art all around Anatolia, he is not a credible source when it comes to the interpretation of the panels and their dating (Alok, 1988, pp. 9-11).

Site Name: Gevre Bıhıri (Hırkanis / Giyimli) (No. 22)
Location: Giyimli / Gürpınar, Van
Altitude: 2400 m
Technique: Pictograph- Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Neolithic-Chalcolithic??

Gevri Bıhıri pictographs are found on a small cave, 6-7 km northeast of Yedisalkım and 2.5-3 km east of Giyimli (Hırkanis) Village (Belli, 2003, p. 37).

Didanis, Katuh, and Geli Streams come together to form Hoşap (Güzelsu) Stream. The cave is 60-70 m above the Hoşap streambed and faces northwest. The entrance is only accessible through a 44 m steep climb (Belli, 2003, p. 38). The walls are covered with a grainy limestone layer. Belli notes that, as of 2002, illicit diggers damaged most of the pictographs previously documented as intact in the 1972 expedition. There exist 14 scattered pictographs at heights varying from 90cm to 1 m. The identified figures include humans on top of animals, single humans, animals, and sun motifs. The first sun motif is painted near the cave entrance 80 cm above the ground. It is stylized with nine beams coming out of a salubrious circle. The human figure is next to the sun motif and portrayed frontally. It is stylized without much detail. Its outstretched arms are parallel to the ground on both sides. Perhaps intentionally, the hands, fingers, and legs below the knee are not depicted. Right to this human, there is a stylized animal figure moving in the right-to-left direction. Its head is disproportionately more prominent than its body and completed with two short horns. Below the unidentified animal, another human figure exists. Likewise, this human figure also has outstretched- parallel arms without hands or fingers in the first one. The right arm is significantly longer than the left one. The right leg seems to depict a stepping gesture. On the upper-right side of the second human, another sun motif with 13 radial beams is painted (Belli, 2003, p. 39). The human-on-top-of-animal figure is at a 30 cm distance from the second sun motif. It is the focal point of the composition. The artist intended to portray the human frontally. The human has outstretched arms parallel to the ground and stands on top of a quadruped. Belli can not provide dating for these paintings (Belli, 2003, p. 41). The panels' stylization, technique, and content in Gevri Bıhri are very similar to the Put Cave pictographs

located just a few kilometers away. Therefore, if one of the caves is to be dated with a reliable method, the same dating should also apply to the other one.

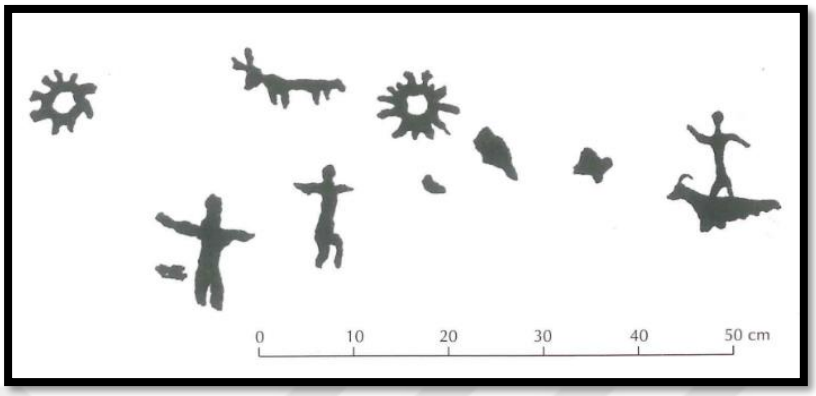

Figure 54. Gevre Bıhri Pictographs (Belli, 2003, p.40, Fig.9)

Site Name: Pagan Village (No.32)
Location: Yeşilalıç, Özalp, Van
Altitude:
Technique: Pictograph (Light Red and White) & Petroglyphs - Pecking
Site Type: Cave
Dating:

Rock Art of Pagan (Yeşilalıç) Village was discovered in 1970 by M. Okayer on the outer wall and entrance of a cave (Küçük Pagan Cave) near Pagan Village, 26 km southwest of Saray, Van. The cave has both petroglyphs and pictographs. The panel on the right side of the entrance contains schematic pictographs of wild sheep (mouflon) and ibexes (bezoar), painted light pink. Next to them is a schematized deer petroglyph applied by pecking (Uyanık, 1974, p. 76). There exists a pictograph of an ibex on the outer wall, applied with similar pigments. Based on the thickness of the paint applied, Uyanık concluded that the pictographs were renewed several times. This particular ibex figure dated to a later period than the ones at the entrance (Uyanık, 1974, p. 76). This ibex figure likely did not survive as Tümer could not

identify it during her 2017 survey (Tümer, 2017, p. 121). The panel on the left side of the entrance contains images of a domesticated goat, a bird, and a cavalryman bearing a bow and arrows. Several geometric figures such as cruciforms, cup-marks, and tectiforms accompany them. These figures are applied by pecking, remarkably smaller than the ones in the right panel, and date to a much later period (Uyanık 1974, 76). One unique feature of the Pagan Cave is the existence of figures, a floral design and a bird motif painted with white paint. The majority of the prehistoric rock paintings in Anatolia are executed with ochre, with a few examples of black and yellow pigments. The content of this paint has not been analyzed (Alok, 1988, p. 27). Uyanık compares Pagan pictographs to the Tırşin petroglyphs and concludes that if the Tırşin petroglyphs were to be accepted as Neolithic, then the Pagan petroglyphs should be considered as Late Neolithic at the earliest. He adds that he was confident that the right panel with the cavalrymen figure dated to the historical periods (Uyanık, 1974, p. 76). This view is shared by Tümer, who suggests there exists continuity in the cultic use of the cave, considering the nearby Yeşilalıç inscriptions and fortress that date to the 9th century BCE (Tümer, 2017, p. 121).

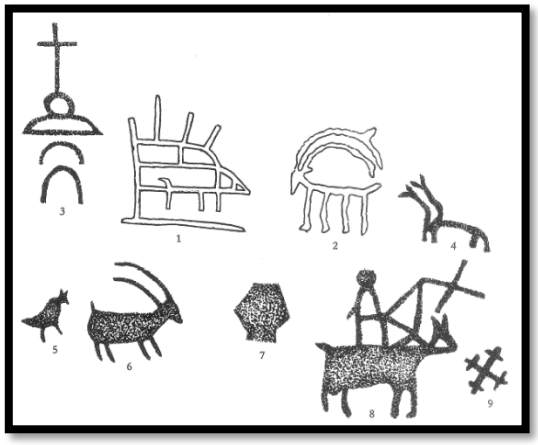

Figure 55. Pagan- Yeşilalıç Figures, (Uyanık, 1974, p. 77 (Fig.36))

Site Name: Aliger Cave (No.44)
Location: Cemalettin, Adilcevaz / Bitlis
Altitude: 2493 m
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Neolithic

Pictographs of the Aliger Cave were first documented by S. Kılıç in 2020, during a prehistoric survey around the basin of Lake Van. The cave is located on the southeastern outskirts of Mount Aktaş. The pictographs are painted in red and include figures of wild sheep, deer, wild cattle, and sun-discs. A female figure is interpreted as "mother-goddess" by Kılıç (Aktüel Arkeoloji, 2020). This interpretation requires further justification. Considering the stylistic similarities with Kızların Cave pictographs, it is possible that Aliger Cave rock art also dates to the Neolithic.

Figure 56. Animal Figures from Aliger Cave, Aktüel Arkeoloji Website 2020

Site Name: Doğantaş Kanyonu (No. 46)
Location: Doğantaş, Malazgirt / MUŞ
Altitude: 1658 m
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating:

Doğantaş Cave is located in the northeast sector of the canyon it is named after, 3 km northwest of Doğantaş Village of Malzagit, Muş (Belli, 2014, p. 17). Three red figures are painted with iron hydroxide on the cave's limestone walls. Two figures faded significantly, while one is still in good condition. The faded figures can not be identified as either human or animal. The third figure is a small human portrayed frontally. It has a rounded head and arms open to the sides. The human lacks facial features like hands, feet, or fingers. The body is linear except for the hip, which is given slight volume, and the right knee is 90 degrees bent (Belli, 2014, p.18). Doğantaş pictographs are an isolated case in the region. The closest parallels are the Camışlı - Yazılıkaya (Kars) at an 80 km distance and Gevri Bıhri Cave (Van) at a 76 km distance. Belli abstains from dating the pictographs in the lack of a solid comparator; however, he notes that the closest known settlement is Doğantaş Mound which had been continuously occupied from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages (Belli, 2014, p.19).

Figure 57. Human Pictograph from Doğantaş Cave, Belli 2014, p.19 Res.3

Site Name: Beldibi / Kumbucağı (No.35)
Location: Beldibi, Kemer / ANTALYA
Altitude:
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Paleolithic

Beldibi Mağarası, located 3 km south of Beldibi Village of Kemer, Antalya, was first documented by a joint European- Turkish team in 1956. E. Bostancı, a member of that team, later led the excavations within the cave, starting in February 1959 (Bostancı, 1959, p.129). The cave was once thought to contain both pictographs and petroglyphs until Erdoğu's work. The pictographs, applied with red paint, include highly stylized ibexes, schematized, frontally depicted human figures, and several geometric shapes, including cruciforms. The panel sizes are 1.30x1.50 and contain 15 pictographs distributed in a way that would use flat surfaces. The pigment used in their manufacture is reddish-brown iron oxide that is naturally available within the cave. In the upper left part of the panel, there exist three cruciform figures Bostancı notes are a common motif in Paleolithic art, often used as a stylized form of the human body or as a symbol for the sun (Bostancı, 1959, p.133). Between two of

the cruciforms exists a stylized ibex figure sized 15x4cm. Its body is represented with a straight line, and it has exaggerated curved horns sizing 12 cm. Bostancı believes this animal is a representation of a specie called "Kıyık" in Central Asia and called mistakenly "Geyik" (deer) by the local people of Beldibi. The ibex motifs are similar to the ones in Palanlı (Adıyaman), which resembles the big figures of the Magdalenian cave art of Europe, Sat-Cilo Mountains, Gevaruk Valley (Hakkari), where e geometric motif is combined with the horns of the ibex. However, as Bostancı also notes, it is essential not to take the existence of a similar figure for granted for dating as the importance of species may have continued for a broad period. On the right side of the cruciforms is a circle divided into four, a figure that had previously been interpreted as a highly stylized form of a woman by Breuil, who encountered a similar shape in Spain. Bostancı believes the figure contains the same meaning also here in Beldibi as he believed there are further similarities in the style of Beldibi and Parpallo complex, Spain (Bostancı, 1959, p. 136). Below the ibex is a 13 cm anthropomorphic figure that resembles a man with hands on his hip, a very long body, relatively short legs, and a third line which, by quoting Breuil on Spanish and French Paleolithic rock art, Bostancı believes in representing the phallus. This anthropomorphic figure seems to have horns. Below the anthropomorphic figures are several more cruciforms and divided circles, followed by another stylized human figure, almost like a cruciform, sizing 20cmx10cm. Bostancı concludes that the painters aimed to perform some form of a hunting-magic, following the dominant paradigm of his time (Bostancı, 1959, p. 140).

In addition, Bostancı identified a group of petroglyphs depicting a jumping deer and an ox turning its head back to face the deer. These deers are very naturalistic in style, forming a sharp contrast with the schematic pictographs among

them, and they are given a remarkable sense of movement with the jumping gesture. The superimposition suggests that the petroglyphs are earlier than the pictographs. Bostancı compares these petroglyphs to the Upper Paleolithic European rock art, where the big-figured, deeply incised animal figures prevail (Bostancı, 1959, pp.133-5). On the other hand, a more recent study by Erdoğu revealed that the figures of the jumping deer and the ox with its head turned back beneath the pictographs are not human-made petroglyphs but are the natural depression on the rock surface. Erdoğu used digital methods of macrophotography with filters to emphasize the contrast between the rock surface and the engravings and a USB digital microscope to find out what was previously identified by Bostancı as the head of the ox figure as fossilized tracks with natural depression (Erdoğu, 2020, pp.2-3).

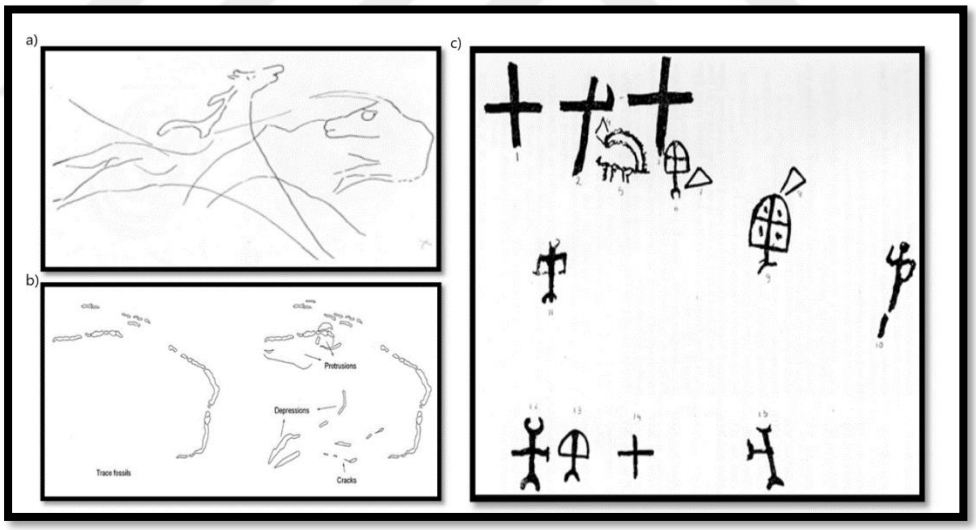

Figure 58. Beldibi Rock Art, a: The Supposed Deer and Ox Petroglyphs identified by Bostancı (Bostancı, 1959, p.165, Plate.2) , b: Fossilized Tracks Mistaken for Petroglyphs (Erdoğu, 2020, p.6, Fig.4), c: Beldibi Pictographs (Bostancı, 1959, p. 164, Plate.1)

Site Name: Hayıtlıgöl (No. 27)
Location: Kemer, Antalya
Altitude:
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Epipaleolithic

Hayıtlıgöl is 6 km away from Beldibi and lies within the Arpalık Region of Kemer, Antalya. It was first documented by Bostancı, whom the local villagers informed about the pictographs while he was working on Beldibi. He identified seven pictographs of cruciforms of varying sizes, and all were applied with red color (Bostancı, 1959, p. 141). Three are similar to the simple cruciform shape, while one appears with a very long vertical line. The largest of the figures is an equilateral cross. The cross that occupies the best position within the panel has a circle enclosing it. Based on the usage of the cruciform figure in prehistory, as mentioned above in the Beldibi section, Bostanı believes these figures are highly stylized versions of the human form. Although the cruciforms are stylistically similar to those in Beldibi, because of the popularity of the figure throughout a broad timespan, Bostancı concludes it is not possible to determine if the pictographs are contemporary or not (Bostancı, 1959, p. 142).

Site Name: Sarıçınar (No.41)
Location: Antalya
Altitude:
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Epipaleolithic- Neolithic

Sarıçınar rock art is located near Sarıçınar spring, west of Koca Dağ, Antalya Province. They are first identified by Bostancı in 1959. The pictographs are painted on the right side of the entrance of a large rock shelter sized 30x15x5m. The pigment

used in their manufacture is lighter than the one used in Beldibi, and although both are schematic, Sarıçınar petroglyphs are different from the Beldibi in their style (Bostancı, 1959, p. 142). Bostancı identified 16 pictographs, cruciforms of varying sizes and styles (inverted semi-circle, equilateral, longer vertical line), and two unidentified animal figures, of which one resembles a lizard. Below them are unidentified signs, which Bostancı thought resembled the alphabetical signs “B” and “L.” He believes the style is Mesolithic or Neolithic, thus possibly dating a period later than the Beldibi pictographs (Bostancı, 1959, p.143).

Site Name: Kürtini (Kürtün İni) Mağarası (No.25)
Location: Taşağıl, Seydişehir, Konya
Altitude: 1115m
Technique: Pictograph - Black
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Neolithic

R.S. Solecki first identified the pictographs of Kürtin Ini Cave during Columbia University's expedition to southwest Turkey in 1963. The limestone cave has been well-known to the local villagers as it can be seen from miles away. It is located on the east-facing side of a hill named Dolmuş Tokadı, west of the Suğla Lake, 3.3 km southeast of Taşağıl Village of Seydişehir, Konya (Solecki, 1964, p. 87). The cave measures 7x6x17.5 meters, and because its terraces seemed to be rich in debris, Solecki decided to excavate two small test pits inside the cave, which revealed relatively recent pottery. The pictographs are located on the north wall of the cave, approximately 1.75 m above the floor. They consist of 4 horned animals, possibly ibexes, with backward-curving horns, schematic in style. Their size varies between 5x4.7 cm and to9x7.5 cm. The ibexes are accompanied by a bird-like figure. Solecki interpreted the composition as a form of "hunting magic". He claims the

pictographs could not date earlier than the Neolithic, as they could not find any evidence for the Mesolithic or the Paleolithic. Also, the stylistic parallels to the murals of Çatalhöyük, which is not very far away from Kürtün İni, support this thesis (Solecki, 1964, p. 88).

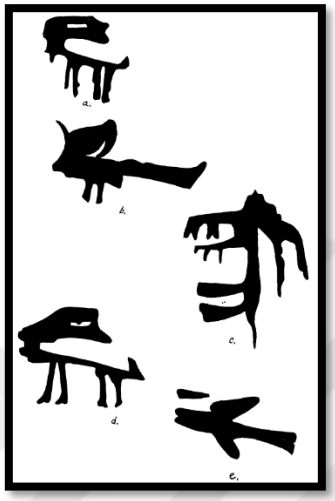

Figure 59. Kürtünini Pictographs (Solecki, 1964, p.88, (Fig.1))

Site Name: Balkayası (No.24)
Location: Hisarönü, Sivrihisar / Eskişehir
Altitude:
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic

Balkayası pictographs were first discovered in 2001 in the Hisarönü-Balkası region of Sivrihisar, Eskişehir. The first scientific documentation of the pictographs was conducted by Türkcan and Eskişehir Museum in 2005. They have documented 21 red pictographs of horses, dogs, and human figures on granite blocks. The horse motifs are portrayed from the profile, stylized with simple lines, and grouped into registers. They are shown in a static position with their heads down. The human figures are depicted frontally with the arms-open-wide position. Türkcan has also

collected surface finds, including Chalcolithic pottery and flint objects. Based on these finds and the schematization of the human figures, Türkcan dates the pictographs to the Chalcolithic Period, 5000 BC (Türkcan, 2007, p.32). He further supports this dating with the existence of the remains of wild horses in nearby contemporary settlements, such as Orman Fidanlığı (Türkcan, 2007, p.33).

Figure 60. Balkayası Pictographs (Türkcan, 2007, p.32)

Site Name: Keçe Mağarası (No.30)
Location: Keçemağara, Elbistan / KAHRAMANMARAŞ
Altitude: 1765m
Technique: Pictograph- Painting (Shades of Red- Black -Purple??)
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Epipaleolithic the Earliest - Chalcolithic the Latest

Keçe Cave, located 40 km north of Elbistan, Maraş, was first identified by İ.K.Kökten in 1959 during a survey and revisited in 2012 by a team led by C.M. Erek. Those surveys revealed Paleolithic stone tools and evidence for settlement from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman Period in the area surrounding the cave.

Since 2015, excavations have been conducted within the cave by a team led by İ.D Yaman (Yaman, 2019, p. 12). The pictographs are painted opposite the cave entrance, within two registers lined by dots. Most of the figures are executed with light brown and red shades, and a few are pale black and purple. The human form is highly stylized in a T-shaped body, where arms and legs can be identified, but the head and other details are not shown. Yaman points out the similarity of this type of stylization to the human figures of Latmos, Beldibi, and Deraser. He notes that some figures are depicted with exaggerated phalluses, like those in Kızların Cave and Deraser, whereas he could not identify any traits to attribute to the female body. Some of the humans seem to be wearing clothing hanging down their arms. Yaman believes the figures depicted with this unique clothing might represent people with particular characteristics or functions within their society, such as shamans. On the southern wall of the cave, three other human figures are shown holding their arms upwards, which Yaman interprets as a pose indicating a performance related to a celebration or a feast. He suggests this scene is similar to the ones in Deraser. Besides the human figures, there are representations of animals in Keçe Cave, but the panels containing animal images can not be considered “hunting scenes” (Yaman, 2019, p. 17). Also, there are signs and symbols, including seven circular dots concentrated around a pupil-like one and a square filled with four dots. Although he believes the concentrated circular dots may symbolize the sun, Yaman reminds us that the meaning they once held for their producers is long gone and hard to be deciphered (Yaman, 2019, p.18). As the figures are placed within registers, Yaman thinks they constitute a narrative, perhaps “a life story” of those who produced the paintings. As the cave itself does not have an archaeological deposit, he can not provide further information on where those communities resided or which period

they belonged. By considering stylistically similar rock art in Latmos, Beldibi, Yedisalkım, Tavabaşı, Gülnar-Akyapı, Baltalıin, İnkaya, Kızların Cave and Deraser Yazılı Cave, Yaman suggests the paintings are prehistoric (Yaman, 2019, p. 19).

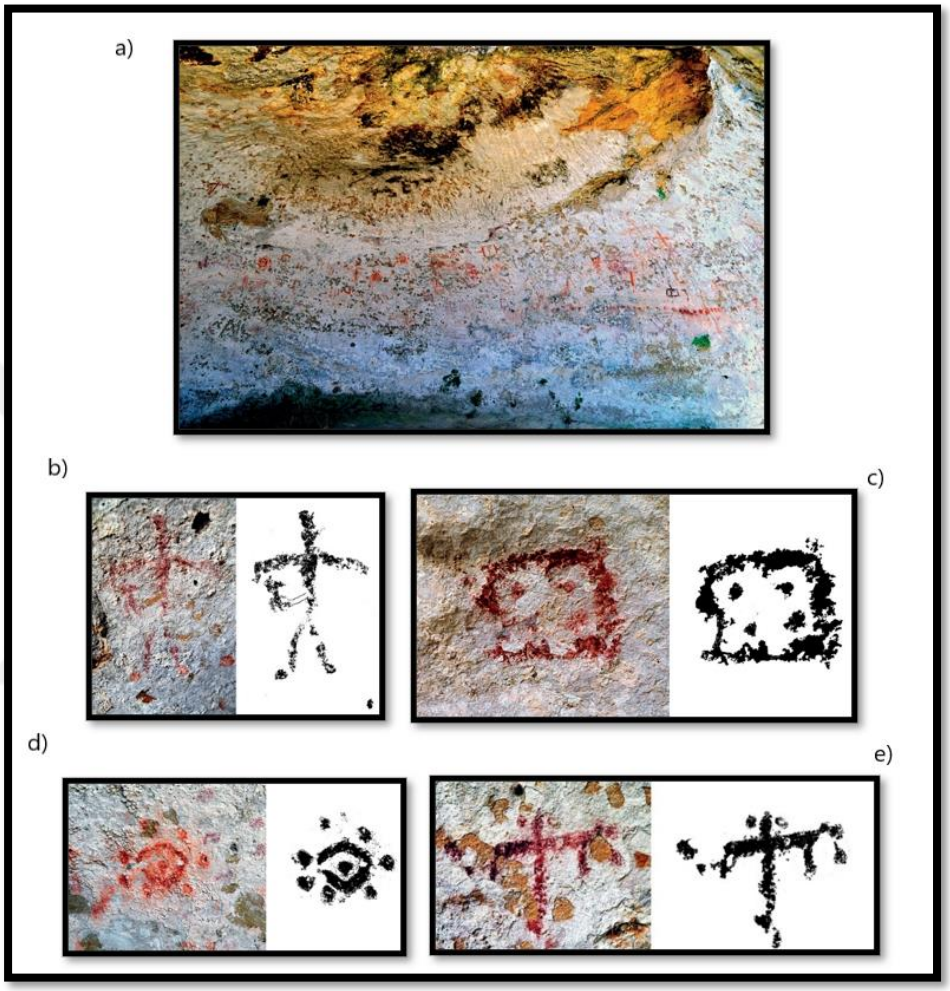

Figure 61. Pictographs from Keçemağara (Yaman 2019), a: Keçe Cave Main Panel, p. 22, (Fig.2), b: Human Form with Phallus, p. 23, (Fig. 3), c: Geometric Shape with Dots, p. 24 (Fig.7), d. Eye-shaped sun disc, p. 24 (Fig.6), e. T-shaped human form with "the special dress", p. 23 (Fig.4).

Site Name: Deraser- Yazılı Mağara (Berha Nivisandi) (No.31)
Location: Bağözü, Gercüş / Batman
Altitude: 610m
Technique: Petroglyph and Pictograph - Incision, Scrapping - Red and Black
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Neolithic

Yazılı Cave contains the most prominent rock art within the Deraser caves. Also, it is the only cave bearing both petroglyphs and pictographs applied by mudder hgermand ochre. The other two caves have petroglyphs exclusively. Yazılı Cave is located 2 km west of the plateau in a hard-to-reach locality. There are images of horned quadruplets on the outer walls of the rock shelter. Ersoy and Korkmaz note the impossibility of determining if the rock shelter was occupied without excavating. The interior walls host at least 168 figures of 100 were identified. The majority of the figures are pictographs drawn with red paint, and there are also black pictographs and some petroglyphs executed by engraving. The lowermost figure is positioned at 1m and the uppermost at 1.9m. They are of varying sizes, between 10 and 20 cm. Soydan and Korkmaz observed uniformity in size among the figures with the same color (Soydan & Kormaz, 2013, p. 668).

In terms of style, there are three different types in Yazılı Cave: the petroglyphs executed by engraving and scrapping; the black figures, and the red figures, in chronological order. Mostly they lack detail, and color prevails in form. The human body follows natural proportions. The motifs come together to create a cohesive scene. Soydan and Korkmaz believe the production of the black-figure pictographs precedes the red-figure pictographs, and that is why the black figures are bigger and different in style. They suggest the red-figure pictographs are in a dialogical relationship with the earlier black ones. For example, they point to a red bird motif drawn on the neck of a black quadruplet and the “restoration” of

deteriorated black figures with red paint. Soydan and Korkmaz identify the common themes in Yazılı Cave as production, fertility, spring festivals, or marriage ceremonies. They observed more diversity among the male human figures than the female ones. Men appear in both the ceremonial and conflict scenes, whereas women are only portrayed in the ceremonial scenes (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p. 671).

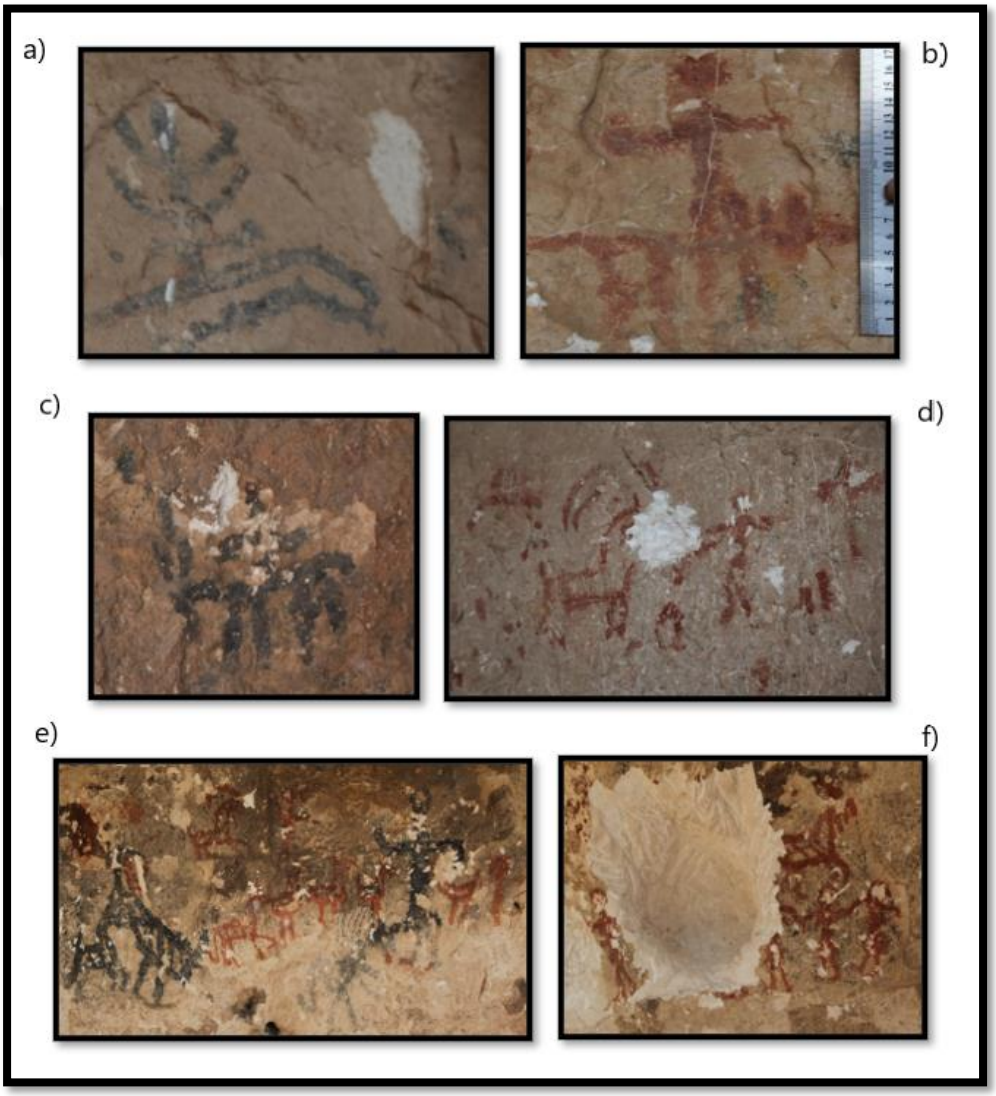

Figure 62. Deraser – Yazılı Cave Pictographs (Soydan and Korkmaz, 2013), a: Tree figure, black, p. 677 (Resim 4), b. "cavalryman", red, p. 674 (Resim 1) (The possibility of a god-on-animal" should also be considered), c. "Cavalryman", black, p. 681 (Resim 8) d. Hunting Scene, red, p. 678, (Resim 5) e. Superimposition of red and black figures, interpreted as a juxtaposition of the wild and domestic species by Soydan & Korkmaz, p. 680, (Resim 7) f. Festivity – Dancing Scene, red, p. 682 (Resim 9)

Site Name: Arslanlı Mağarası (No.39)
Location: Arslanlı, Erdemli, Mersin
Altitude: 750m
Technique: Pictograph- Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Late Neolithic - Chalcolithic

Arslanlı Cave is found on the western side of the Alata Valley, 1.5 km east of Arslanlı Village of Erdemli, Mersin. The cave lies on the lower terrace of the hill east of the locality named Duvar Alanı, between Ispanaklı Cave and Hisar Cave. There are several other caves within the region, of which some contain traces of red paint. Arslanlı has an altitude of 750m and is located 520 m above the bed of the Alata Stream(Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 130). Ünlü first documented the cave after a local villager notified him. The cave is 6x3x3 meters in size and is accessible from an entrance facing northeast. No archaeological deposits are documented within the cave; however, three cup-marks are worth noting. The red pictographs are randomly scattered on the cave's inner walls, and it seems the painters did not have a particular preference for surfaces and they did not perform any treatment prior to the rock art production (Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 131). The right wall of the cave has more figures. Despite the natural break-offs of the calcareous surface, some are still visible. A human figure is depicted as sitting in a cross-legged position, associated with an object interpreted as a basket by Kaycı et al. Above this figure is a scene with 9 nine figures. The scene's focal point is a 4cm schematic human figure portrayed from the front with an elongated headdress resembling antlers. There is a smaller schematic human figure on the left side of it. Geometric shapes accompany human figures; the first consists of three adjacent vertical lines and the second is the common compartmentalized circle motif. Another small human figure is on the right side of the scene, an animal identified as deer and an X-shaped motif. The last figure of this

"scene" is again the compartmentalized circle. On the upper left corner of the 9-figure-scene, there is a "roaring goat" figure with two human figures, of which one seems to have an oval headdress shown from the profile. The one with the headdress seems to hold his erect phallus with his two hands. The pictographs on the left wall of the cave are few and sporadically placed. A human figure sits on an animal, possibly a deer, on the far left side, followed by a 2.5 cm human figure on foot. The rest of the scene is damaged, and only a female figure from the profile and a goat is visible (Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 132).

Arslanlı Cave has several parallels to the Latmos as the color and technique of manufacture of the pictographs; the schematized human figures with T-shaped heads. On the other hand, the elongated headdress is unique and at Arslanlı zoomorphic figures coexist with anthropomorphic ones, whereas in Latmos the human figures dominate the scenes. Also, the size of the human figures (2-4 cm) is relatively smaller when compared to the rest of the Anatolian rock art traditions. In terms of style, besides Latmos and Delicenur Caves, Arslanlı shows similarities with Tavabaşı (Muğla), Beldibi (Antalya), Tırşin (Hakkari), Pagan (Van), Gevri Bıhri (Van), Put (Van), Gevaruk (Hakkari) and Deraser (Batman) which led Kaycı and colleagues to date Arslanlı to the Chalcolithic Period (Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 142).

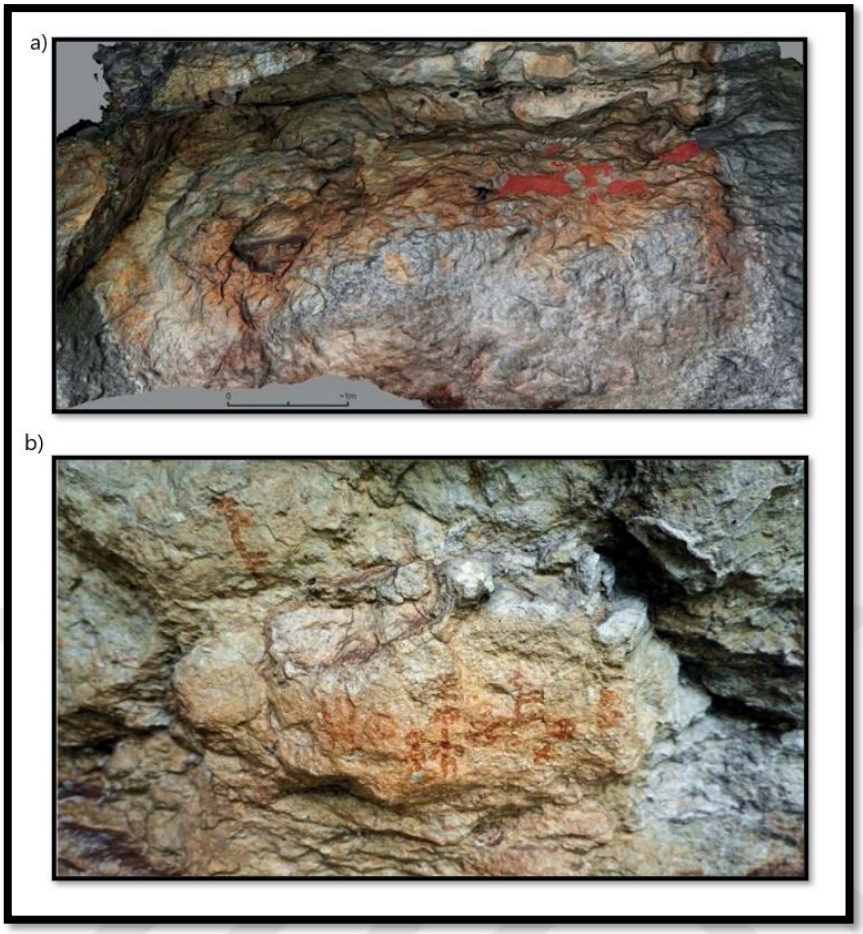

Figure 63. Pictographs of Arslanlı Cave (Kaycı et al., 2020), a. General view of the Panel, p. 131 (Fig.3 after Tümer), b: Animal, human and geometric, p. 133 after Tümer)

Figure 64. Pictographs of Arslanlı Cave (Kaycı et al., 2020), a: Left Scene, p. 134, (Fig.6 photo and photoshop by H. Tümer), b: Right Scene, p. 133, (Fig.4 photo and photoshop by H. Tümer)

Site Name: Gülnar Akyapı (Ala Kapı)Mağarası (No.34)
Location: Ilısu (Avurga)Gülnar /Mersin
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Altitude: 805m
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Late Neolithic - Early Chalcolithic

Akyapı Mağarası is a karstic cave located at 750 m altitude, on the slopes of Tınaztepe 5 km southwest of Ilısu (Avurga) Village, 70 km northwest of Gülnar, Mersin. The cave is close to several streams and cascades and lies on a very steep

slope that is hard to reach. The entrance to the cave is from an extensive cavity that opens to a vast natural niche facing sunlight throughout the day. The red pictographs, made with locally available iron-oxide and hematite, are on the interior walls of this main gallery. Only a few pictographs survived as the limestone panels broke off through time. The size of the pictographs varies between 10 to 30 cm. Girginer and Durukan observed that the distribution of the figures on the walls is random and not structured by any means (Girginer & Durukan, 2017, p. 3). The main subject of Akyapı pictographs is the schematized human figures, of which some appear in groups. Most of them are portrayed with their knees and elbows bent 90 degrees upwards. The heads are shown in a straight line. Girginer and Durukan points out the stylistic similarities of Alakapı pictographs to the ones in Kars Yazılıkaya (Kars), Kızların Cave (Van), Tavabaşı Cave (Muğla), Delicenur Caves (Balıkesir), Çine (Aydın) and also Beldibi/ KumBucağı. On the other hand, they emphasize the uniqueness of Alakapı male figures with their exaggerated phalluses, although similar figures also exist in Kızların Cave (Girginer & Durukan, 2017, p. 4). It is also noteworthy that there is no animal representation in Alakapı, similar to Latmos, where animal figures are sporadic. Girginer & Durukan also emphasize the lack of narrative to form scenes properly (Girginer & Durukan, 2017, p. 5). However, given that most of the panels are damaged, this statement is straightforward. Sharing Peschlow-Bindokat's rain/water-related fertility cult hypothesis, they believe Akyapı Cave was a place for ritual activity related to fertility, which explains highly stylized figures with exaggerated phalluses.

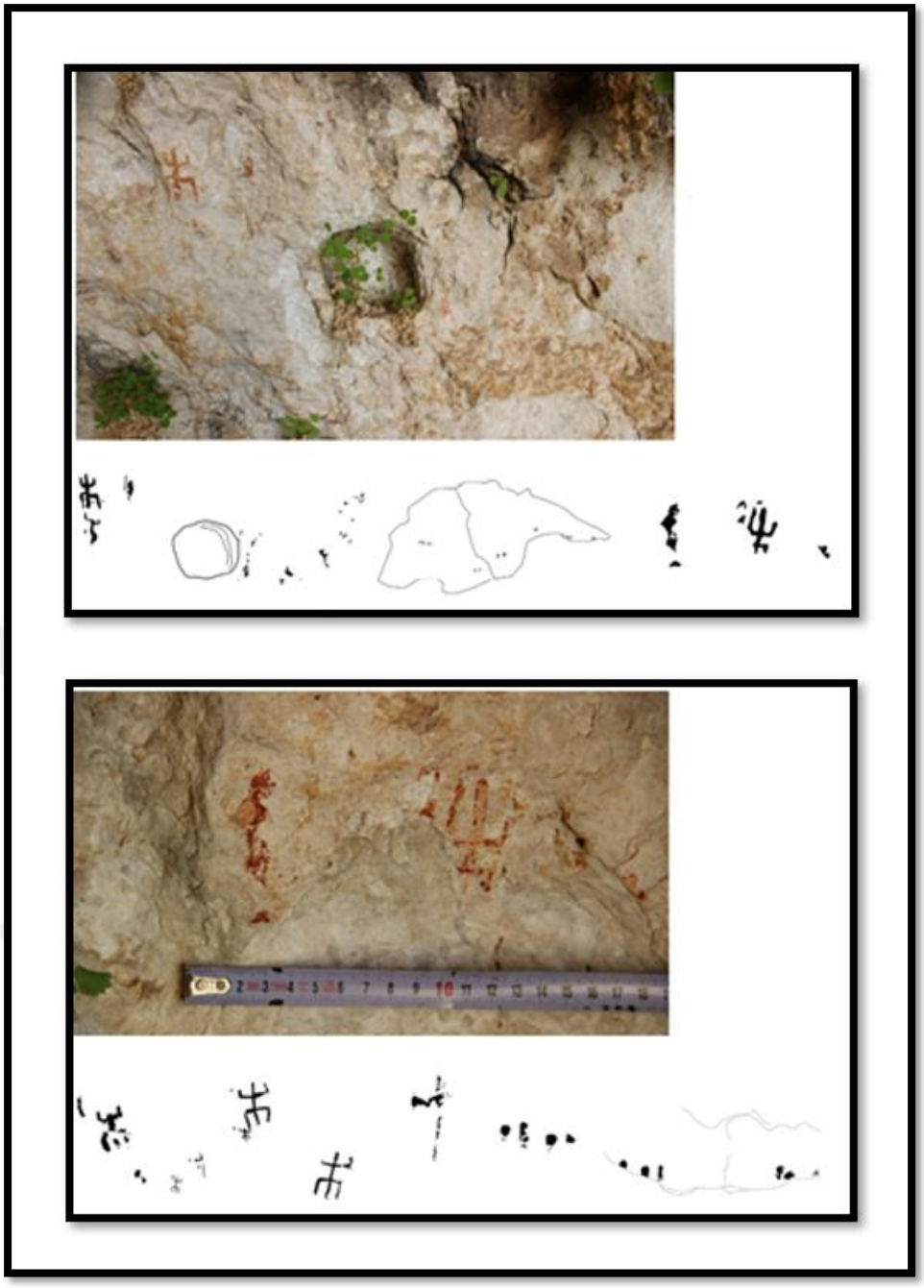

Figure 65. Pictographs of Akyapı Cave (Girginer and Durukan 2017), a: Panel 1, p. 13 (Fig.9), b: p. 13 (Fig.12)

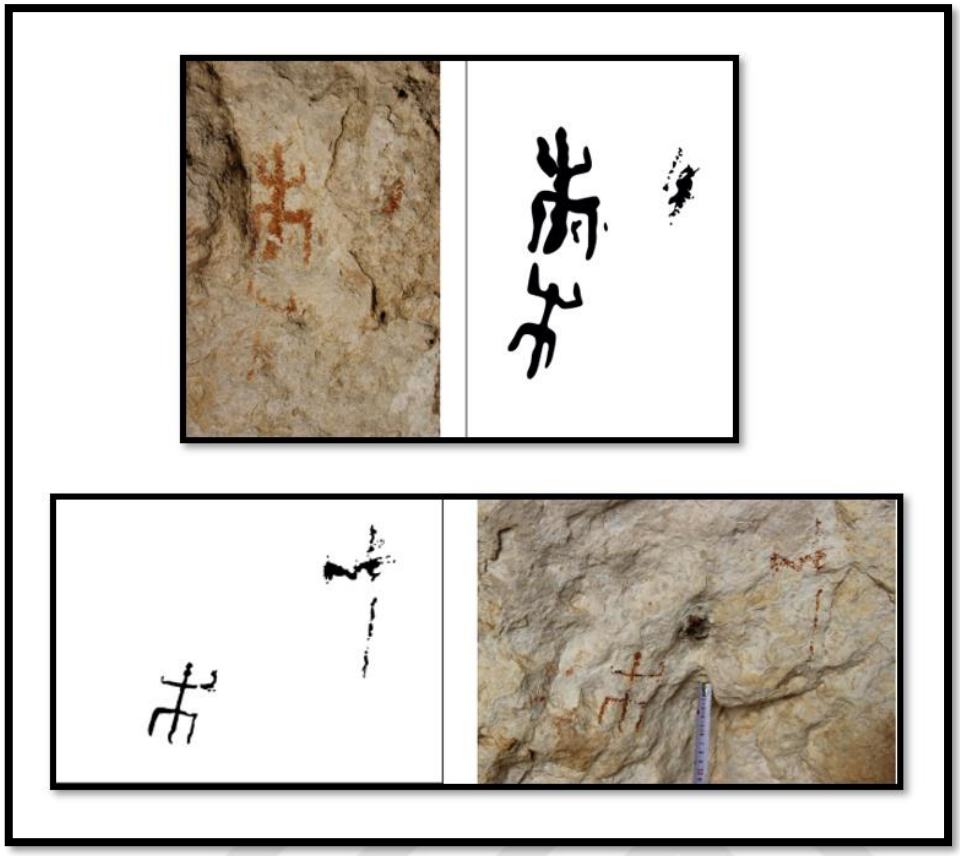

Figure 66. Pictographs of Akyapı Cave (Girginer and Durukan 2017), a: Two human figures, p.15 (Fig. 19-20), b: Human Figure, p. 14 (Fig. 15-16)

Doğu Sandal Caves (No.26)

Site Name: Doğu Sandal 1,4,6
Location: Sandal Deresi, Erdemli, Mersin
Technique: Pictograph-Red-Black (Handprints & Stencils)
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Neolithic

Doğu Sandal Caves consists of a group of caves located 20 km away from the Arslanlı Cave as the crow flies. They are found on the eastern side of Sandal Deresi Valley, 1.2 km northeast of Doğusandal Village of Erdemli, Mersin. As Arslanlı, these caves are also first documented by Ünlü, an archaeologist from Mersin Museum, after a local villager informed him. On average, the caves are shallow shelter caves located at 240 m of altitude. Although all caves bear traces of red

pigmentation, only the pictographs within the caves No. 1, 4, and 6 are in good condition to be identified. None of the caves contain archaeological deposits within. However, the surveys conducted by Kaycı and colleagues in 2019 revealed evidence of prehistoric living in the vicinity of the caves (Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 136). As the majority of the handprints size around 15 cm in width, Kaycı and colleagues believe the painters were women. The superimposition and differences in the shades suggest at least two distinct phases of rock art production. Driving a parallel to the handprints of Çatalhöyük, so-called Shrine VIII-B, the crane reliefs of Göbeklitepe, and the prominence of crane figures in Halaf pottery, Kaycı et al. believe the later phase of the Doğu Sandal Caves dated to the Neolithic (Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 143).

Site Name: Doğu Sandal 1
Location: Sandal Deresi, Erdemli, Mersin
Technique: Pictograph-Red-Black (Handprints & Stencils)
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Neolithic

Doğu Sandal 1 is the northernmost of this group and is only accessible by climbing a steep cliff. The cave consists of two galleries: the southern gallery, where the entrance is located, contains pictographs; however, these paintings can not be identified due to destruction by subsequent use and illicit digging. Cup marks are evident on the floor. The pictographs of the inner (northern) gallery are accessed through a narrow passage. On two natural niches, red pictographs, mostly hand motifs, appear. The hand motifs are both printed and stenciled. Sixteen of them are made by imprint technique, and some are superimposed on the earlier faded handprints. The majority of the handprints come in pairs of right and left hands. Kaycı et al. draw a parallel to the handprints of the so-called Temple VII8 and Temple VIB 8 of Çatalhöyük dated to the layers VII and VI. There are eight negative

handprints, or stencils, made with paint sprayed on top of the hand. One of the hand stencils is close to a human figure with a darker shade of red, indicating at least two distinct phases of rock art production. Five humans exist: 4 painted with red and one with black paint. The human figure on the left is close to the hand stencils, size 12 cm, and depicted from the profile. The red human figures constitute a group and are placed in the center of the panel, making use of the natural topography of the wall. The human figures are schematized with simple lines, likewise their heads and triangular torsos. They are portrayed standing with their arms bent at the elbows. There are also animal figures: one snake and two bird depictions. Birds occupy the lower levels of the walls, and one of them feeds on an object that Kaycı et al. could not identify. Kaycı et al. believe the birds are cranes that are widely represented and often paired with snakes in Neolithic Anatolia, as known from the famous example of Göbeklitepe (Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 138). Lastly, there are geometric figures, including rectangles with checkerboard design resembling the wall decorations of Çatalhöyük. They are associated with handprints. Other geometric figures include adjacent straight lines, interpreted by Kaycı et al. as symbols for humans standing next to each other, and a cluster of about 70 dots.

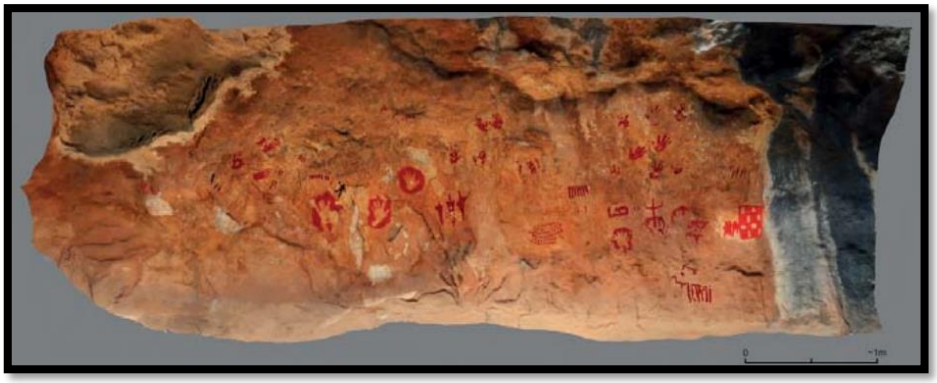

Figure 67. Doğu Sandal 1 General View (Enhanced by photoshop by H. Tümer), Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 137 (Fig.10)

Site Name: Doğu Sandal 4
Location: Erdemli, Mersin
Altitude: 240m
Technique: Pictograph- Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating:

Doğu Sandal 4 Cave sizes 4x9x4 meters and consists of two galleries marked by 29 hand stencils. The left gallery has cup-marks on its floor, and 12 hand stencils on the walls, and the right gallery contains 17 hand stencils. Below these handprints are two human figures. The human figure on the left is portrayed frontally in an arms-wide-open position, forming a cruciform, perhaps confirming Bostancı's earlier hypothesis on the cruciform figure and the human form. Two tectiforms are shown between its waist and feet. The figure is 10 cm and stands on a platform. The human figure on the right is 14 cm long and highly schematized, with a body shown merely as a vertical line and a halo of dots around its head. Together they are assembled to create a scene (Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 139).

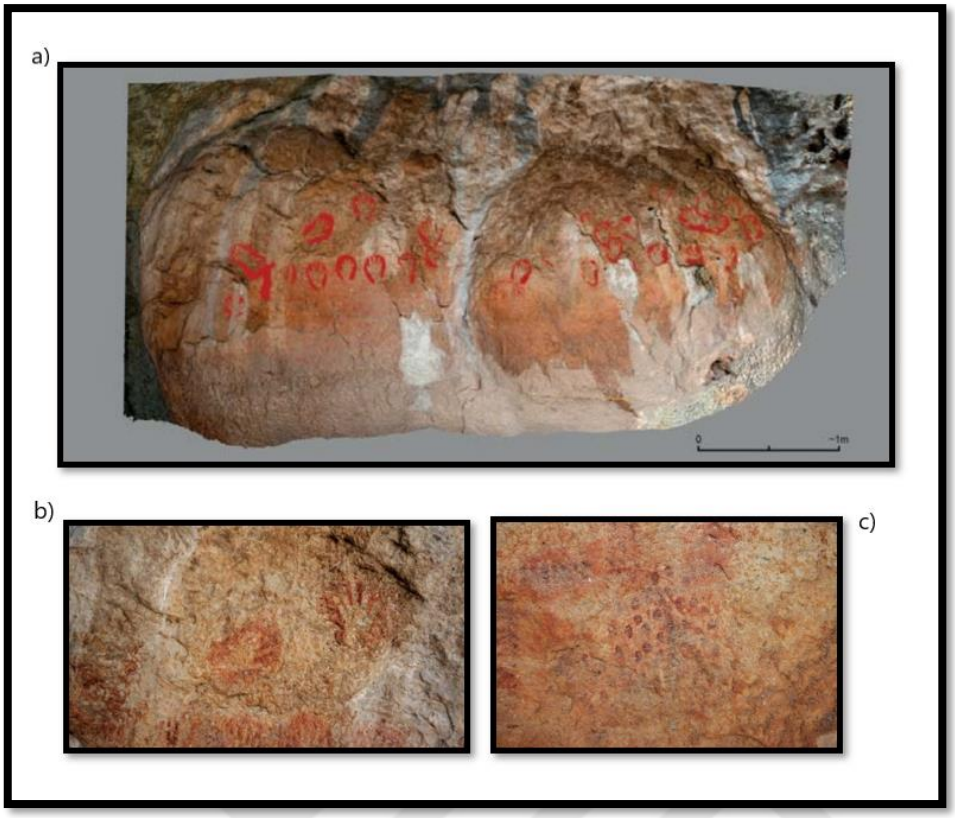

Figure 68. Pictographs of Doğu Sandal Cave No.4 (Kaycı et al., 2020)(Photographs by Tümer), a: General View, p. 140, (Fig. 13), b: hand-stencils, left scene, p. 140 (Fig.14), c: Schematic Human, Hand Stencil and Tectiform, p. 141, (Fig.15)

Site Name: Doğu Sandal 6
Location: Erdemli, Mersin
Altitude: 240m
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Neolithic

Doğu Sandal 6 Cave sits on the southern edge of the cave group and is 5.5x2.8x2.5 meters in size. It consists of a right and left chamber. On the right chamber, there exists a human figure in arms-wide-open position (Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 141)

Figure 69. Doğu Sandal Cave No 6 General View, Kaycı et al., 2020, p. 141, Fig.16 photo by H. Tümer

Site Name: Latmos (No.40)
Location: Söke- AYDIN / Milas-MUĞLA
Technique: Pictograph – Mainly Red (Few in Yellow and White)
Site Type: Rock Shelter – Open Air
Dating: Late Neolithic – Ealy Chalcolithic

Latmos Mountains, located in the hinterland of the ancient Greek city Miletos, mark the modern borders of Muğla and Aydın as it was once divided between Ionia and Karia in antiquity. Although the mountain range is currently situated 30 kilometers inland, it was once near the Gulf of Miletus until the gulf was filled with the allivions of the Meander River during the Roman Period and turned into a lake that today is known as Lake Bafa (Herda et al., 2019). Since 1994, at least 174 rock art panels have been discovered in the Latmos region, mainly by A. Peschlow-Bindokat, who excavated at the nearby Hellenistic city of Herakleia on Latmos. Her work remains the best-studied case of the rock art research in Turkey. The relative dating she offered for Latmos pictographs, namely 6th-5th Millennium BC, is still used as the primary reference for the stylistic comparisons elsewhere in Anatolia.

The main rock formation in Latmos is augen-gneiss which is easily weathered. These surfaces served as natural "frames" that divide the scenes or "canvases" for a closed composition. The clearest example is the paintings at Göktepe rock-shelter, where the wall is divided into three natural registers by the honeycomb weathering, and the degree of it determined the composition of the scenes. Similarly, honeycomb tafoni is the primary factor determining the size of the panels (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.33). Panels' placement, particularly if they were meant to be seen or hidden, is crucial to make meaning out of them. Rock shelters and shelter caves that resemble built architecture are selectively utilized. A significant portion of Latmos Rock art was found in these types of natural "rooms" such as Balıktaş, İkizada, Kavalan, Göktepe, and Karadere rock-shelters (Peschlow-Bindokat 2006).

Peschlow-Bindokat observed a positive spatial correlation between these seasonal streams and rock art panels. On several occasions, the shelter cave with rock art also hosts a springhead like Damlıyurt, Söğütdere, Çayırlık, and Kardemelik (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, pp.28-30). By direct driving a direct analogy between agricultural and reproductive fertility, Peschlow suggests water resources might be related to ritual activity celebrating the continuity of the family, perhaps in the form of a hieros gamos (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.39).

The main technique used in Latmos rock art is painting. Almost all pictographs, with the exceptions of Balıktaş and Kavalan, are painted with shades of red pigments, which are locally obtained from iron oxide and hematite (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.34). The lack of surface treatment prior to rock art production is significant.Different shades of red are possibly indicative of separate production phases as in some panels, light and dark shades of red are used together, often

superimposed. One of the two panels at Balıktaş shelter cave is a unique case for the use of yellow pigments at Latmos. While both panels contain human figures, on the right panel, 8 of the 27 figures, all female, are painted in yellow. Because two of them are superimposed on red male figures, it is clear that at least two production phases existed at Balıktaş. However, another female figure on the far right of the panel has its head and breasts/arms painted in yellow, whereas the rest of her body is red, indicating a simultaneous use of both colors (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.34). At Kavalan, in a crowded panel with multiple humans, white paint is applied to accentuate the contours and fine details of some red figures. Additionally, there are two garland motifs painted in white, associated with a female-female couple: one placed on top of the smaller figure's head and the other near the chest of the larger figure (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.36).

Two main styles exist in Latmos: the naturalistic and the schematic, although there exist few examples for the former. The schematic style is characterized by T-shaped or zigzag heads. Some panels, such as Balıktaş, Ballıkkaya, and Kavaklıdere contain both styles. Variety in the quality and minor details within figures indicate multiple artists who perhaps visited the site in different time periods (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.41).

The main focus of Latmos pictographs is humans, particularly, humans in groups and their relation to their society. Over the 500 human figures documented in Latmos, the majority is represented in groups of 2's,3's or 4's . The prominence of male-female couples is the primary basis for Peschlow's argument on rock art production as a cult activity related to fertility, marriage, and the continuity of the family.

Besides the prominent human figures, there exist geometric figures, hand and footprints, and a few animal representations in Latmos. Those few examples of animal figures do not provide any information about either a hunter-gatherer/ pastoral-nomadic or an agricultural way of life (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.42). There are only 7 examples of animal figures at Latmos. Only a single panel, the one at Çobanlar at the far east side of Mount Latmos, consists exclusively of animal figures (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.72). All species represented at Latmos are quadrupeds; however, it is hard to determine the exact species. After eliminating the possibility of carnivores and deer, Peschlow concludes that the animal figures of Çobanlar were dogs (Peschlo-Bindokat, 2006, p. 74). At Bafa Konağı rock shelter, there are three animal figures one of which has a lowered neck. Peschlow interprets this gesture as grazing, and therefore concludes the animal was a herbivore (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.76).

Various geometric shapes accompany human and animal figures at Latmos. The most common ones are straight lines, zigzag lines, meanders, dots, dotted lines, circles, diamonds, cross motifs, rectangles, net patterns, florettes, garlands, X-shapes, V-shapes and woven patterns (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.76). At first glance, they seem to be randomly distributed to fill the spaces within the composition. However, as Peschlow justifiably noted, they should not be treated simply as fill elements as there exist panels, such as Damlıyurt, consisting of exclusively decorative figures. Therefore, they must have constituted symbolic meaning of their own (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.79). The woven patterns, especially on the decorated clothing of the female figures, closely resemble the patterns known from the painted pottery from Hacılar, as well as the stamp seals from Çatalhöyük. Another common motif in Latmos is the hand and foot imprints which might have been painted as part of

initiation rites. Besides the numerous handprints, there exist four footprints, of which one particular one at Kaşaklı is thought to belong to a child (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.80).

Peschlow's main thesis is that the mountain peak, Tekerlekdağ, was the seat of divinity associated with rain/weather and fertility, and the rock art production was the product of related rituals. She mentions the cultural continuity of the sacred use of the landscape by citing a possible prehistoric rain cult evolving into the cult of Zeus Akraios then being incorporated into Christianity during the Byzantine Period (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005, p.35). The mountain/ weather gods initially represented as theriomorphism started to appear in ritual imagery as anthropomorphic figures from the 3rd millennium BC. Peschlow believes the emergence of weather/rain-related mountain gods was a result of the transformation in ritual imagery that came with the settled, agricultural way of the way during the Neolithic Period. As the livelihood became more and more dependent on the weather conditions and the precipitation, the cultic imagery revolved around the wild animals, and male representation got increasingly focused on weather/rain and female representations (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005, p.49). Thus, she believes there existed a cultural continuity in Latmos that we can track back to a Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic local weather/rain cult involving rock art production. She further supports this thesis by saying that most of the panels are concentrated around the mountain peak, the majority being in locations that can be directly seen from Tekerlekdağ (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.52).

Several panels are particularly important to Peschlow's thesis on rites associated with fertility/rain and the continuity of the family. She interprets the scene on the ceiling of İkizada shelter cave as a "marriage scene". İkizada shelter cave is

located on the northern coast of Lake Bafa and has several other poorly preserved panels nearby (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.54). The panel is 1,15 m wide and 70 cm high, covering the whole ceiling. The central focus of the panel is a male-female couple, considerably larger than the rest of the figures, creating a sense of perspective. On the upper right side of the couple, there are six more "dancing" females approaching the couple. Three of them are differentiated from the rest by a zigzag line drawn on top of their heads. On the upper left side there is another female trio, perhaps sitting on the ground with bent knees. The centrality of the male-female figure and the other figures in dancing gestures led Peshlow to interpret the scene as a marriage ceremony. Being located just near the lake, Peschlow offers the İkizada panel as another justification that the pictographs were produced as a part of a fertility/water-related cult that celebrated the continuity of the family (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.55).

Another panel Peschlow associated with fertility-related marriage ceremonies of rites of passage is the one at Göktepe rock shelter. Göktepe rock shelter is one of the several rock shelters in Latmos that resemble built architecture, a venue already shaped by nature for the ritual activities to take place. It has a "courtyard" formed by a rock slab that has fallen on top of two others. This courtyard directly opens up to a closed room inside another rock shelter with a natural bench for the people to sit on. The only way to enter this "sacred space" is from a cavity to the west (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p. 56). The panel consists of three registers, divided according to the degree of the corrosion honeycomb tafoni caused. On the upper register, there is a female figure and a hand imprint, surrounded by a male-female couple on each side. The couple on the right is well-preserved and naturalistic in style (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.56). The female of this couple has a circular head and well-

rounded buttocks resembling a Neolithic female figurine. The middle register has a more dynamic scene with eight figures in dancing gestures. Below the dancing figures, there is a small niche created by honeycomb tafoni which were later smoothened. Its contours are accentuated with red paint to frame the scene (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005, p.60). This frame contains a male-female couple and perhaps served as an altar for the rites performed there. Based on the proximity to water resources, the dancing scenes, and prominent depictions of male-female couples, Peschlow-Bindokat interpreted the place as a sacred venue to host some form of a hieros gamos (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.61). Although Peschlow-Bindokat might have gone a bit far considering the little amount of data available on these communities, it is clear that this particular place was significant for those people, and they used the venue for some kind of commemoration as superimposition, and multiple styles of the paintings suggest.

Although Peschlow interprets the majority of the panels as depictions of marriage ceremonies or family-related rites, one particular panel, the one at Karadere Shelter Cave, stands out from the others in terms of its theme (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p. 63). Similar to Göktepe, Karadere Shelter Cave also reminds one of architecture. The rock shelter is slightly elevated and has a prominent view of its surrounding area. It is formed by a slab of rock that was detached and slid, leaned to the slope, and created a triangular room. The rock shelter's interior façade naturally turned to yellow as a result of the oxidation of the iron mineral and created a novel canvas for the paintings. The northern wall has a natural bench. Alongside the natural formations, this particular space was also modified by people: the cave's interior floor is paved with stones, and a small pit was dug at the entrance of the cave. The iconography of the painting contrasts with the rest of the Latmos

pictographs. Instead of depictions of a community with dominant female figures, in Karadere, ten males with T-shaped, horn-like heads were portrayed (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.64). Peschlow considers a shamanic explanation for the headdresses; however, she disregards this theory for the sake of a sacred place dedicated to the "Latmos Pantheon" consisting of mountain gods of varying importance. Being located at a prominent height, Peschlow thinks Karadere is visually connected to Tekerlekdağ, the alleged seat of the Mountain god. Therefore, she believes these male figures, each at a different size and orientation, were the personification of the mountain peaks seen just from the entrance of the cave (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.71). She believes only a limited group of religious personnel were allowed within the rock shelter dedicated to this "Latmos Pantheon" while the rest of the community waited in the massive courtyard during the ceremonies (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.64). Whether this place was dedicated to the mountain gods or not, it is clear that the novel features of the rock shelter, its chambers, and the courtyard formed by natural processes resembled built environments and attracted ritual activity. People performed ritual activities in this specific place because of the already existing venue.

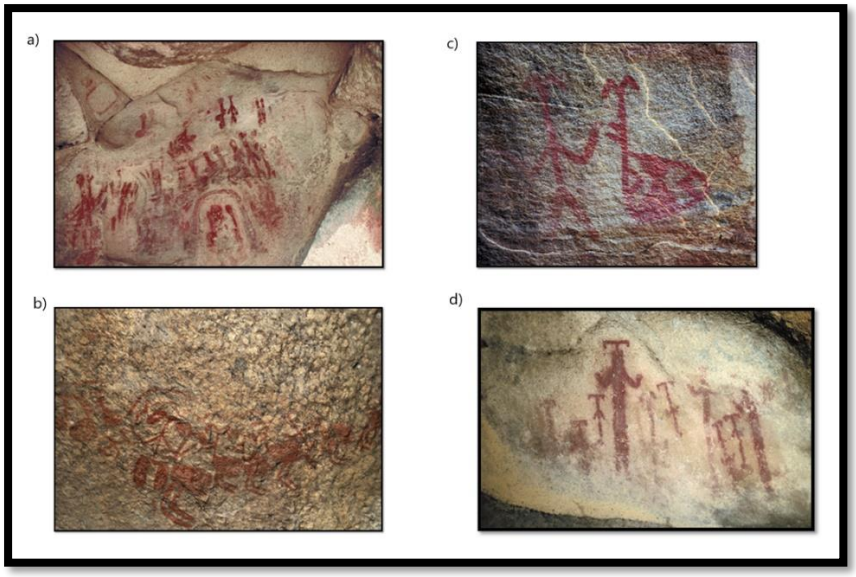

Figure 70. Latmos Pictographs (Peschlow-Bindokat 2006), a: Festive Scene at Göktepe Rock Shelter (p.59, Fig.45a), b: "Marriage Ceremony" from İkizada Rock Shelter (p. 54, Fig.40d), c: Male-Female Couple from Kavaklıdere Panel (p.46, Fig.34b), d: Main Panel at Karadere Rock Shelter (p.66, Fig.54a)

Site Name: Tlos- Tavabaşı Mağarası (No.36)
Location: Arsaköy, Seydikemer / Muğla
Technique: Pictograph – Red and Yellow
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Middle Chalcolithic at the Earliest

In 2012, during a survey of the territorium of the Lycian city of Tlos, the excavation team led by Korkut discovered Tavabaşı Cave containing a group of red-painted pictographs. Tavabaşı Cave is located in Arsaköy, south of Tlos, 15 km southeast of Seydikemer, Muğla. Tavabaşı Mağarası complex consists of two adjacent caves, namely the Upper Cave and the Lower Cave, which Korkut suggests to be continuously occupied for at least 300 years starting from the Middle Chalcolithic Period (Korkut et al., 2015, p. 38). His suggestion is based on the securely dated archaeological material obtained from the trial trenches within the caves. The pictographs are located on the weathered façade of rock above and to the left of the entrance to the Lower Cave (Korkut et al., 2015, p. 37). The surface seems

to be prepared for rock art production by roughly trimming. Although the pictographs are destructed by natural weathering and shepherds using the cave as shelter, several pictographs with a schematic style are still visible. Most of them were applied with red pigments, with only one example for the color yellow. Korkut was able to identify at least nine scenes, which he interprets as the representation of the natural landscape, space, abstract motifs, and human and animal figures. Although it is hard to identify a narrative within these scenes, the animal and human representations seem to reflect daily life, whereas a particular figure, prominent in size and style, is interpreted as a divine figure by Korkut (Korkut et al., 2015, p. 41). The human figures at Tavabaşı Cave are schematized, portrayed both frontally and from the profile, often in a standing position. A straight line is drawn to represent the body, and two lines are drawn to represent the arms opened to both sides, accompanied by a reverse U-shape to represent the legs. Most human figures are between 15-18 cm, whereas the so-called divine figure sizes 31 cm, creating a remarkable contrast. Although there are no indicators of sex available, Korkut manages to identify male and female forms based on the stylistic comparison to the Latmos and Beldibi rock art(Korkut et al., 2015, p. 43). Tavabaşı pictographs are stylistically so similar to the Latmos rock art that Korkut believes they are the southward extension of the same tradition. In Tavabaşı Cave, there is significantly more animal representation compared to the few examples at Latmos. At Tavabaşı, animals are also schematized with straight linear bodies, a linear neck, and a line to represent the head. Their size varies between 10-15cm in height and 10-19 cm in width, and they are often portrayed with two triangular legs, possibly as an effort to reflect the sense of movement (Korkut et al., 2015, p. 45). Korkut notes that the animal representation here was not a hunting scene but rather the depiction of a scene

from daily life where humans coexist with animals. Another notable feature of Tavabaşı pictographs to Latmos rock art is that the painters deliberately created canvases by outlining the groups of figures to portray the natural landscapes. Korkut believes the dotted design is a characteristic of the portrayal of natural landscapes in Neolithic Çatalhöyük or Chalcolithic Norşuntepe (Korkut et al., 2015, p. 46). Korkut evaluates another group of motifs as architectural elements. The rectangular shapes with wavy outlines are divided inside, possibly to show the spatial differentiation within the building. Korkut believes Tavabaşı pictographs are significant to understand how architecture was conceptualized within the region (Korkut et al., 2015, p. 46). Besides these figures, there exist other abstract figures, spirals, circles, and stylized geometric motifs at Tavabaşı Cave.

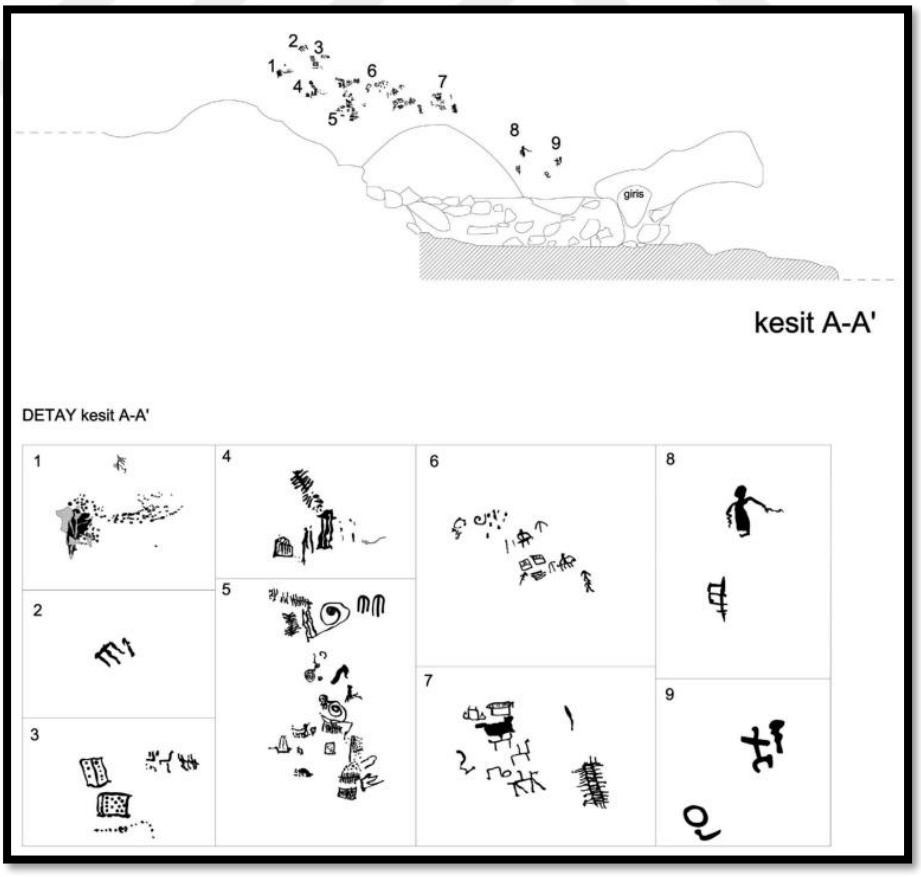

Figure 71. Tavabaşı Lower Cave Section (Korkut et al., 2015, p.42, Fig.7-8)

Site Name: Ödemiş Konaklı (Soğukluk Deresi) (No.81)
Location: Konaklı, Ödemiş / İZMİR
Altitude: 390m
Technique: Petroglyph (Engraving)- Pictograph- (Painting-Red)
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Late Neolithic - Early Chalcolithic

Ödemiş Konaklı rock art is near Soğukluk Deresi in Konaklı Village of Ödemiş, İzmir. There are both petroglyphs of human figures and pictographs of handprints executed with red paint in Konaklı. The handprints are similar to the ones found in Latmos and Kanlıtaş, Manisa (Jeopark Belediyeler Birliği). S. Somuncuoğlu visited the site. However, he could not identify the petroglyphs besides a singular human form which he believes to have parallels to the Central Asian rock art.

Delicenur Caves

The pictographs of Delicenur I and Delicenur II Caves were discovered by a team led by M. Şahin during the Bursa Archaeological Survey in 2013. Both caves are within Delice Devlet Ormanı in Delice Village of Dursunbey, Balıkesir. They are registered as first-degree archaeological sites (10.04.2015/4340) and given the names Baltalıin and Inkaya, respectively. The caves are located 1 km south of Mustafakemalpaşa Stream and 7 km apart from each other (Şahin, 2018, p.171). Both caves contain pictographs with dark-red pigments obtained from the locally available iron-oxide and hematite minerals. The minerals were initially crushed before they were combined with a bonding liquid. Then they are applied to the surface either directly by the tip of the fingernails or via a brush made of animal hair.

The petroglyphs of Delicenur caves are remarkably similar to the ones in the Latmos mountains. First, they are similar in terms of style and technique of manufacture. Both differ from the earlier petroglyph tradition of the Paleolithic,

where linearly stylized big figures are executed by incision, animals dominate the scenes, and humans are portrayed only as they engage in hunting activity. Like Latmos, in Delicenur Caves, the human figures are dominant, and the representation of animals seems to reflect daily life rather than hunting activity.

Site Name: Baltalıin Mağarası (Delicenur I) (No.38)
Location: Delice, Dursunbey / Balıkesir
Altitude: 320m
Technique: Pictograph- Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Late Neolithic - Early Chalcolithic

Baltalıin Mağarası is located 10 km southwest of the Delice, west of Düğüncüler, and north of Aşağıdere Stream. The entrance to the cave is from a 4.1x6.8m sized cavity facing southwards, and the cave itself is 20 m long. The pictographs are located on the east side of the cave entrance and painted with red pigments. Although the panel seems to be destroyed by illicit diggers, two horned-animal motifs are still visible. Şahin interprets the difference in their size as a deliberate effort to create perspective. Also, their tails are shown in different positions, creating a sense of movement. Şahin evaluates two possibilities for the dating of these figures: first, by highlighting the similarities of these horned animals to those found in Palanlı (Adıyaman), Kızların Mağarası (Van), and Tırşin Yaylası (Van-Hakkari) he offers the Epipaleolithic-Early Neolithic; yet quoting Mellaart, he believes the stylistic resemblance to the ibex motifs of Halaf pottery is much more significant, thus suggests 6th millennium BC would be a better dating (Şahin, 2018, p. 173). He builds on his idea by adding that the dotted decorations, V-shaped designs, cross motifs, and the wavy and diagonal lines are similar to the decorations commonly found on Early Chalcolithic Hacılar pottery (Şahin, 2018, p. 173). The

next panel is also damaged. On the surviving part, three human figures with T-shaped heads are grouped. Although a clear indicator of sex does not exist, given the stylistic similarities of the pictographs to the ones in Latmos, where women are often portrayed with large buttocks, Şahin believes all three figures in Baltalıin are male. At least three more horned animals are shown on the upper left side of the human group. Şahin believes the scene has a coherent narrative of a hunting scene where males form a barrier to hunt down the animals (Şahin, 2018, p. 171).

Figure 72. Pictographs of Baltalıin Cave, a: Two Stylized Ibex (Şahin 2018, p. 178 (Resim 8)), B: Baltalıin Main Panel Computer Drawing (Yalçıklı, 2018, p. 40 (Fig.5))

Site Name: İnkaya Mağarası (Delicenur II) (No.37)
Location: Delice, Dursunbey / Balıkesir
Altitude: 795m
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Late Neolithic - Early Chalcolithic

İnkaya Cave is located in Kızlıtepe region, 5-6 km north of Delice, 23 km away from Dursunbey, Balıkesir. The entrance to the cave faces east and is located 50 m near a prominent rock formation called Akababa Kayası by the local people. On the façade next to the entrance, three natural niches and several dynamite holes exist. The panels are located on the northern and southwestern sides of the entrance. Most of the pictographs are applied with dark red pigments, whereas there are rare examples of yellow pigments. The southwestern panel is 1.6 m long and 0.90 m wide and consists of stylized human figures and abstract motifs. The four humans are grouped in male-female couples, similar to Latmos, and portrayed in standing positions. The abstract motifs on the right side of the human group are interpreted as the developmental stages of the human fetus by D. Yalçıklı (Yalçıklı, 2018, p.24). A single human figure is depicted frontally in an arms-open-wide position. Because the contours of this figure are painted with yellow pigments, Şahin believes this figure is significantly differentiated from dress the rest of the humans. The head of the figure is missing due to the natural weathering, and its arms are bent from the elbows. Şahin compares this figure to the two similar figures at Kızların Mağarası (Great Panel), Van. Those two figures appear with elaborate handes that distinguish them from the rest of the human figures, leading Belli to conclude that they are not human but divinities. Similarly, Şahin believes the Inkaya figure is a divinity or a cultic leader (Şahin, 2018, p. 172). On the northern panel, there exist several unidentified geometric and floral motifs. A V-shaped figure in the uppermost register is accompanied by a snake-like figure and an anthropomorphic figure with wide-open arms. Yalçıklı believes this figure represents a shaman. Below them are geometric and floral designs similar to cruciform. Şahin highlights their similarity to the swastika motifs of Van Kızların Cave. Based on the “cultic-leader” figure and the

prominence of the floral motifs, Şahin believes İnkaya Cave was a cultic place where rituals related to agriculture and fertility took place. He further supports his thesis with the lack of archaeological evidence pointing to everyday life or permanent settlement activity within the cave, though he had collected lots of flint objects indicating the cave was prehistorically visited in prehistory. For the dating of the pictographs, besides the evidence mentioned in the Baltalıin section, Şahin suggests the floral and geometric designs resemble the pottery decorations and domestic wall paintings of 7 and 6th millennium BC.

Figure 73. Baltalıin Pictographs a. Right hand side of the 4-human-group, a motif interpreted as the formation of the fetus by Yalçıklı, (Şahin, 2018, p. 179, Resim 15), b. Group composed of 4 humans (2 male-2 female), Şahin, 2018, p. 179, Resim 16-17, c. Cross motif and floral designs, Şahin, 2018, p. 180, Resim 22)

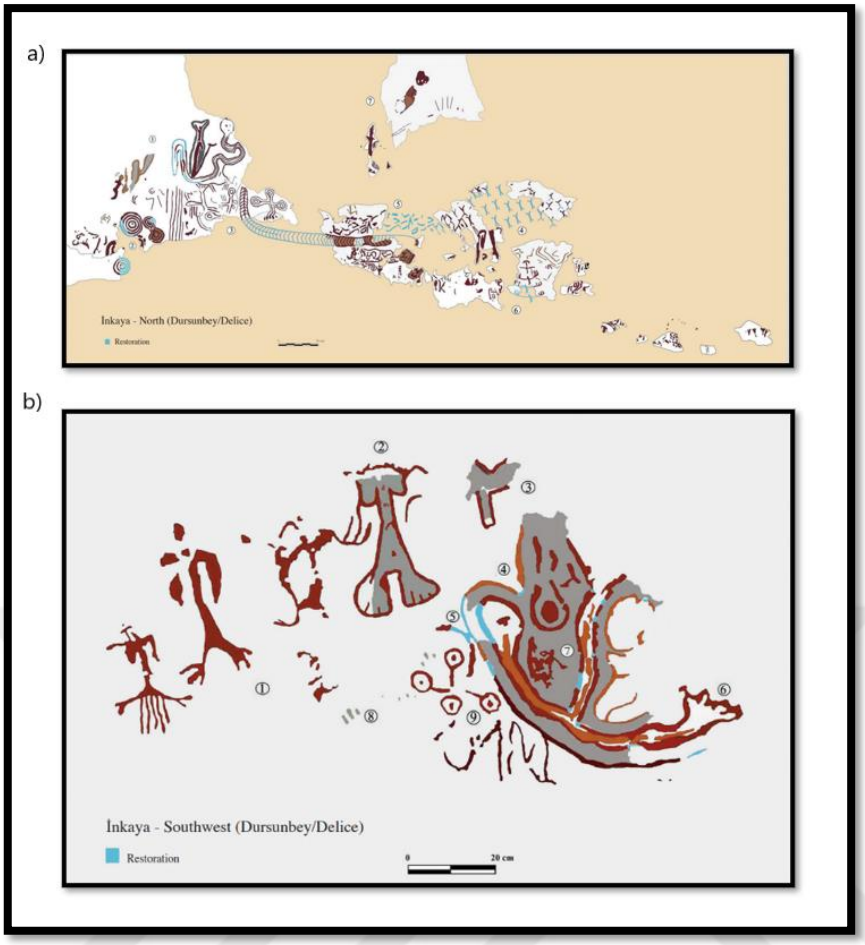

Figure 74. İnkaya Pictographs, a: İnkaya North Panel drawing Yalçıklı, 2018, p. 43 (Fig.11) b: İnkaya Southwest Panel Drawing, Yalçıklı, 2018, p. 42 (Fig. 9)

Site Name: Kanlıtaş (No.21)
Location: Yeni Sindel, Kula / MANISA
Altitude: 382m
Technique: Pictograph - Red and Purple Brown
Site Type: Rock Shelter
Dating: Bronze Age

Kanlıtaş pictographs are found 700 m west of Yeni Sindel Village of Kula, Manisa. E. Akdeniz first documented them in 2008 during a survey around the ancient Katakekaumene region known as the "burnt-land" because of its volcanic soil (Akdeniz, 2010, p. 70). The pictographs are painted on the inner walls of a rock shelter called Kanlıtaş by the locals with red and purple-brown pigments. The panel

at Kanlıtaş has three hand-imprints, similar to Latmos and several other figures (Akdeniz, 2010, p. 72). Significantly, the hand imprints lack the thumb and the forefinger (Ulusoy et al., 2019, p. 188). One particular figure, a circle filled with dots, led Akdeniz to consider the possibility that it was the depiction of the eruption event of the nearby Çakallar volcano, a concept known from the famous Çatalhöyük wall painting. If that is the case, it would be possible to date Kanlıtaş pictographs. Akdeniz interprets the rectangular figures on the lower part of the panel as the remains of a frame once covered the scene. Besides the aforementioned red figures, there exist traces of purple-brown pigments on the left side. However, these figures are too damaged to be identified (Akdeniz, 2010, p. 72). Although the Kanlıtaş panel does not offer a variety of figures to compare with other sites, the hand-imprints and the manufacturing technique are similar to Latmos and Çine Madran pictographs.

Kanlıtaş pictographs are thought to be associated with footprints found in hydrovolcanic ash at a 2km distance. The 12 footprints belonging to multiple individuals and canines that walked alongside them were imprinted on the wet tuff ground before they were immediately sealed by thin layers of ash caused by the mild explosions of Çakallar Volcano (Akdeniz, 2010, p. 71; Ulusoy et al., 2019, p. 188). By using "two independent dating methods, cosmogenic 36Cl and combined U-Pb and (U-Th)/He zircon (ZDD) geochronology", Ulusoy and colleagues dated the footprints to the Bronze Age (4.7 ± 0.7 ka) (Ulusoy et. al, 2019, p. 188). If the circular figure at Kanlıtaş is considered the erupting volcano cone, the pictographs are also dated to the Bronze Age.

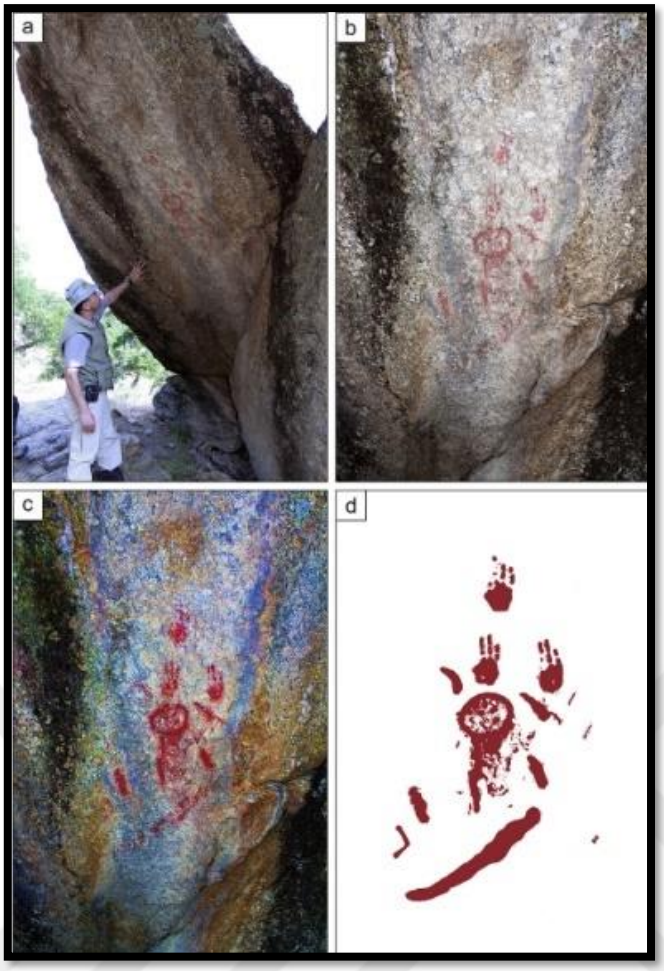

Figure 75. Kanlıtaş Pictographs and hand-prints, Ulusoy et al., 2018, p. 190 (Figure 3)

Site Name: Çine- Sağlık (Ancin) Rock Art Site (No.28)
Location: Sağlık, Çine / Aydın
Altitude: 613m
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Shelter Cave
Dating: Chalcolithic

Çine - Sağlık pictographs were found on the interior walls of two shelter caves in Asaryakası - Kestanelik region, southwest of Sağlık (Ancin) Village of Çine, Aydın. N. Atik first documented them in 2013 during an archaeological survey. The first shelter cave contains a panel with three hand imprints, one of an adult and two belonging to children. A bovid head and several other figures too damaged to be

identified accompany the handprints. All the figures are applied with red paint. The second shelter cave has a panel with human figures, both male and female, which are paired similarly to the male-female couples of Latmos. In terms of style and manufacture, Çine- Sağlık paintings are similar to Latmos rock art. Considering the proximity of these two sites, it would not be wrong to assume they belong to the same tradition. Both shelter caves being close to the water resources led Atik to a similar conclusion as Peschlow-Bindokat. Atik believes the handprints, the female-male couples, and the proximity to the water resources are indicators of a marriage ceremony where the couples bring about their marriage by putting their handprints on rock surfaces near a water source that acts as a symbol of fertility. Although both shelter caves are refilled with stones by the villagers as a precaution for further destruction and the shelter caves are registered as a first-degree archaeological site under the protection of Aydın Regional Board, today the shelter-caves face the threat of being destroyed after a feldspar mining company gained permission to mine within the region.

Site Name: Çine- Madran Dağı Hand-prints (No.23)
Location: Çine, Aydın
Altitude:
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Open Air
Dating: Late Neolithic- Chalcolithic

Çine- Madran Dağı handprints were first identified in 2016 by a group of trekkers from a local environmental association called EKODOSD. The handprints appear on two separate panels within shelter caves near Topçam Village of Çine, Aydın (ekodosd.com). The first panel has many handprints, whereas the other contains only a couple. Like the handprints in Latmos, they are applied with red paint

and are also stylistically similar. Although later, a female figure was found alongside the handprints, B. Sürücü, the chairman for EKODOSD, expresses that Madran Dağı panels were the only panels within the region that contained handprints exclusively. Considering their common technical and stylistic features and the close distance between them, it would not be wrong to assume that Madran Dağı panels and Latmos are contemporary and part of the same tradition.

Figure 76. Madran Dağı Handprint, EKODOSD Web Site

Site Name: Yarımburgaz Mağarası (No.83)
Location: Küçükçekmece, İstanbul
Altitude: 50m
Technique: Pictograph - Red
Site Type: Cave
Dating: Early Bronze Age?

Yarımburgaz Mağarası, located in the Küçükçekmece District of İstanbul, is one of the key sites of prehistoric Anatolia and has been occupied from the Lower Paleolithic on. The gallery F of the cave contains three pictographs of ships and 5 human figures, first identified by M. Janel during an expedition led by Hovasse in 1927 (Kansu, 1963, p. 658). The largest of the ship motifs sizes 95 cm and has many

paddles and a steering wheel attached. It is pigmented with laterite clay. The other two figures are not as elaborate, and one of them even seems to be not quite finished. They are also pigmented with a lighter shade, which led Hovasse to conclude that the figures were not contemporary. Hovasse suggests the later two ships may have been drawn to imitate the first one; thus, he preferred to focus on the stylistic elements of the former. Hovasse points out the stylistic similarities of the first ship to the ones in the frescoes on the so-called "palace" of Knossos. He also notes that the human figures with torsos shaped as reverse triangles wearing headdresses resembled the typical way Egyptians portrayed Cretans. Thus, he believed the first ship motif was painted by Cretans, who used the cave as a safe-harbor and possibly as storage, dating the pictographs to the Early Bronze Age (Kansu, 1963, p. 659). Hovasse's dating is problematic in several ways as he assumes direct Cretan contact with prehistoric Istanbul, and he underestimates the subsequent occupation within the cave, including the Byzantine Period. However, his work remains the only academic work attempting to date the pictographs.

CHAPTER 4

DISSCUSSION

This research examines Anatolian rock art for its dating, geographical distribution, style, theme, content, and techniques. By these parameters, we offer a way to categorize Anatolian rock art. Although this classification has shortcomings, such an attempt was essential for further studying Anatolian rock art as it is a relatively unexplored topic. These broadly defined categories are (1) The Upper Paleolithic to Neolithic Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range, (2) The Late Neolithic - Early Chalcolithic Red-Pictograph Tradition, (3) The Petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia and (4) the Other Petroglyphs which were hard to place within any of the categories above. However, most of the rock art listed in this fourth category is stylistically parallel to the Northeastern Petroglyphs; therefore, it should be considered as the expansion of this tradition into the other parts of Anatolia.

Table 2. Distribution of Anthropomorphic, Zoomorphic, and Geometric Motifs according to Proposed Categories

Catalog N	Category	Site Name	Anthropomorphic Figure	Zoomorphic Figure	Geometric Shape	Handprints
1	**Early Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range (Mostly Upper Paleolithic to Early Neolithic)**	Narli (Huss Tepe)		X		
2		Sat Dağları- Sat Gölü	X	X	X	
3		Sat Dağları- Varagöz Yaylası		X		
4		Dereser- Ezedi	X	X		
5		Cudi Dağı	X		X	
6		Palanli- Keçiler	X	X		
7		Palanli-Pirun		X		
8		Kahn-ı Işkir	X	X	X	
9		Baltutan	X	X	X	
10		Taht-ı Melik (Tırşin B)	X	X	X	
11		Sinek Çayi	X	X		
12		Gevaruk Plataeu	X	X		
13		Tirsin Plataeu	X	X	X	
14		Yeşiltaş- Reşko	X	X	X	
15		Atatürk Baraji	X	X	X	
16		Öküzini	X	X		
17		Kahn-ı Melikan (Tırşin)	X	X	X	
18		Karain Cave	X	X	X	
19		Dereser- Dereler (Berha Çemika)	X	X	X	
20		İnsu Köyü		X	X	
21	**Red Pictographs (Mostly Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic)**	Kanlitas			X	X
22		Gevre Bıhri (Hırkanis- Giyimli)	X		X	
23		Çine-Madran	X			X
24		Balkayasi	X	X		
25		Kurtunini		X		
26		Dogu Sandal	X	X	X	X
27		Hayitli Göl			X	
28		Cine-Saglik	X	X		X
29		Yedisalkim Cave 1		X		
30		Keçemagarasi	X	X	X	
31		Dereser-Yazili	X	X	X	
32		Pagan (Yeşilalıç)	X	X	X	
33		Kizlarin (Put) Cave 1 - East Cave	X	X	X	
34		Akyapi	X	X	X	
35		Kum Bucagi	X	X	X	
36		Tavabasi	X	X	X	
37		Inkaya	X	X	X	
38		Baltaliin	X	X	X	
39		Arslanlı	X	X	X	
40		Latmos	X	X	X	
41		Saricinar	X	X	X	
42		Başet Dağı	X	X	X	
43		Capanuk Tepesi		X		
44		Aliger	X	X	X	
45		Kizlarin (Put) Cave 2 - West Cave	X	X		
46		Dogantas	X	X		
47		Yedisalkim Cave 2		X		
48	**Northeastern Petroglyphs**	Çiçekli (Çiçeklikaya)		X		
49		Çamuslu-Yazilikaya	X	X		
50		Doyumlu	X	X	X	
51		Basköy	X	X		
52		Senkaya - Kaynak (Sirvaz Kalesi)		X	X	
53		Karayazı-Cunni	X	X	X	
54		Dilli	X	X	X	
55		Demirkapı - Namazgah	X	X	X	
56		Digor Dolaylı	X	X	X	
57		Borluk- Mağaracık Ataköy	X			
58		Tunçkaya		X	X	
59		Karaboncuk Çeşmebaşı		X		
60		Çalli- Geyiklitepe		X	X	
61		Azat	X	X		
62		Borluk- Köyalti	X		X	
63		Borluk- Ikisu		X		
64		Ani Alem Köyü	X	X	X	
65		Katrankazanı		X		
66		Karaboncuk		X		
67		Yağlıca Kalesi	X	X		
68		Çamuslu Kurbanaga		X	X	
69		Kozlu (Ağyar)	X	X		
70		Kömürlü	X	X		
71		Borluk-Kervan	X	X		
72		Dereiçi	X	X	X	
73	**Other Petroglyphs (Mostly Historical)**	Gümüşlü	X	X		
74		Seydikemer	X	X	X	
75		Mesudiye	X	X	X	
76		Güdül (Asmali Yatak)	X	X	X	
77		Bozkurt	X	X	X	
78		Serevdin		X	X	
79		Elmalı	X	X		
80		Kozagacı (Cagman)	X	X	X	
81		Ödemiş Konaklı	X			X
82		Gülnar Taşeli Beleni / Körcoluk			X	
83		Yarimburgaz Cave	X			
84		Kümbet Pinarı		X		
85		Kümbet Köyü Kümbeti	X	X	X	
86		Aizanoi Çavdarhisar	X	X	X	
87		Cerrah Petroglyphs	X	X		
88		Baynaz Tepe		X	X	
89		Yanki Tasi		X	X	
90		Bayındır		X		

4.1. Common Motifs and Scenes in Anatolian Rock Art

The most common elements in Anatolian rock art, regardless of the context, are anthropomorphic figures, zoomorphic figures, and geometric decorations. Their style, execution, frequency, and spatial distribution vary according to the abovementioned categories. Out of the 90 sites in this study, 64 have at least one anthropomorphic figure. Twenty-three of these sites contain pictographs (out of a total of 31), and 41 contain petroglyphs (out of 59). Although the frequency of the anthropomorphic figures does not yield a meaningful difference regarding the technique, their primary role in the compositions of petroglyphs and pictographs significantly differs. Often in pictographs, the anthropomorphic figures constitute the main focus, whereas, in petroglyphs, they appear either subsidiary or equally important to the other elements of the composition.

Anthropomorphic figures can be classified into three categories in terms of their style: the naturalistic, the schematic, and the abstract. In a naturalistic style, the bodily proportions are preserved, and the heads are circular. In the schematic style, the body is stylized by simplifying or exaggerating certain features. The most common stylization of anthropomorphic figures in the petroglyphs involves simplifying the extremities into simple, stick-man-like lines. They are depicted in "running, walking, kneeling, praying, arrow shooting, dancing, drum-beating, horse riding and a shield bearing" poses (Uyanık, 1974, p. 46). In pictographs, stylization includes zigzag or T-shaped heads, which may be meant to symbolize special headdresses or hairstyles related to the status of the individual represented. Because the anthropomorphic figures in the petroglyphs are mainly depicted while engaging in hunting activity, they are mostly attributed as male. However, in pictographs, the stylization allows the identification of the sex. The male figures resemble simple

stick men with prolonged arms and legs and are always frontally depicted. In some cases, they are given exaggerated phalli. The most common poses for the schematic male anthropomorphic figures in pictographs are standing while the arms and legs are 90 degrees bent at the elbows and knees, giving the body an overall swastika-like posture. The female figures have more variety in stylization and pose. They are often given exaggerated, volumetric buttocks resembling the Neolithic female figurines. Lastly, the abstract style where the human body is simplified into a cruciform shape exclusively appears in the pictographs of Antalya, in Beldibi/Kumbucağı, Hayıtlıgöl, and Sarıçınar.

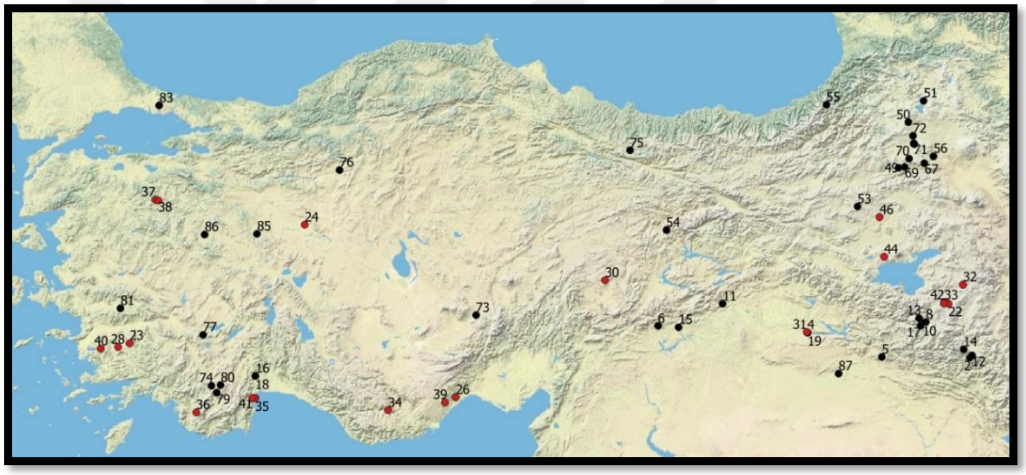

Figure 77. Spatial Distribution of the Anthropomorphic Figures (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

The zoomorphic figures constitute the majority of figures represented in Anatolian rock art. Out of the 90 sites, 84 have at least one zoomorphic figure. The remaining six sites are Çine-Madran, Kanlıtaş, and Ödemiş-Konaklı where the panels exclusively consist of handprints; Hayıtlıgöl with cruciform-like anthropomorphic figures, ship paintings of Yarımburgaz and the tamga motifs in Gülnar Taşeli Beleni-Körcoluk. Zoomorphic figures are the primary elements of hunting scenes; therefore,

most are game animals. The most common specie, regardless of time and space, is the ibex/mountain goat which is represented in 61 sites. Mountain goats and ibex are globally common figures, not only in rock art but also in other decorated objects such as pottery, seals and personal ornaments. Therefore, understanding how these figures are spatially and temporally distributed within Anatolia and their stylistic comparison to other decorated media from secure contexts is crucial for dating rock art. The ibex figures in Delicenur Caves and Latmos are dated by comparison to the ibex figures found on Halaf pottery. B.Bingöl (2020) bases his dating and argument on the Central Asian connection to the Northeastern petroglyphs through stylistic comparison to other ibex motifs from Central Asian rock art and figures found on gravemarkers. Certainly, ibex has been an important economic resource as a game animal as its various body parts, including horns and skin, can be utilized in a variety of ways beyond meat consumption as Uyanık mentions the assumed healing properties of a certain substance called the bezoar's stone found in the stomach of the ibex (Uyanık, 1974, p.67). However, their popularity among many other game animals, regardless of the space and time, indicates further symbolic meaning given to the specie. Ibex, which dominantly dwells in mountainous, hard-to-inhabit, rocky terrain, might have been associated with mountain peaks often considered sacred. Avner et al. (2017) consider ibex motifs from different Negev rock art sites as symbols related to ritual hunts, rainfall, celestial constellations, and the cyclical regeneration of nature and human beings. Robinson tries to explain the global prominence of ibex figures in rock art as a part of an origin myth or hunting magic where the practitioner wishes to increase fertility among the game animals (Bradshaw Foundation, 2016). Often the ibex is depicted with exaggerated horns. Dibon-Smith points out the resemblance of these branch-like exaggerated horns to

the so-called “tree of life” motif to demonstrate that even in its earliest appearances, the ibex motif was a well-established symbol of fertility and the cycle of life and death in Mesopotamian and Iranian contexts (Dibon-Smith, 2016, p.21). Therefore, ibex representations in Anatolia must also have meaning beyond the animal's economic value.

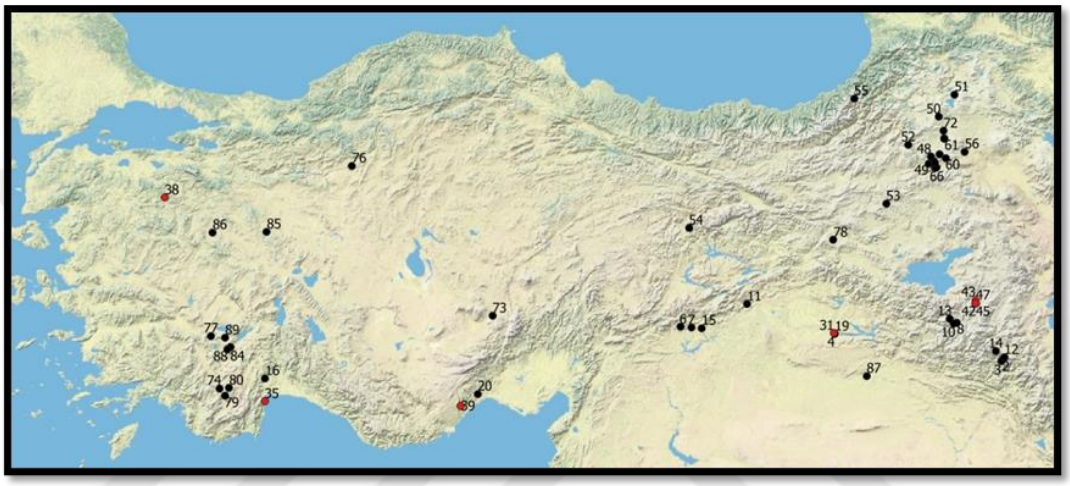

Figure 78. Spatial Distribution of the Ibex Figures (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

Figure 79. Density Map of the Ibex Figures

Ibex are followed by deer figures depicted at least once in 31 sites and horses in 27 sites. Those 27 sites with horse figures include both the singular representation of horses and the so-called cavalryman/horseman figures. Species like wild cattle, bison, muffon and elk are common in early petroglyphs and disappear in the later northeastern tradition. When it is considered that the majority of animals represented in Anatolian rock art are game animals, the existence of non-edible, often dangerous, animals poses a question worth exploring. The concept of a spirit animal or tutelary spirit may be instrumental in explaining the appearance of non-edible animals in Anatolian rock art. Although the majority of the animals represented in Anatolia are game animals, there also exist predators such as leopards, hyenas, and foxes; insects and reptiles such as snakes and spiders; and birds of various kinds, including cranes and birds of prey. Although these images might have been created as a form of destructive magic to protect against dangerous animals, a shamanistic explanation is also worth considering. Yakar notes the iconography within prehistoric hunter-gatherer and early sedentary art of Anatolia was suggestive of a collection of various animistic beliefs and rituals performed through the mediation of shamans. He explains the existence of the complex creatures in Nevali Çori sculptures and Çatalhöyük wall paintings as the reflection of the transformation of the shaman into their tutelary animal. He further suggests as the concept of spirit animals, perhaps as mythical ancestors, has its roots in totemism, which is reflected in the sculptures of Nevali Çori and Göbeklitepe, a shamanistic explanation is relevant for the prehistoric zoomorphic imagery in Anatolia. Ethnographic work indicates predators and birds are particularly popular as spirit animals (Yakar, 2009, p.311-3). Therefore understanding the distribution pattern of these zoomorphic figures among time and

space and identifying the locations where they tend to cluster can potentially reveal rock art sites with a shamanistic function.

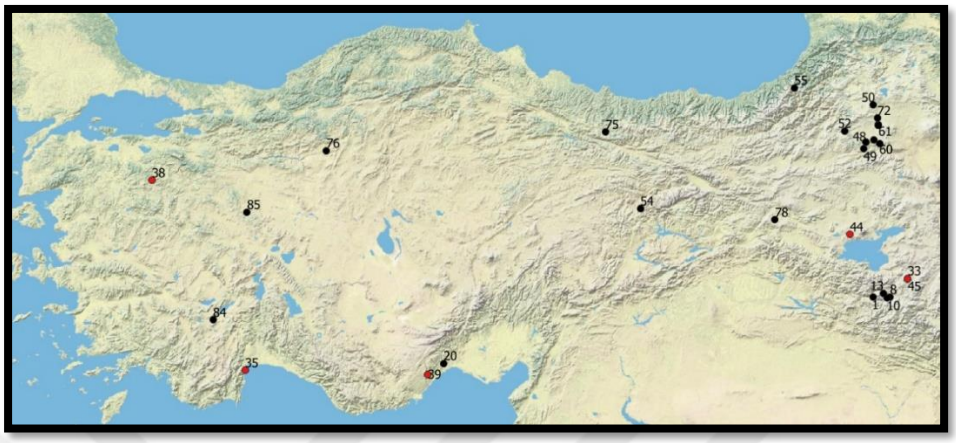

Figure 80. Spatial Distribution of the Deer Figures (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

Figure 81. Density Map of Deer Figures

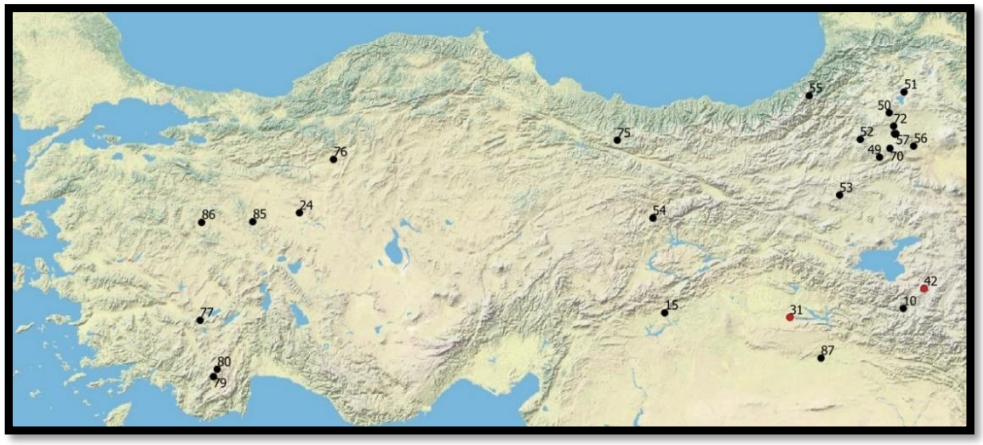

Figure 82. Spatial Distribution of the Horse Figures (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

Figure 83. Density Map of Horse Figures

Figure 84. Spatial Distribution of the Dog Figures (All Petroglyphs)

Figure 85. Density Map of Dog Figures

Figure 86. Spatial Distribution of the Domesticate Figures (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

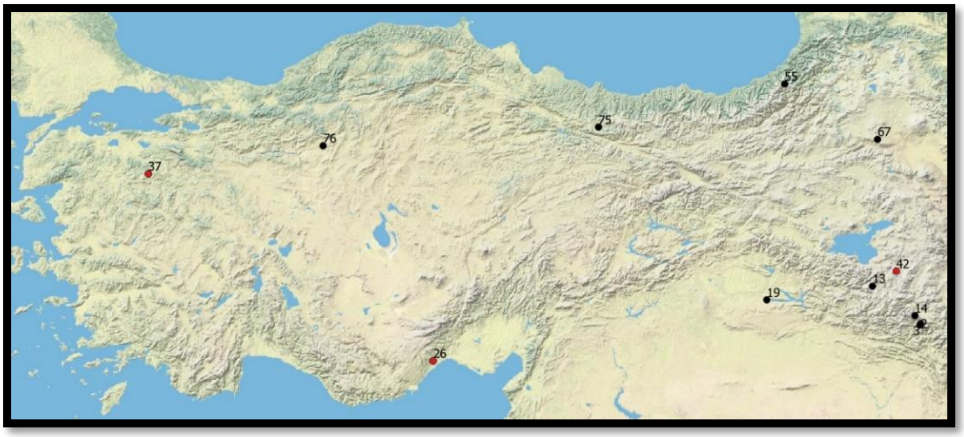

Figure 87. Spatial Distribution of the Snake Figures (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

Figure 88. Density Map of Snake Figures

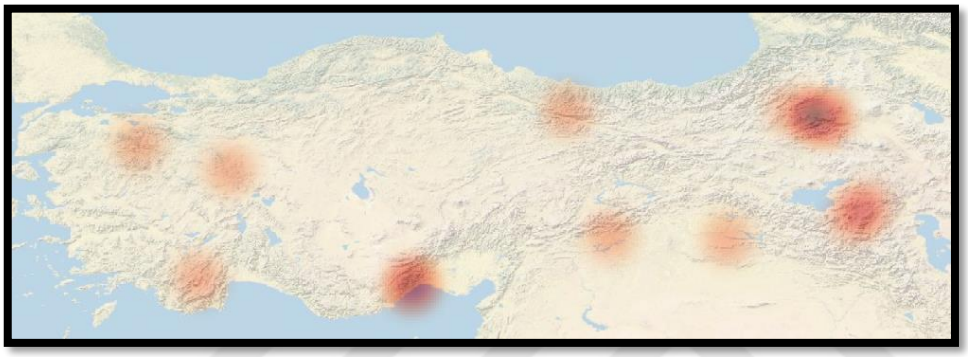

Figure 89. Density Map of Bird Figures

Geometric shapes and decorations appear alongside the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures. Fifty-four sites listed contain at least one form of a geometric shape. The common geometric shapes are straight lines, zigzag lines, meanders, dots, dotted lines, circles, rectangles, compartmentalized circles and rectangles, diamonds, cruciforms, rectangles, net patterns, florets, garlands, X-shapes, V-shapes, woven patterns, and cup marks. In some cases, the researchers misidentified cup marks, which have been widely associated with prehistoric rock art globally (Anati, 1968), as decorative "dots." These geometric shapes and decorations should not be treated as simple fill material added to the figurative scenes as they likely held symbolic meaning on their own, although the meaning became inaccessible to us. As an example, Bacon et al. (2022) demonstrate the non-figurative motifs alongside the

animal figures in Upper Paleolithic European rock art were a form of a notational/ external memory system that was meant to represent a phenological/meteorological calendar tracking the months where certain species gave birth. If one follows the phenomenological approach and the theory of "embedded metaphors" by Lewis-Williams (2012), it would be possible to decode the meaning of some of these motifs, such as the meanders that might symbolize snakes or rivers. However, such an attempt requires a broader understanding of the ontology of the culture under study, and in many cases, Anatolian rock art is not even securely associated with a settlement.

Handprints are often studied within the category of geometric shapes and decorations; however, they deserve to be examined as a separate category. Handprints are universal elements in rock art. Different techniques used to create hand motifs are painting, where the hand is placed on the rock surface, and its contours are painted; imprinting, where the hand itself is painted and then pressed on the rock surface to create an imprint; and stenciling, where the hand is placed on the rock surface and then paint is sprayed to create a negative imprint on the rock surface. The primary technique used for hand figures in Anatolian contexts is painting and imprinting, although a few examples of stenciling exist at Doğusandal 1 and 4. In total six sites, namely Latmos, Çine-Sağlık, Çine-Madran, Ödemiş-Konaklı, Kanlıtaş and Doğusandal, contain handprints. Handprints' existence as a global phenomenon has been puzzling, and their meaning remains controversial among rock art researchers. However, a consensus exists on the handprints associated with the ritual activity. Handprints, as powerful symbols of personhood, are often thought to be a part of initiation rites. On the other hand, Lewis-Williams, a prominent advocator for rock art production as a part of shamanistic ritual theory, claims that

the placement of the hand on the rock surface, which functioned as a vortex to the spiritual realm, was a way to engage with the spirits (Lewis-Williams, 2012, p.28). Another theory is that the hand figures were apotropaic, omens meant to keep evil away. Besides the hand figures, there exist four footprints in Latmos. The small footprint at Kaşaklı is thought to belong to a child (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.80).

Figure 90. Density Map of the Handprints (All Pictographs)

In recognizable figurative compositions, hunting, dancing, and conflict scenes are common. Twenty-three of the sites can be identified as having a hunting scene. Hunting scenes are composed of a single or a herd of game animals being chased by human figures with or without weapons. Common weaponry is bows, arrows, spears, nets, and lassoes. In addition, there are scenes depicting drive-hunts where a group of hunters chase the animals into a trap, cliff, or another group of hunters. In some examples, dogs accompany human figures. In some of the later petroglyphs, the hunters are mounted. The dancing scenes are characterized by a group of human figures depicted in dynamic poses, often lined up shoulder to shoulder. However, there exist examples with single or a few human figures, such as the so-called "Dancing Goddess" of the Kızların Cave, identified as a dancing scene because of the kinetic poses in which the humans are depicted. Dancing scenes appear in 8 sites,

namely Kızların Cave 1 and 2, Deraser-Yazılı, Doyumlu, Tırşin (Kahn-ı Melikan and Ermeni Tırşini), Güdül-Asmalıyatak, Aizanoi-Çavdarhisar, and Latmos. In Tırşin and Aizanoi-Çavdarhisar, musical instruments, drums, and kopuz, respectively, accompany the dancers. Besides reflecting social cohesion among the members of the community, the dancing scenes may also have shamanistic implications. Often, the trance state during shamanistic rituals is induced by dancing and rhythmic music accompanying it. Musical instruments made out of bone are known in the archaeological record; however, it is likely that drums, widely known to be used during shamanic rituals from the ethnographic record, which are made out of organic materials, did not survive (Kolankaya-Bostancı, 2014, p. 188). Lastly, although sporadic, conflict scenes exist where armed human figures attack other humans. 4 examples of such conflict scenes are found at Kahn-ı Melikan Deraser-Dereler, Deraser-Yazılı, and Dilli Vadisi.

Table 3. Hunting, Dancing and Conflict Scenes According to the Proposed Categories

Catalog No	Category	Site Name	Hunting Scene	Dancing Scene	Conflict Scene
1	Early Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range (Upper Paleolithic-Early Neolithic)	Narli (Huss Tepe)			
2		Sat Dağları- Sat Gölü			
3		Sat Dağları- Varagöz Yaylası	X		
4		Dereser- Ezedi			
5		Cudi Dağı	X		
6		Palanli- Keçiler			
7		Palanli-Pirun			
8		Kahn-ı Işkir			
9		Baltutan	X		
10		Taht-ı Melik (Tırşin B)			
11		Sinek Çayi	X		
12		Gevaruk Plataeu	X	X	
13		Tirsin Plataeu	X	X	
14		Yeşiltaş- Reşko			
15		Atatürk Baraji	X		
16		Öküzini			
17		Kahn-ı Melikan (Tırşin)	X	X	X
18		Karain Cave			
19		Dereser- Dereler (Berha Çemika)			X
20		İnsu Köyü			
21	**Ited Pictographs (Late Neolithic – Early Chalcolithic)**	**Kanlitas**			
22		**2 Gevre Bihri (Hırkanis- Giyimli)**			
23		**Çine-Madran**			
24		**Balkayasi**			
25		**Kurtunini**			
26		**Dogu Sandal**			
27		**Hayitli Göl**			
28		**Cine-Saglik**			
29		**Yedisalkim Cave 1**			
30		**Keçemagarasi**			
31		**Dereser-Yazili**	**x**	**x**	**x**
32		**Pagan (Yeşilalıç)**			
33		**Kizlarin (Put) Cave 1 – East Cave**	**x**	**x**	
34		**Akyapi**			
35		**Kum Bucagi**			
36		**Tavabasi**			
37		**Inkaya**			
38		**Baltalin**	**x**		
39		**Arslanlı**			
40		**Latmos**		**x**	
41		**Saricinar**			
42		**Başet Dağı**	**x**		
43		**Capanuk Tepesi**			
44		**Aliger**			
45		**Kizlarin (Put) Cave 2 – West Cave**		**x**	
46		**Dogantas**			
47		**Yedisalkim Cave 2**	**x**		
48	Northeastern Petroglyphs (Historical)	Çiçekli (Çiçeklikaya)			
49		Çamuslu-Yazilikaya	X		
50		Doyumlu	X	X	
51		Basköy	X		
52		Senkaya - Kaynak (Sirvaz Kalesi)	X		
53		Karayazı-Cunni			
54		Dilli	X		X
55		Demirkapı - Namazgah	X		
56		Digor Dolaylı	X		
57		Borluk- Mağaracık Ataköy			
58		Tunçkaya			
59		Karaboncuk Çeşmebaşı			
60		Çalli- Geyiklitepe	X		
61		Azat	X		
62		Borluk- Köyalti			
63		Borluk- Ikisu			
64		Ani Alem Köyü	X		
65		Katrankazanı			
66		Karaboncuk	X		
67		Yağlıca Kalesi			
68		Çamuslu Kurbanaga	X		
69		Kozlu (Ağyar)			
70		Kömürlü	X		
71		Borluk-Kervan			
72		Dereiçi	X		
73	**Other Petroglyphs (Historical)**	**Gümüşlü**	**x**		
74		**Seydikemer**			
75		**Mesudiye**	**x**		
76		**Güdül (Asmali Yatak)**	**x**	**x**	
77		**Bozkurt**			
78		**Serevdin**	**x**		
79		**Elmalı**	**x**		
80		**Kozagacı (Cagman)**			
81		**Ödemiş Konaklı**			
82		**Gülnar Taşeli Beleni / Körcoluk**			
83		**Yarimburgaz Cave**			
84		**Kümbet Pinarı**			
85		**Kümbet Köyü Kümbeti**			
86		**Aizanoi Çavdarhisar**	**x**		
87		**Cerrah Petroglyphs**			
88		**Baynaz Tepe**			
89		**Yanki Tasi**			

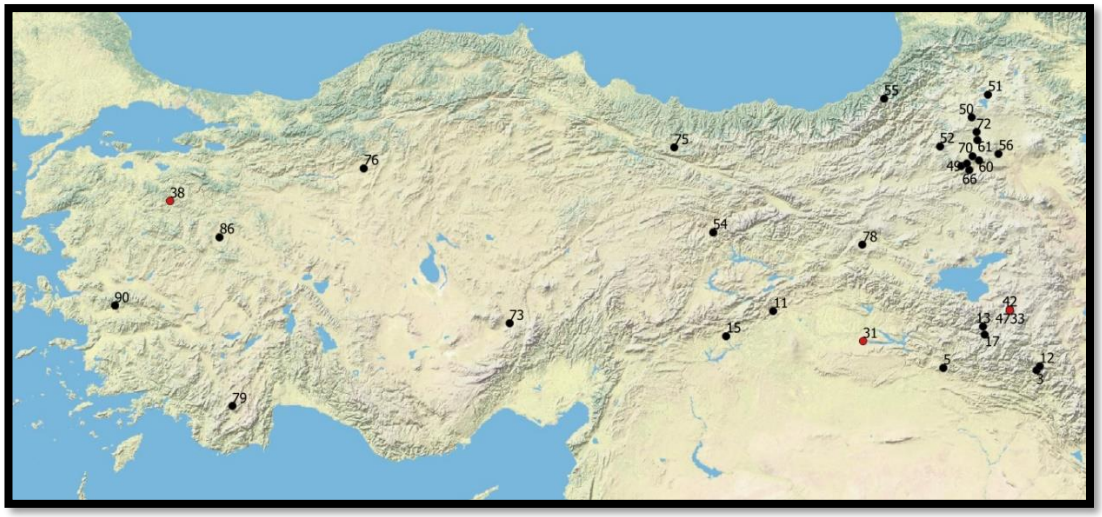

Figure 91. Spatial Distribution of the Hunting Scenes (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

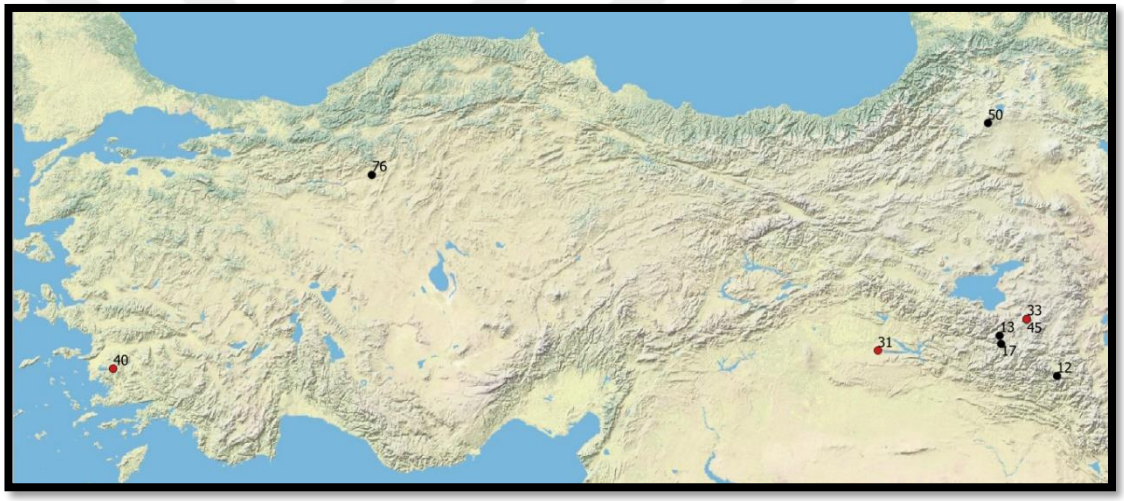

Figure 92. Spatial Distribution of the Dancing Scenes (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

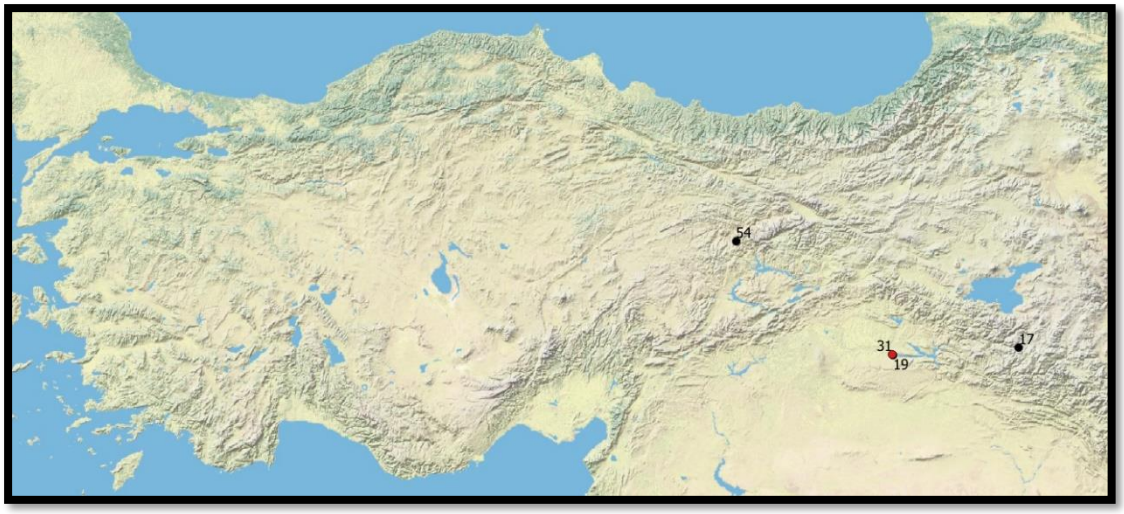

Figure 93. Spatial Distribution of the Conflict Scenes (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

4.2. Landscape of Anatolian Rock Art

The research presented in the literature review of this study (Domingo et al., 2020; Nash, 2012; Nash & Chippindale, 2001; Hood, 1988; Ambrosino, 2019; Bradley 1993, 1997, 2002; Soggnes, 1998) showed the variety of ways locational data is significant for rock art research. Rock art production as a way of place-making is inherently spatial. The choice of location, in terms of site type, site size, proximity to landscape features, water resources, settlements, economic resources, and trade routes, is intrinsic to rock art's function and targeted audience. In this study, Anatolian rock art is examined particularly for its accessibility. Access as a parameter is well debated concerning the dichotomy between open access, large scale, public sites and the restricted, hard to access, hidden, private ones. The difference lies in the assumption that remote and hard-to-access sites are meant to be hidden from the ordinary viewer, whereas open-air, visible sites are displayed for a wider audience. The preference for secluded locations implied that access is governed by cultural rules. These may include a restricted group of high-status

individuals holding the monopoly to the symbolic capital of the community; or rituals in which the journey/pilgrimage to the location was as important as the actual activity performed at the site. In Anatolian contexts, small rock shelters, shelter caves, and caves proper, located in the hard-to-access, remote, mountainous terrain, can be categorized as hidden sites. They are hidden within the landscape through uninformed eyes and often only accessible through a challenging climb. In contrast, open-air rock art is often placed in prominent locations visible from a wide area. Those open-air locales that can host a crowded group are meant to inscribe a landscape permanently and function as an arena for displaying power, construction, and reaffirming communal identity.

The Upper Paleolithic to Early Neolithic petroglyphs of the Taurus Range does not yield uniformity regarding the settlement type, size, or accessibility. However, when this group is examined for regional variances, a significant pattern is observed. The petroglyphs of Öküzini and Karain Caves in Antalya are located in the deeper, dim parts of caves proper that can host only a small group of people at a given time. The petroglyphs of the Adıyaman-Diyarbakır-Batman region (Atatürk Barajı, Palanlı-Pirun, Sinek Çayı, Deraser-Dereler, Deraser - Ezedi) are located interior of shallow rock shelters within steep valleys formed by seasonal streams. The prominent hunting theme of their iconography and spatial correlation with water resources led researchers to employ a hunting magic theory. In the lack of a broader understanding of the belief system of those rock art-producing communities, a hunting magic theory would only be speculative. However, these researchers might have a valid point regarding locational preference concerning hunting. Those hidden rock shelters mark the pockets within the mountainous landscape that are best suitable for hunting where animals gather around water resources. In this sense, these

rock art locales are nodes where information vital to those communities' subsistence is shared. Lastly, the petroglyphs of the Van-Hakkari highlands concentrated in the Tırşin and Gevaruk Plateaus present a completely different picture as they are exclusively open-air sites. Those petroglyphs are scattered around a vast area on small blocks of andesite. Although primary zones where petroglyphs tend to cluster, such as Kahn-ı Melikan, Taht-ı Melikan, and Kahn-ı Işkir in Tırşin Plateau; and Sat, Varagöz, Tango Mehir in Gevaruk Plateau can be clearly identified, it seems the dynamic in action is about place-making out of a vast geography rather than signing a single, focal point. Multiple production phases observed through the change in style and represented species indicate that the highlands retained their symbolic value from the Epipaleolithic to the historical times (Uyanık, 1974; Alok, 1988; Belli, 2007; Tümer, 2017).

Table 4. Common Motifs in the Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range

Catalog Nc	Site Name	Sett_Type	Incision	Scrapping	Pecking	Hunting	Dancing	Conflict	Anthropo	Ibex	Weaponry	Geometric	Deer	Snake	Wild Cattle	entified Ar	Birds	Meander	Dots	lPart.Circle	Horse	lomesticad	Dog	Fish	lestial Figu	Cruciform	Cup Marks
1	Narli (Huss Tepe)	Open Air											X														
2	Sat Dağları- Sat Gölü	Open Air							X	X	X	X		X													
3	Sat Dağları- Varağöz Y	Open Air								X				X													
4	Deresei- Ezedi	Rock Shelter	X	X					X	X	X											X					
5	Cudi Dağ	Open Air			X	X			X		X	X															
6	Palanli- Keçiler	Cave							X	X																	
7	Palanli-Pirun	Rock Shelter								X																	
8	Kahn-i Işkir	Open Air			X				X	X			X			X			X								
9	Baltutan	Open Air			X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X				X	X		
10	Taht-i Melik (Tirşin B)	Open Air							X	X	X	X	X		X						X		X				
11	Sinek Çayi	Rock Shelter	X		X	X			X	X	X					X											
12	Gevaruk Plataeu	Open Air							X	X	X																
13	Tirsin Plataeu	Open Air	X	X	X				X	X		X	X	X	X												
14	Yeşiltaş- Reşko	Open Air			X				X	X		X		X				X	X	X							
15	Atatürk Baraji	Rock Shelter				X			X	X	X						X		X		X						
16	Öküzini	Cave							X	X					X												
17	Kahn-i Melikan (Tirşin	Open Air							X			X	X		X												
18	Karain Cave	Cave							X						X												X
19	Deresei- Dereler (Ber	Rock Shelter	X	X				X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X								X	
20	Insu Köyü	Rock Shelter	X							X		X	X				X										

Figure 94. Map Showing the Upper Paleolithic to Early Neolithic Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range

The pictographs of Anatolia are concentrated in Van, Mersin, Antalya, Aydın, and Balıkesir. Besides the Epipaleolithic pictographs of Antalya, namely Beldibi/Kumbucağı, Hayıtlıgöl, and Sarıçınar, and the ones that date to the historical times, such as the graffiti of Gümüşler Monastery and the ship paintings of Yarımburgaz, all represent the red-pictograph tradition of the Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic. This group fits in the definition of hidden sites as out of the 29 sites

listed, 16 are caves, and 10 are rock shelters. In contrast, only 2 of them, Mount Başet and Balkayası, are open-air sites with the single addition of Gümüşler graffiti on architecture. Most of them are located in remote, hard-to-access locations. Kızların Caves require a 78m steep climb, Gevre Bıhri Cave is only accessible through a 44m climb and Yedisalkım Cave 2 requires a challenging 3 m climb. Rock art localities difficult to access or private venues that could host only a smaller group may indicate that the ritual activity performed within the rock shelter or cave might have been reserved with certain authorized individuals who hold the monopoly to the ritual/ symbolic capital of the community. If we were to consider rock art localities as potential aggregation sites, then the small authorized group would possibly consist of distinguished members, such as shamans, belonging to each separate smaller group, performing the ritual activity together in order to ensure cooperation among the groups. Similar practices are known from hunter-gatherer bands in the Australian Western Desert (Kolankaya-Bostancı, 2014, p.187).

Latmos is the key site of this group, and all the other red pictographs of the Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic are studied and dated in reference to Latmos. Peschlow-Bindokat (2006) considered the Latmos pictographs as the outcome of ritual activity in the form of marriage ceremonies, initiation rites, or spring festivals related to the notion of fertility and the continuity of the family. She believes the spatial correlation between the pictographs and water resources is a conscious choice related to the life-giving properties of water, which had become even more vital with the Neolithic through the transition to an agricultural way of life. Whether Peschlow is right about the analogy between reproductive and agricultural fertility, the preference for proximity to water resources is a consistent pattern in the distribution of Anatolian pictographs. Kızların Cave 1 and 2, Yedisalkım Cave 1 and 2, Arslanlı,

Akyapı, Baltalıin and İnkaya Caves are all near streams. Suppose one follows Peschlow-Bindokat's thesis on the continuity of the family. In that case, the rock shelters, as small, private venues, can be reviewed as being restricted to smaller kin groups where members would revisit and add to their family narrative on festive occasions.

Another way location is significant to red pictographs is the preference for rock shelters that resemble built architecture with chambers, courtyards, natural niches, and benches. In this sense, the natural weathering of the rocks in Balıktaş, İkizada, Kavalan, Göktepe, and Karadere rock shelters in Latmos created already existing venues for rock art production. In the Karadere rock shelter where the so-called "Latmos Pantheon" panel is located, Peschlow-Bindokat points out the difference in the size of the inner chamber and the outdoor courtyard. She believes the inner space was reserved for a small group of authorized people who performed the rituals while the rest of the community waited in the courtyard (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.64). Similarly, Kızların (Put) Cave 1, Yedisalkım Cave 2, and Doğusandal Cave 4 and 6 consist of such inner "rooms" and a wide terrace at the cave entrance. The resemblance to architecture becomes even more significant when the relationship between these pictographs and the indoor murals of Çatalhöyük is considered. If we follow the contention that the red-pictograph tradition of the Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic was an extension of the practice of wall painting with a changing medium, the painters' preference for places that vaguely simulate built environment would be compatible. In this sense, the ritual activity once placed within monumental communal structures early in the Neolithic, then domesticized within separate households in Çatalhöyük, might have been relocated to outdoor yet private venues.

Table 5. Common Motifs in the LN-EC Red Pictographs

Catalog Nr	Site Name	Sett_Type	Pigmentation	Hunting	Dancing	Conflict	Anthropo	Geometric	Indentifiec	Ibex	Cruciform	Deer	Dots	artmented	Birds	Jomesticat	Meander	Handprint	Horse	Snake	Weaponry	Celestial	Couple	Cup Marks	Cattle	Wild Sheep	Dog	Cavalryman
21	Kanlitas	Rock Shelt	Red and Purple Black					x					x					x				x						
22	Gevre Bihri (Hirkanis	Cave	Red				x	x										x	x									
23	Cine-Madran	Rock Shelt	Red				x																					
24	Balkayasi	Open Air	Red				x												x								x	
25	Kurtunini	Cave	Black							x																		
26	Dogu Sandal	Cave	Red and Black				x	x	x		x		x	x	x		x	x		x				x				
27	Hayitli Gol	Rock Shelt	Red					x			x			x														
28	Cine-Saglik	Rock Shelt	Red				x									x		x					x					
29	Yedisalkim Cave 1	Cave	Red						x	x																		
30	Keçemagarasi	Cave	Red				x	x	x		x		x															
31	Dereser-Yazili	Rock Shelt	Red and Black		x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x			x		x							x
32	Pagan (Yeşilalç)	Cave	White				x	x							x													
33	Kizlarin (Put) Cave 1 - I	Cave	Red	x	x		x			x	x	x																
34	Akyapi	Cave	Red				x	x	x																			
35	Kum Bucagi	Cave	Red				x	x		x	x	x		x											x			
36	Tavabasi	Cave	Red, Yellow				x	x	x				x	x		x	x											
37	Inkaya	Cave	Red, Black and Yellow				x	x							x					x			x	x				
38	Baltalin	Cave	Red and Black	x			x	x		x	x	x	x				x				x		x					
39	Arslanli	Rock Shelt	Red				x	x	x	x		x		x										x				
40	Latmos	Rock Shelt	Dark Red and Light Red		x		x	x	x				x			x	x						x					
41	Saricinar	Rock Shelt	Red				x	x	x		x																	
42	Başet Dağı	Open Air	Red				x	x		x					x				x	x	x							
43	Capanuk Tepesi	Rock Shelt	Dark Red						x	x																		
44	Alişar	Cave	Red				x	x				x										x			x	x		
45	Kizlarin (Put) Cave 2 - I	Cave	Red and Dark Red		x		x		x	x		x										x						
46	Dogantas	Cave	Red				x		x																			
47	Yedisalkim Cave 2	Rock Shelt	Red						x	x																		

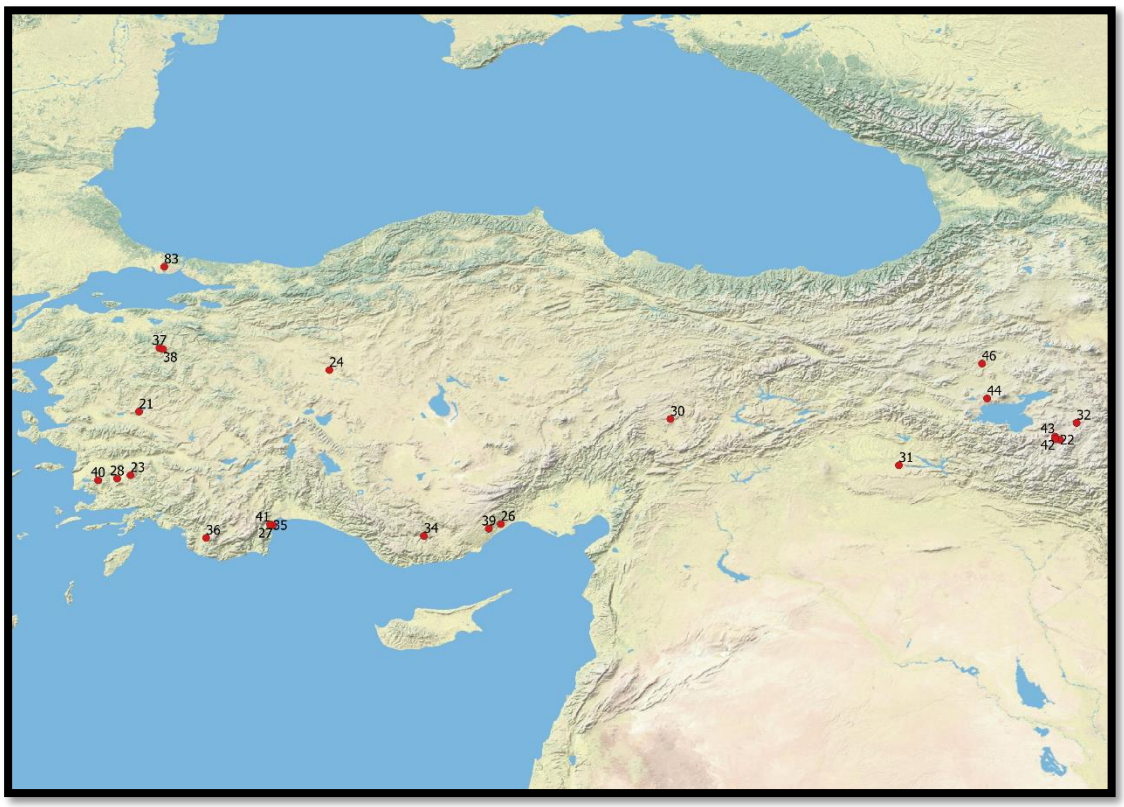

Figure 95. Map Showing Anatolian Pictographs

In contrast, the later Northeastern petroglyphs and their stylistic counterparts elsewhere in Anatolia are exclusively open-air sites. They are located in high, prominent places for the display of the whole community. Many researchers point to the spatial correlation between the petroglyphs and the kurgan-type burial sites. The association is known for the Pazyryk, Tamgalısay, and Sarmışsay petroglyphs in Central Asia. Demirkapı (Arılı/ Namazgah) petroglyphs are near Yaylalar Kurgan.

Asmalı Yatak-Güdül petroglyphs are within a sacred enclosure surrounded by kurgan-type burials. Seydikemer petroglyphs mark a nearby kurgan which Elmalı Museum is currently excavating. Although it does not contain kurgan-type burials, a historical Türkmen cemetery built adjacent to a Roman burial site is near Kozağacı-Çağman petroglyphs. Perhaps some of these petroglyphs mark a place that emphasizes the community's ties with its ancestors.

Table 6. Common Motifs in the Historical Petroglyphs of the Northeast

Catalog No	Site Name	Sett_Type	Incision	Scrapping	Pecking	unting	Sce	ncing	Sce	nflict	Scen	Ibex	Deer	Tropomor	Geometric	Horse	Cavalryma	Weaponry	Dog	omestica	dunic	Writin	Festival	Figu	Birds	Snake	entified Ar	Plants	Fish	Meander	Dots	PartCircle
48	Çiçekli (Çiçeklikaya)	Open Air	X	X								X	X																			
49	Çamuslu-Yazılıkaya	Open Air										X	X	X		X					X											
50	Doyumlu	Open Air		X	X		X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X									
51	Baskıy	Open Air	X	X			X					X		X		X	X	X	X													
52	Senkaya - Kaynak (Sirvaz Kale	Open Air	X	X								X	X		X	X			X			X	X	X								
53	Karayazı-Cunni	Cave	X									X		X	X	X	X	X				X										
54	Dilli	Open	X				X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X					X			X	
55	Demirkapı - Namazgah	Open Air	X	X	X		X					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X			X	X		X	X		
56	Digor Dolayı	Open Air	X	X			X					X		X	X		X	X				X					X					
57	Borluk- Mağaracık Ataköy	Open Air		X													X															
58	Tunçkaya	Open Air	X	X								X	X		X																	
59	Karaboncuk Çeşmebaşı	Open Air	X	X								X																				
60	Çalli- Geyiklitepe	Open Air	X				X					X	X		X			X	X			X			X			X				
61	Azat	Open Air		X	X		X					X	X	X			X	X		X												
62	Borluk- Köyaltı	Open Air		X										X	X		X															
63	Borluk- İkisu	Open Air		X								X																				
64	Ani Alem Köyü	Open Air		X	X		X					X	X	X	X	X		X	X													
65	Katrankazanı	Open Air											X					X														
66	Karaboncuk	Open Air	X	X	X							X							X	X												
67	Yağlıca Kalesi	Architecture		X										X												X						
68	Çamuslu Kurbanaga	Rock Shelter	X		X		X					X			X			X					X									X
69	Kozlu (Ağyar)	Open Air	X									X		X				X														
70	Kömürlü	Open Air	X		X		X					X	X	X		X	X	X						X								
71	Borluk-Kervan	Open Air	X	X								X	X	X						X												
72	Dereiçi	Open Air	X				X					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X												

Figure 96. Distribution Map of the Northeastern Petroglyphs

Table 7. Common Motifs in Historical Petroglyphs Elsewhere in Anatolia

Catalog No	Site Name	Incision	Scrapping	Pecking	Janting	Scr	ncing	Scr	nflict	Scr	Ibex	Anthropo	Geometric	Horse	Cavalryma	Weaponry	unic	Writt	ntified	Ac	Deer	Dog	Birds	Celestial	omestica	Fish	Snake	Plants	Meander	PartCircle	Cruciform
73	Gümüşlü	X			X						X	X				X			X												
74	Seydikemer	X	X								X	X	X			X			X												
75	Mesudiye	X			X							X	X	X	X	X	X			X			X	X		X	X		X		
76	Güdül (Asmalı Yatak)				X		X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X							X				
77	Bozkurt	X									X	X	X		X		X														
78	Serevdin	X	X								X		X							X								X			
79	Elmalı		X	X	X						X	X		X	X	X						X		X							
80	Kozağacı (Cagman)										X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X								
81	Ödemiş Konaklı	X	X									X																			
82	Gülnar Taşeli Beleni / Körcoluk	X											X				X														
83	Yarimburgaz Cave											X																			
84	Kümbet Pinarı	X	X	X							X									X											
85	Kümbet Köyü Kümbeti		X								X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X			X	X	X	X		X		X	
86	Aizanoi Çavdarhisar			X	X						X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X									
87	Cerrah Petroglyphs	X	X								X	X		X	X										X						
88	Baynaz Tepe										X		X																		
89	Yanki Tasi	X									X																				X
90	Bayındır	X			X															X		X									

Figure 97. Map of the "Other Petroglyphs"

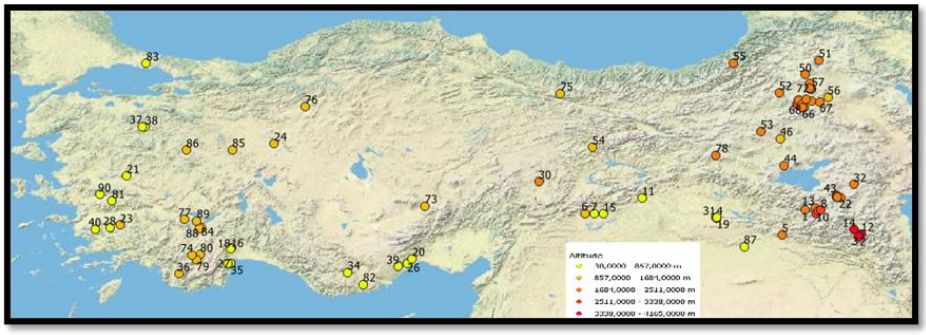

Figure 98. Anatolian Rock Art Sites Classified According to Altitude

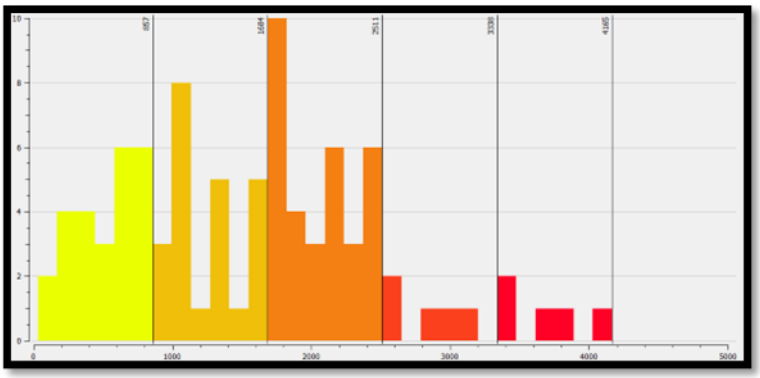

Figure 99. Altitude Histogram of Anatolian Rock Art Sites

Overall, when Anatolian rock art is examined for its altitudes a picture parallel to the rock art found elsewhere in the world, emerges. Anatolian rock art as well tends to be found at higher altitudes. The reason behind this pattern is a complex combination of social, environmental, and economic factors, which give way to the autocorrelation of rock art's spatial distribution and a sampling bias to a certain degree. First, the regions where Anatolian rock art tends to cluster, such as the highlands of Kars- Erzurum in northeastern Anatolia, have a higher elevation. When it is considered that these areas were first to be occupied by Turkic nomad clans, it becomes hard to determine if these locations were chosen particularly for their altitude or if they were simply the initial areas these migrating communities occupied. Second, these mountainous terrains are often richer in unique geological formations, such as cliffs, self-standing boulders, caves, rock shelters, and shelter caves, which were especially favored for rock art production. Third, because of their isolated, had-to-access positions, the rock art of higher altitudes is better preserved than others that are closer to the areas settled during the subsequent periods. However, the overall distribution of rock art regarding the elevation data presented in this study indicates a significant preference for high, rocky terrain beyond autocorrelation or preservation bias. This preference is partly due to the economic

advantages the highlands and mountains could have provided. Rocky terrain, especially volcanic formations, is abundant in mineral resources. Also, mountainous areas are more suitable for following wild games such as ibex and fallow deer, perhaps seasonally harvested, resulting in seasonal aggregation sites discussed in the conclusion of this research. Especially after the Paleolithic period, when proximity to prominent landscape features near good pasture land became more important for the appearance of rock art, those high locations might have been preferred for their advantage in observing and catching the prey while they were on the move (Kolankaya-Bostancı,2014, p. 189). Perhaps, above all these reasons, is the symbolic value attached to the higher altitudes by the rock art-producing communities. When the common analogies between the world understanding of the upper, middle, and lower realms (Ouzman, 1998, p.34) and the landscape are considered, mountain peaks will correspond to a liminal place opening to the upper realm. Rock art, as a form of marking the thresholds between the natural world and the spiritual realm, is a well-known shamanic concept. Yakar considers the high altitudes of Latmos as such a place that the shamanistic principle of the vortex to a spiritual realm applies. He believes the open-air landscape and some of the caves and rock shelters within were perceived as thresholds to another cosmic universe (Yakar, 2009, p.312). Also, as places not suitable for year-round occupation, mountain peaks as sacred/ ritual places offer a departure from everyday life.

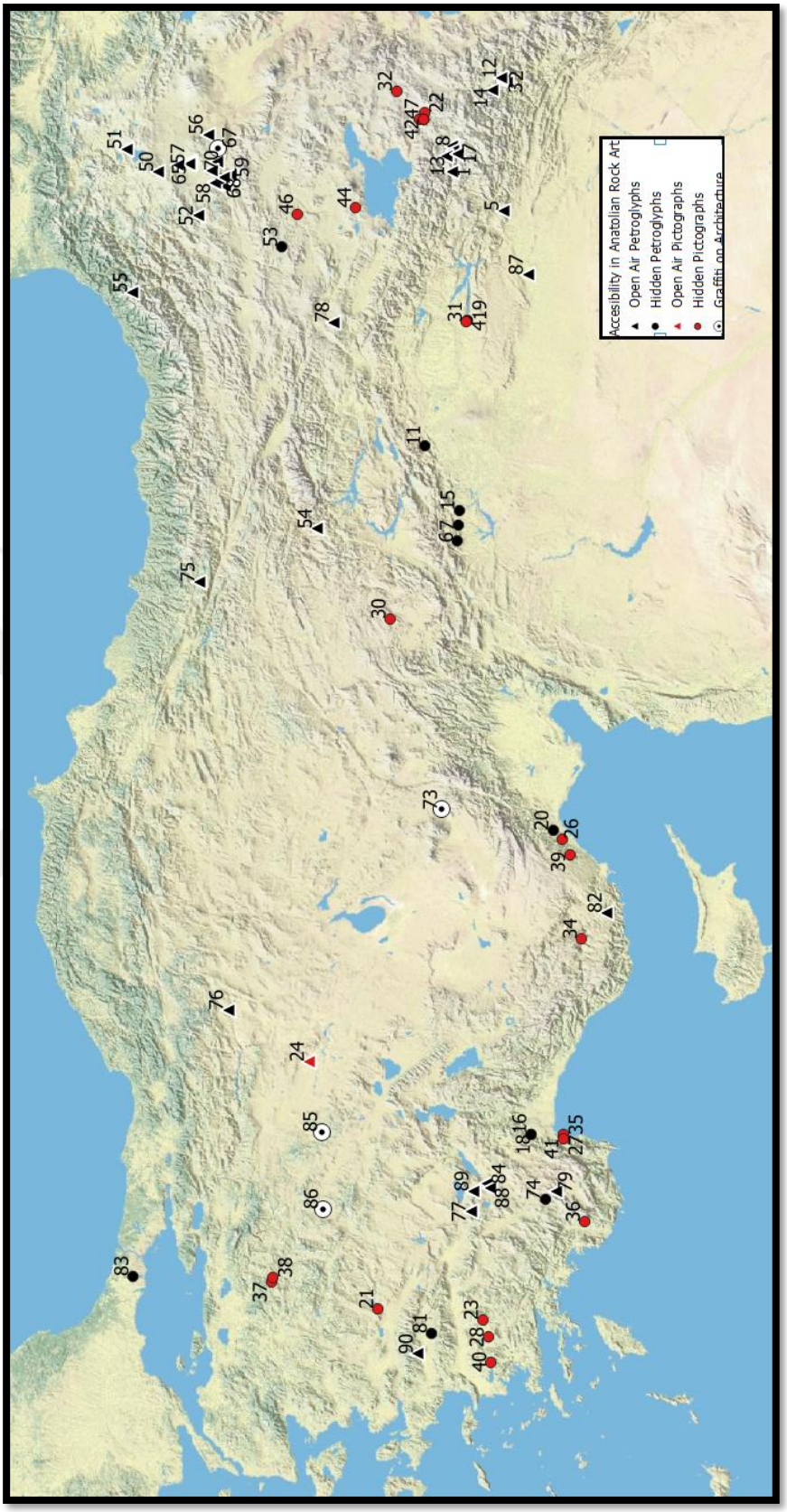

Figure 100. Map Showing the Distribution of "Hidden" vs. "Open-Air" Sites (Red Represents Pictographs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

4.3. Dating, Style and Theme

The Upper Paleolithic to Neolithic Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range is the earliest known examples of rock art in Anatolia. They are mostly located in secluded, hard-to-reach rock shelters and caves in valleys cut by seasonal streams, except for open-air sites of the Tırşin and Gevaruk Plateaus. Most of the petroglyphs of the Taurus Range are dated to a period between the Upper Paleolithic to the end of the Neolithic. However, this dating is somewhat controversial and has to be reevaluated. First of all, the research on these petroglyphs was conducted during the 1940s and 1950s by pioneer archaeologists such as İ.K. Kökten, E. Bostancı, Ş.A. Kansu, H.Z. Koşay, E. Anati, and M. Uyanık. As valuable as their work, these early researchers, devoid of modern scientific dating methods, based their dating mostly on stylistic comparisons with other rock art known to them. As in often cases, their preference to choose Western European Upper Paleolithic rock art as the comparator even reflects a subtle nationalistic sentiment to prove Turkey as well has as early and as elaborate examples. This bias is even more explicit in the case of Beldibi, where B. Erdoğu, by using filter photography and a USB digital microscope, revealed that the two petroglyphs of a jumping deer and an ox previously identified by E. Bostancı were, in fact, natural depression and protrusion on the rock surface (Erdoğu, 2020, p. 3). Since these pioneer researchers, little scientific work has been conducted on these petroglyphs, except for H. Tümer's (2017) master's thesis focusing on Southeast Anatolia. For all these reasons, the early literature on the petroglyphs of the Taurus Range has to be revisited for more reliable evaluations.

Another problem regarding the dating of the petroglyphs in this section is the existence of different styles, namely the naturalistic and the schematic, indicating multiple production phases over a broad course of time. Generally, early petroglyphs

of the Taurus Range are characterized by big-figure animal depictions that are naturalistic in style. These big-figure animal petroglyphs, often in life-size, are the central focus of the panels. Human figures are scarce, and when they exist, they appear as subsidiary elements to the composition, defined by their relation to animals, such as in hunting scenes. One exception is a dancing scene at Ermeni Tırşini, where the whole panel exclusively consists of human figures. Hunting scenes, the most prevalent theme in this group, led the early researchers to consider hunting-magic theory as the dominant paradigm of their time. Although today the hunting-magic theory is criticized for its functional reductionism, it is clear that rock art production was a way of sharing information on the vital resources these communities utilized for their subsistence.

A typical hunting scene of this group consists of a naturalistic big-figure animal being hunted down by smaller human figures bearing weapons such as bows, arrows, spears, and lassoes. Hunting scenes without this weaponry, as in Sinek Çayı rock shelter, are interpreted as drive-hunts where the animal is chased into a trap or through a cliff by a group of hunters. Common species are ibex, wild cattle, bison, elk, and deer. These species are almost exclusively game animals, except a leopard figure at Taht-ı Melikan and hyenas at Kahn-ı Işkir. The difference in the stylization of these predators and the game animals points to a conceptual contrast in the minds of the carvers. The carnivores are given significantly volumetric bodies, whereas the herbivores are consistently depicted with simple lines. Figures of wild cattle, bison, and elk are unique to the earlier petroglyphs of the Taurus Range and become extinct in the rock art of later periods. However, not all rock art listed in this section follows this scheme. The existence of smaller, schematized animal figures at Tırşin and the

so-called cavalrymen figures at Atatürk Barajı is further proof that a more nuanced evaluation is needed in terms of the dating of these petroglyphs.

The Upper Paleolithic- Neolithic Petroglyphs are chronologically succeeded by the red-pictograph tradition of the Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic. This transition represents a significant break in technique, style, and content coherent with the change Neolithic way of life imposed on the rock art-producing communities' subsistence, social organization, and symbolic world. As opposed to the prominent animal depictions of the earlier tradition, the main subject of red pictographs is humans and their relation to the broader community. The epitome of this group is the Latmos pictographs which, thanks to the diligent work of Peschlow-Bindokat, has been used as the primary reference for stylistic comparisons elsewhere in Anatolia. Her work emphasizes the uniqueness of Latmos pictographs and how they compromise a distinct, homogenous group in their style and content. However, this study has been beneficial in presenting that Latmos pictographs are not unique but part of a far-reaching culture with two primary zones in Western Anatolia and Van. The pictographs' proximity to water resources and the mountain peak, which Peschlow assumed to be the seat of a rain/ weather God, led her to conclude that rock art production was related to a fertility ritual. Peschlow believes the emergence of weather/rain-related mountain gods resulted from the transformation in ritual imagery that came with the settled, agricultural way of life during the Neolithic Period. As the livelihood became more and more dependent on the weather conditions and the precipitation, the cultic imagery once revolved around wild animals, and male representation got increasingly focused on weather/rain and female representations (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005, p.49). The prominence of the female figures and male-female couples led Peschlow-Bindokat to consider rock art

production as the outcome of a ritual activity related to the notion of fertility and the continuity of the family in the form of marriage ceremonies, rites of passage, or spring festivals. This interpretation has been widely accepted and employed elsewhere by other researchers for the other red pictographs in Anatolia.

Peschlow's dating of Latmos to the second half of the 6th millennium BC is again used as a reference to the date of the other pictographs. This dating is supported by stylistic parallels to other decorated media from the Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic contexts. The ibex pictographs, in general, strongly resemble the ones painted on Halaf pottery. The steatopygic female forms are closely similar to the female figurines of Çatalhöyük and Hacılar (Belli, 2007; M. Şahin, 2018). Handprints of Latmos, Çine-Sağlık, Çine-Madran, Doğusandal, and Kanlıtaş are similar to the ones painted on the so-called Shrine VIII-B in Çatalhöyük (Kaycı et al., 2020). Some of the handprints in Kanlıtaş and Latmos lacking forefingers are similar to a 4-fingered hand motif painted on Hacılar pottery. The geometric decorations, mainly woven patterns, V-shaped designs, cross motifs, and wavy and diagonal lines, are similar to those commonly found on Early Chalcolithic Hacılar pottery (Şahin, 2018, p. 173).

The technique used in Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic red pictographs is painting. All pictographs of Anatolia are painted with shades of red pigments obtained by combining ochre with different proportions of charcoal. After the minerals were crushed into dust, they were combined with a binding liquid and applied directly onto the rock surface with fingertips of brushes made of animal hair (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.34). In other contexts, worldwide, materials such as egg whites, animal fat, blood, and urine were suggested as possible binding agents. As the binding liquid is likely to be organic, it is possible to date even the non-

charcoal pigmented pictographs by carbon testing. However, the required sample size enforces an AMS carbon testing method (Steelman & Rowe, 2012), and there has yet to be an effort for Anatolian pictographs. Except for Deraser- Yazılı Cave, where one of the production phases consists exclusively of black figures, other colors are sporadic. When they are applied, other colors are used to highlight a distinct motif with particular importance, as in the so-called "shaman" figure in İnkaya Cave. In addition to ochre, black pigments are used in Baltalıin, İnkaya, Deraser-Yazılı, and Doğusandal; yellow is used in İnkaya, Balıktaş (Latmos) and Tavabaşı; purple is used in Kanlıtaş, and white paint is used in Pagan (Yeşilalıç).

The schematic style prevails over the naturalistic depictions in LN-EC red pictographs of Anatolia. The few naturalistic depictions are found in Göktepe and Balıktaş rock shelters in Latmos, Kızların (Put) Cave 1, and the first production phase of Kızların (Put) Cave 2 (Belli, 1975; Belli 2007 and Peschlow-Bindokat 2006). The superimposition and the use of different shades suggest that the naturalistic style precedes the schematic. The bodily proportions and depth perception is preserved in the naturalistic style. The heads are circular, and especially in female representations, the body is volumetric. In contrast, the schematic style involves abstracting the body into simpler, stylized forms. In Latmos, the most distinctive aspect of the schematic style is the zigzag and T-shaped heads (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.36). In some zigzag-heads, the ends of the zigzags are smoothened, and Peschlow resembles them to the "eye idols" from Tel Brak in Syria or Iberian rock art. Whether this schematization is meant to represent different hairstyles or special headdresses reserved for individuals with a significant status is hard to determine (Peschloe-Bindokat, 2006, p.41). T-shaped heads appear in Keçemağara (Kahramanmaraş), Arslanlı (Mersin), and Baltalıin (Balıkesir) Caves.

Another defining feature of the schematic style is the steatopygic female bodies. The volumetric, exaggerated buttocks of the female forms resembling the female figurines from Hacılar and Çatalhöyük led researchers to associate the pictographs with fertility. Even so, Belli interpreted such female figures in Kızların Cave 1 and 2 as "mother-goddess" (Belli, 1975; 2007). In Latmos and pictographs of the Van Region, female figures predominantly outnumber the males and have more variety in their postures. They are depicted frontally and from the profile in standing, sitting, kneeling, dancing, and praying poses. Certain female motifs, such as "The Dancing Goddess" with an S-shaped belly, "Goddess Standing on an Animal," and the so-called "Mother Goddess" exclusively appear in the Van region. Some female figures in Latmos and Deraser-Yazılı are shown wearing clothing with elaborate woven patterns. It seems there existed a consensus on an abstract template for both male and female representations. The male figures resemble simple "stick-man" figures and are always frontally depicted. Besides a few exceptions, which presumably represent the status of the individual, clothing is absent. They are characterized by strong, prolonged arms and legs. The most common posture is arms bent upwards from the elbows. Such male figures appear in Kızların Cave 1, Akyapı, Doğusandal 1, Tavabaşı, and İnkaya Caves. It seems this kind of stylization evolved out of an earlier style where the human form is represented as cruciform in Epipaleolithic- Neolithic pictographs of Beldibi, Hayıtlıgöl, and Sarıçınar. Likewise, the steatopygic female bodies, the exaggerated, erect phalli of the male figures in Kızların Cave 1, Keçemağara, Alakapı, Arslanlı, and Beldibi/Kumbucağı contributed to the contention that the pictographs were painted as a part of a fertility-related ritual.

The Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic red pictographs present a significant departure from the earlier petroglyphs regarding their theme. In contrast to the earlier petroglyphs, in which the focus is on animals and hunting scenes, in pictographs, the emphasis is on human representations and their social relations. Although animals are still depicted, especially in the Van region, they appear as a secondary element to the composition. Only in Kürtünini, and Çapanuk Tepesi, there exist panels consisting exclusively of animal figures. This theme change likely reflects the change in how humans related to animals and with each other with the Neolithic way of life. With increased subsistence based on agriculture and animal husbandry, the dominance over wild animals as a theme lost its importance. Animals started to appear as background "props" to the daily life scenes. On the other hand, social cohesion among the community members gained importance. Crowded scenes represent humans while they engage in group activities such as in Deraser-Yazılı, Çine-Sağlık, Ikizada (Latmos) and Göktepe (Latmos) and Akyapı. In Latmos, the most common motif is the so-called "male-female couple." The motif consists of a female figure facing the male and a male figure hugging the female in return. In Çine-Sağlık and Inkaya, the male-female couple is again the most central motif. This particular emphasis given to male-female couples is the primary basis for Peschlow's theory on rock art production as a ritual activity related to fertility, marriage, and the continuity of the family. Although in fewer numbers, there are trios consisting of symmetrically placed "female-male-females," quartets of "female-male-female-females," and even in smaller numbers, "female-female" couples (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006). In Inkaya and Kavalan (Latmos), a zigzag line is drawn above the human figures to indicate they belong to the same "group."

The placement of pictographs within the panels, the utilization of the naturally weathered surfaces, and the superimposition of the figures indicate a conscious effort to construct a narrative. In Göktepe (Latmos) and İnkaya, the painters took advantage of the natural niches and cracks caused by tafoni and used them as registers to tell different scenes of a story (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, p.33). In Keçemağara, the artist created their own registers with two dotted lines to present a "life story" in between (Yaman, 2019, p.19). If the story-telling and narrative construction is taken as a conscious effort, then superimposition would indicate individuals' desire to have their own addition to those stories painted by those who came before them. In Deraser-Yazılı, the smaller red pictographs are in a dialogue with the earlier black figures. Some of the black figures are "restored" with red paint, and in one case, the painter added a red bird figure resting on the back of a black quadruped. In Pagan (Yeşilalıç), Uyanık realized that the thickness of the paint suggested restoration over time. Likewise, in Kızların Cave 2 and Doğusandal, superimposition indicated constant engagement with the site as a place-making mechanism over generations.

Many researchers (Solecki, 1964; Belli, 2007; Korkut et al., 2015; Kaycı et al., 2020) noticed the resemblance between the pictographs and the indoor murals of Çatalhöyük, Norşuntepe, and Aslantepe. Çatalhöyük murals present both red and polychrome figurative scenes as well as textile-pattern-like geometric shapes similar to the woven patterns, V-shapes, meanders, and zigzags of Anatolian pictographs. Some of the Çatalhöyük "hunting scenes" are more similar to the early petroglyphs of the Taurus range in terms of their composition, where numerous smaller human figures surround a central, big-figured, realistic animal. However, in terms of technique, they are closer to the red pictographs. Also, there exist "dancing scenes"

at Çatalhöyük wall paintings that emphasize the communal relations and social cohesion within the group, parallel to the central theme of the red pictographs. A particular interpretation of the birds of prey/vulture figures by Mellaart and Matthews as shamans dressed as birds (Sagona & Zimansky, 2009, p.92) is also a recurrent theme in the pictographs of Keçemağara, Karadere (Latmos), and Inkaya. The hand paintings and stencils in the Çatalhöyük wall paintings have their counterparts in Latmos, Çine-Sağlık, Çine-Madran, Kanlıtaş, Doğusandal 1 and 4, and Ödemiş-Konaklı. Lastly, Peschlow-Bindokat's interpretation of the 13 T-shaped males in Karadere, the so-called "Latmos Pantheon," as the personifications of the 13 mountain peaks is inspired by the idea that landscape itself can be the subject of wall/rock art as presented in the famous settlement plan/map from Çatalhöyük.

During the Late Pottery Neolithic, the wall paintings of Çatalhöyük disappeared as if the symbolism they carried was transferred to other decorated media such as pottery, clay figurines, or textiles. However, similar wall paintings appeared in Late Chalcolithic Southeastern Anatolia. In Norşuntepe VIII, a red and black stylized animal was painted within a niche from a domestic context (Mellink, 1973, p.177), and a male figure with outstretched arms was found on the Temple B of Arslantepe VIA (Sagona & Zimansky, 2009, p.160). After 6500 BC, the abandonment of large population centers, such as Çatalhöyük, for the sake of numerous small settlements in the Lakes Region led to the spread of the Neolithic way of life to Western Anatolia. Perhaps the wall painting tradition traveled to Western Anatolia and the Taurus Range with a similar mechanism and again changed its medium, this time the canvas being the rock surface. When the recurrent themes of fertility, continuity of the family, and group identity are considered together with the growing household autonomy, rock shelters and caves containing

pictographs may indeed be places where members of the kin groups would visit and add to their family narrative on certain occasions such as marriage ceremonies, rites of passages or spring festivals as Peschlow-Bindokat suggested. Handprints and stencils as powerful manifestations of personhood would make sense within this explanation. Although it would be simplistic to think that this pattern applies to all pictographs of Anatolia, it is a theory to be considered.

Another theory to consider for the function and meaning of the Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic pictographs is the possibility of rock art production as the outcome of shamanistic rituals. Although it is not possible to come up with a grand theory of shamanism concerning Anatolian rock art, it would not be wrong to assume some of it, especially the red pictographs of Western Anatolia, has shamanistic features. Although shamanistic practices vary in different cultures, common elements such as the "authorized" shaman, who is the main mediator between the natural and supernatural realms on behalf of the rest of the community, the trance-state induced either by mind-altering substances or rhythmic dancing, use of spirit animals and liminal ritual spaces that act as a threshold to another world, such as hard-to-reach caves or rock shelters are enough to define an umbrella term of shamanism (Kolankaya-Bostancı, 2014; Lewis-Williams 2012). It is possible to trace these elements within the Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic red pictographs of Western Anatolia. Shamans interact with the supernatural realm through the help and guidance of spirit animals. In often cases, shamans themselves "transform" into these spirit animals during the trance in order "to gain help or knowledge for healing, manipulating the weather, divinations, ensuring successful hunts or other important activities such as ensuring fertility" (Kolankaya Bostancı, 2014, p. 185-6). Ethnographic and iconographic evidence indicates this process of transformation

involves dressing in animal costumes or special headdresses resembling animals' horns or antlers. These types of special costumes and headdresses represented in rock art indicate rock art production as a shamanistic activity. In İnkaya, one of the anthropomorphic figures is differentiated from the rest both in the use of yellow pigments and its costume (Şahin, 2018, p.172). This particular individual must have been holding a different status than the other anthropomorphic figures, and considering the special dress or costume, it is possible that the figure represented a shaman. In Keçemağara, one of the T-shaped abstract anthropomorphic figures is shown wearing such a special dress (Yaman, 2019, p.23, Fig.4). The dress resembles bird wings which is consistent with the shamanistic concept of "taking flight." Again in Keçemağara, one of the naturalistic anthropomorphic figures has a prominent extension which Yaman had previously interpreted as an exaggerated phallus indicating possible implications of the concept of fertility. However, this extension may also be the "tail" of an animal costume in which a shaman dressed to transform into a spirit animal. A similar figure appears in Arslanlı Cave. Likewise, Yaman's interpretation, the Arslanlı schematic human has been interpreted as holding his erect phallus by Kaycı et al. (2020, p.132). Here in Arslanlı, the oval headdress this figure wears, which resembles the antler of a deer, further implies shamanistic activity. Special headdresses that resemble antlers and horns are also present in the Karadere rock shelter at Latmos. Although Peschlow-Bindokat favors an interpretation of the 13 T-shaped headed figures as a "Latmos Pantheon" consisting of the personification of the 13 mountain peaks in the form of theriomorph mountain gods, she as well considers shamanism as a possible theory (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, pp.64-71).

The third group examined in this study is the petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia. The most problematic aspect of this group is that the main camp of

researchers who studied the rock art of this region is primarily concerned with proving the Turkic existence in Anatolia prior to the Battle of Manzikert (1071 AD). Therefore, even in the lack of direct evidence, they tend to assign "Turkic features" to the petroglyphs, associating them with hypothetical "Proto-Turks" and offer disjointedly early dates, which in some cases go as far as the Middle Bronze Age. Even if stylistic parallels are proven with Central Asia, it does not establish a direct link with the modern Turkish population and the rock art producers. This political bias prohibits the proper scientific analysis of the petroglyphs. It is indeed accurate that most of the later petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia express parallels with Central Asian and Iranian rock art in terms of style, technique, and the repertoire of the motifs. Linearly stylized small ibex figures, deer figures with exaggerated antlers, "the tree of life," "the cavalrymen," and "runic writing" in the Northeastern Anatolian petroglyphs are comparable to Central Asian rock art. However, mere stylistic analysis and subtle references to Central Asian mythology without further proof are inadequate to establish a direct link. This kind of shortcoming is evident in N. Ceylan's (2014) evaluation of the panel at Yağlıca Kalesi (Kars), where she claims the central snake figure is indicative of Central Asian origin just because snakes are included in the 12-animals Turkic calendar and A. Ceylan's (2018) interpretation of a composite creature from Çiçekli (Kars) as a "Sigun" from Central Asian mythology without further proof. Sevindi and Tavukçu's (2013) dating of the petroglyphs of Şirvaz Kalesi to the 4th century BC Proto-Turks is another example of this political bias. For these reasons, the literature on the later northwestern petroglyphs of Anatolia should be critically assessed, and more research is required before assigning these petroglyphs to a particular ethnic group or a period.

An alternative to the nationalistic school is the work of O. Belli, who studied both the petroglyphs and pictographs of Eastern Anatolia. Belli, who specialized in the Urartu, became interested in rock art only as a secondary interest, yet his work remains the reference guide for this region. As opposed to the aforementioned camp, Belli tends to offer dates as early as the Epipaleolithic/ Neolithic, even in cases where the cavalryman figures suggest a period after the widespread practice of horseback riding. Also, his misinterpretation of the inscription at Çallı-Geyiklitepe (Kars) as Armenian (Belli, 2006, p.187) indicates his work as well has to be re-evaluated. Therefore, the literature on the northeastern petroglyphs of Anatolia has to be revised for more reliable dating.

I offer that the inscriptions identified as "runic writing," the cavalryman" figure, and the graffiti on architectural features may be used as criteria to date these later petroglyphs. Five of the sites in Northeastern Anatolia, namely Dilli Vadisi, Karayazı-Cunni Cave, Şirvaz Kalesi (Şenkaya/Kaynak), Çallı Geyiklitepe and Digor Dolaylı contain inscriptions vaguely labeled as "runic writing" by their original researchers. In addition, some of the petroglyphs and graffiti listed in the fourth (Other Petroglyphs) group of this research, namely Güdül (Asmalı Yatak), Kozağacı-Çağman, Bozkurt, Kümbet, Taşeli Beleni- Körcoluk present similar inscriptions. Although some of these inscriptions may be later additions to the panels, written evidence constitutes the most solid base for dating in the lack of clearly associated archaeological deposits. However, the identification of the inscriptions is problematic as the people who attempted to decipher the inscriptions, such as C. Saltaoğlu, are not Turkologists or linguists. Without an established scientific community that can peer review their transcriptions, we are left with no choice but to rely on them. Saltaoğlu deciphered the inscriptions at Çallı-Geyiklitepe, which were

previously misidentified as Armenian by Belli, to be a hunting-healing prayer in the Oghuz-Kıpchak dialect of Turkish. If his transcription is taken for granted, then the second production phase at the panel can be dated to the 11th century AD at the earliest. This dating is significant as it can be a reference point to date other stylistically similar rock art. Saltaoğlu claimed to have deciphered the Kozağacı-Çağman inscriptions as "Ulug Ab" (Grand Hunt) in the Dodurga dialect of Turkish and dated the petroglyphs to the 6th-9th centuries AD. Even if the Dodurga dialect assumption is accepted, it was not before the 16th century AD that Dodurga's name started to appear in Anatolian Sanjacks outside of northeastern Anatolia (Sümer, 1994, p. 486). Somuncuoğlu, likewise, claimed to identify the inscriptions in Güdül as "Western Turkic Runic Writing ."Even without the proper transcription, these inscriptions can be dated to the aftermath of the Seljuk conquest of Anatolia in the 11th century AD at the earliest. Despite all these problems, the inscriptions can be a solid base for dating, given that they are examined by scholars who actually can read them.

The "tamga" figures, the seals of Turkic clans, can be employed in discussions on dating similarly to the inscriptions. Like the inscriptions, tamgas' analysis requires further scholarly research. Tamga motifs have been identified in Cunni Cave, Dilli Vadisi, Şirvaz Kalesi, Mesudiye-Eastlı, Güdül (Asmalıyatak), Taşeli Beleni-Körcoluk, Kozağacı-Çağman petroglyphs and in the graffiti on Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi and Seljukid Kümbet in Eskişehir. Although these researchers' tendency to identify any geometric decoration as a Turkic seal should be critically assessed, some of these tamgas in Cunni, Güdül, and Dilli are securely identified.

Another significant component for dating is the "Cavalryman" (or the Horseman), which is the most defining figure of the Northeastern repertoire. Twenty-

one out of the 91 sites listed in this study contain at least one cavalryman figure, and they are all exclusively petroglyphs. 12 of these 21 sites are located in Northeastern Anatolia, and seven additional sites from other regions are stylistically parallel with the Northeastern petroglyphs. The figure is composed of a domesticated horse, often depicted with a harness and gear, and a human on top of the animal. In some cases, the "warrior" riding the horse is portrayed bearing weaponry such as spears, bows, and arrows. They predominantly appear in hunting scenes alongside infantry/ warrior figures, although few examples exist of this motif's use to create conflict/war scenes. The cavalryman motif is significant for dating as the appearance of horseback riding can serve as a terminus ante quem. For a particular figure to become a recognizable motif in a culture's symbolic world, the concept must be familiar and widespread enough. On this assumption, the cavalryman motif postdates the widespread practice of horseback riding. Librado et al. (2021) researched the origin and spread of the domesticated horse by analyzing horse remains from Iberia, Anatolia, Western Eurasia, and Central Asia from secure contexts dating between 44426 to 202 BC. Research on the genome revealed an increased frequency of a particular gene, GSDMC, associated with phenotypic characteristics suitable for horseback riding around the late third millennium BC in Western Eurasia (Librado et al., 2021, p. 636). This human-induced genetic selection became widespread in Anatolia from approximately 2200 to 2000 BC, consistent with the emergence of equestrian material culture and iconography. Likely, the spread of domestic horses as a high-value commodity and status symbol was induced by the trade demands of the Bronze Age ruling elite (Librado et al., 2021, p. 638). Therefore, we can dismiss any dating prior to the Middle Bronze Age for the panels containing a cavalryman figure. This applies to the Atatürk Barajı petroglyphs, which Alkan dated to the Epipaleolithic

(Arkeofili, 2018), and Alok's dating of the petroglyphs of Mount Başet to the Chalcolithic (Alok, 1988, p.9).

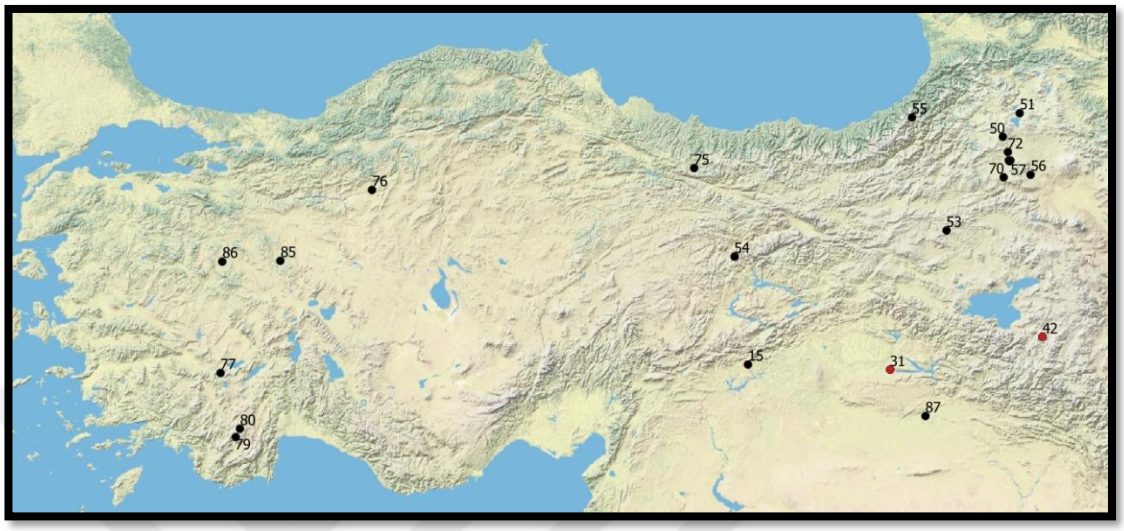

Figure 101. Spatial Distribution of the Cavalryman Figures (Red Represents Pictogaphs and Black Represents Petroglyphs)

On the other hand, the cavalrymen figure may appear on panels with earlier dates due to repeated use of the panel through multiple production phases. Therefore, before dismissing earlier dates, such as Belli's dating of the Borluk petroglyphs to 12.000 BC (Belli, 2010, p.81), the panels should be examined for superimposition and stylistically different elements. Another thing to note is that a particular motif, "God/Goddess Standing on an Animal," common in the Southeastern pictographs of Anatolia, can potentially be mistaken for a cavalryman. Soydan and Korkmaz are likely to misidentify such a figure in Deraser-Yazılı Cave (Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013, p.674). The so-called "cavalryman" of Deraser-Yazılı is much more similar to the "goddess on top of an animal" from Kızların Cave. In a particular version of the cavalrymen, the rider is depicted turning in the opposite direction in his saddle to shoot an arrow backward. Examples of this figure are found in Digor- Dolaylı, Dilli

Vadisi, and Kozağacı-Çağman. The pose is the depiction of a military tactic that allows one to attack at the same time galloping away from the enemy. Although Mert interpreted this motif as a tamga of the Avar clan (Mert, 2007, p.242), the pose is well-known as the "Parthian Shot" in international literature thanks to Plutarch's description of its role in the Roman defeat in the Battle of Carrhae (53 BC) (Colburn, 2021, p.35). Since then, it has been associated with many different Asian, mostly nomadic, cultures. However, a recent work by Belis and Colburn (2020) on an Urartian bronze belt mounted with several "Parthian Shooter" figures suggests the motif can be traced as early as the second half of the 8th century BCE (Belis & Colburn, 2020, p. 198). Therefore, dating a panel based on the "Parthian Shooter" figure or associating it with an ethnic group without further proof is problematic.

The dominant theme in Northeastern petroglyphs and their stylistic counterparts elsewhere in Anatolia is hunting and herding. Hunting Scenes, which constitute the central theme of the Epipaleolithic/ Neolithic petroglyphs of the Taurus range, continue into the later petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia. The main differences between these groups are the style and the species represented. In contrast to the big-figured naturalistic animals of the earlier tradition, the Northeastern Petroglyphs are smaller and more stylized. The composition of the scenes is also significantly different. In the earlier Taurus group, the visual focus is the game animal, and the smaller hunter figures appear as secondary elements. In contrast, the hunting scenes of the northeastern petroglyphs contain equally sized humans and animals organized into a composition that would create a narrative. The narrative is enabled by the sense of movement and the direction of the figures. In Başköy petroglyphs, the direction creates a sense of movement as if the hunters chase the animals. Trap scenes and drive-hunts known from Sinek Çayı (Diyarbakır)

also exist in the Northeastern group, in Tunçkaya, Çallı-Geyiklitepe, Kurbanağa, Dereiçi, Doyumlu, and Digor-Dolaylı. Another major difference between these two groups concerns the species represented. Although ibex remains the most represented species in Anatolia for any given period, elk and bovines such as wild cattle and bison disappeared after the Epipaleolithic- Neolithic petroglyphs. Belli believes these species became extinct at the end of the Chalcolithic period due to overhunting (Belli, 2006, p. 176). In the later petroglyphs, alongside the ibex, deer are depicted in large numbers, followed by horses and dogs. In smaller numbers, there are gazelles, birds, foxes, snakes, fish, wolfs, and 2 cases of camels in Çallı and Cerrah.

The Northeastern Style appears elsewhere in Anatolia, outside of its primary center. Most of these petroglyphs listed as "other petroglyphs" in the 4th group are similar to the Northeastern petroglyphs in style, technique, and vocabulary. Therefore, it is not wrong to consider the fourth group as the extension of the Northeastern rock art culture to the other parts of Anatolia. The presumption that pastoral nomadic Turkic clans carved the most Northeastern petroglyphs sometime after the 11th century AD further makes sense when the distribution of other petroglyphs in other parts of Anatolia is examined. These petroglyphs tend to cluster in highlands of the Taurus range, particularly in Burdur, Denizli, and Antalya, which has been used as summer pastures by the pastoral nomadic Turkoman tribes up until today. The dominant pastoral theme of these petroglyphs, depicting herds of sheep and goats without significant reference to hunting, indicates scenes related to animal husbandry, a theme consistent with our hypothesis. Such scenes exist in Yankıtaşı, Baynaz Tepe, Kümbet Pınarı, Seydikemer, and Elmalı. Even so, Özsait believes the artists who carved the petroglyph of Yankıtaşı were Turkoman shepherds grazing their herds.

Some of the sites listed in the "other petroglyphs" sections are not petroglyphs proper but graffiti carved on the pre-existing architectural features. Those include the graffiti on the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, the graffiti on the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi, the graffiti on the Seljukid Kümbet at Kümbet Village, graffiti carved on the Byzantine frescoes of Gümüşler monastery, Kozağacı-Çağman petroglyphs executed on a Roman stela, Yankı Taşı petroglyphs carved on the outer façade of a Roman tomb. As they bear a strong resemblance to the petroglyphs in terms of their execution and content, they should be studied with the rest of the Anatolian petroglyphs. Another reason for including this graffiti in rock art research is that the architectural features they are carved on may serve as terminus ante quem. Therefore, they constitute a reference point for Northeastern petroglyphs whose dating is particularly problematic for reasons mentioned before. Secure historical evidence ties the graffiti on the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi to Çavdar Tatars, and the Seljukid Kümbet in Eskişehir is known to be built in the 13th century AD. Therefore, the later petroglyphs of Anatolia may be of "Turkic origin ."However, they certainly date to a much later period than A. Ceylan and his students suggested. For a more nuanced discussion, more comprehensive research that compares Central Asian and Iranian rock art to Anatolian petroglyphs is required.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to bring together all the existing fragmentary and regional knowledge on the rock art of Anatolia into a single corpus for the use of future researchers. Through a detailed literature review, Anatolian rock art is examined for its location, dating, technique, style, and themes, and a comprehensive database is created. This effort proved beneficial for recognizing spatial and temporal trends in Anatolia's rock art traditions. Based on stylistic analysis, this study proposes a classification for studying rock art: (1) The Upper Paleolithic to Early Neolithic Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range, (2) The Red-Pictographs of the Late Neolithic-Early Chalcolithic, (3) The Petroglyphs of the Northeastern Anatolia that date to the historical times and (4) Petroglyphs and graffiti elsewhere in Anatolia that is stylistically parallel to the Northeastern Petroglyphs. While this categorization fails to deal with the complexities of specific sites, categorization was needed to patch together a large number of fragmentary data.

The first category examined was the "Paleolithic-Early Neolithic Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range," which sets the earliest evidence for rock art in Turkey. They are characterized by the prominence of big-figure wild game animals parallel to the Upper Paleolithic European rock art. Human figures appear as subsidiary elements to the hunting scenes. The prevalent hunting theme led previous researchers to employ a hunting-magic theory. It is impotant to note that a hunting magic theory does not

exlude a shamanistic explanation. The ethnographic evidence suggest, shamans perform rituals for a successful hunt or for an increase in the fertility among the herds of game animals. These rituals may include transformation into a spirit animal which is often a non-edible, dangerous specie. Parallel to the iconography of the pre-pottery Neolithic B site of Göbeklitepe, predators, snakes and birds are common spirit animals (Yakar, 2009; Kolankaya-Bostancı, 2014). The distribution and density maps presented in this study revealed a cluster of birds, often associated with taking flight or with the upper realm/sky, and snakes, often associated with the lower realm/underground around southeastern Turkey. Birds and snakes concentrated in the early petroglyhps of the Taurus range are indicative of possible shamanistic function of these rock art sites. An alternative interpretation is that by their proximity to water resources where animals might have gathered, these petroglyphs served as nodes within a network of information about the game animals, constituting an essential role in these communities' subsistence. The sites listed in this group do not exhibit uniformity regarding access. Two primary locations, Antalya in Middle Taurus and Van-Hakkari in the Southeastern Taurus, stand out as centers for this group. The dating petroglyphs of Karain and Öküzini caves in Antalya are more reliable than the ones in Southeastern Anatolia as the caves were systematically excavated. Yet, they are broadly dated to the "Upper Paleolithic." The multiple production phases in the Southeastern Taurus further complicate the problem of dating.

Besides three closely located rock shelters in Antalya, namely Beldibi/Kumbucağı, Sarıçınar, and Hayıtlıgöl, all other red-pictograph sites in Anatolia are dated to the Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic. Their dating is mostly based on stylistic analogies to Latmos pictographs. The change in the primary manufacturing technique from the petroglyph to the pictograph is accompanied by an

ideological shift in the worldview of rock art producers, as evident in the decreased number of animal figures and the prominence of human representations. Although animals continue to be represented in the red-pictograph tradition, depictions of big-figured wild game are replaced by smaller, stylized domesticates. The main emphasis in red pictographs is on humans and their social relations. Crowded festivity and dancing scenes and female representations appear with increased frequency in this group. Human forms are highly stylized with zigzag or T-shaped heads, males resembling stick-mans and females figurines from Çatalhöyük and Hacılar. The majority of sites listed in this group being hard-to-access rock shelters and caves allows for an interpretation that they were meant to be hidden and reserved for a smaller group who presumably visited the sites on certain occasions. It is possible that these rock art sites were utilized as aggragation sites that hosted festive/ ritual events such as celebrations of the cyclical regeneration of the nature and humans, spring festivals, marriage ceremonies and rites of passages. Similar to the hunting magic explanation of the previous cetagory, the dominant social theme of the red-pictographs does not exclude a shamanistic explaantion as well. The lack of hunting imagery combined with the anthropomorphic figures with “special” headdresses and costumes resembling animals, significant clustering of dancing scenes in red-pictograph sites are all indicative of shamanistic rituals. It is possible that the small, restricted group who held the right to visit these rock shelters and caves were the shamans of different groups, gathering on festive occasions to perform the rites on behalf of the rest of the community, and by doing so, to ensure social cohesion and exchange among different groups (Kolankaya-Bostancı, 2014, p.187).

The third proposed category is the "Petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia," concentrated around Kars-Erzurum. This group consists of closely located

petroglyphs that present uniformity in their execution and style. Their dating is somewhat problematic as these petroglyphs exhibit features found in the repertoire of Central Asian rock art, which led a certain camp of researchers to associate them with the migration of the Turkic clans into Anatolia while dating the petroglyphs to incoherently early dates in comes cases as early as the Middle Bronze Age, hinting at a political bias. While the claims on the Central Asian relations are consistent with the style and vocabulary of these petroglyphs, such as the cavalryman and tamga motifs and "runic inscriptions," Northeastern petroglyphs likely date to a much later period than A. Ceylan and his colleagues suggested.

The fourth proposed category covers petroglyphs elsewhere in Anatolia that are stylistically parallel to the Northeastern petroglyphs, as well as sites that are hard to fit into any other aforementioned class. Some petroglyphs similar to the Northeastern style are carved on architectural features, which may constitute a reference point for dating. Graffiti on the Seljukid Kümbet at Eskişehir and the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi is securely dated at least to the 13th century AD, supporting my proposition for historical dates for the Northeastern petroglyphs.

Rock art of Anatolia remains a relatively unexplored field, particularly because of the challenges of dating in the lack of clearly associated archaeological deposits. This study tried to overcome some of these challenges by comparative stylistic analysis and identified trends regarding Anatolian rock art's spatial and temporal distribution. Based on these trends, possible expalantions on the function and meaning of Anatolian rock art are offered. The early petroglyphs of the Taurus range are likely to be related to shamanistic hunting rituals, marking prominent hunting ground and routes or information sharing on vital sources of subsistence. The red-pictographs of the Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolithic were reserved for

smaller groups, perhaps shamans or kinship groups, and were related to rituals ensuring social cohesion among group members or among different groups. The historical petroglyphs of Northeastern Anatolia, meant to be displayed for a wider community, likely functioned as markers of group identity or burial lands, establishing a link with the ancestors.

Although this work is restricted mainly to stylistic research, I hope future researchers will benefit from the data compiled here. The locational and attribute data gathered within this research would be particularly useful for a further study of the use of rock art locations as aggragation sites. Site catchment analysis and proximity based cost analysis of a rock art locality to its surrounding settlemets would potentially identify the patterns of aggragation, as well as the settlements most likely to be contemporary to the rock art; therefore offer an alternative dating method. If those candidate sites could be singled out, then other decorated media from these settlements can be subjected to stylistic analysis for a better understanding of Anatolian rock art.

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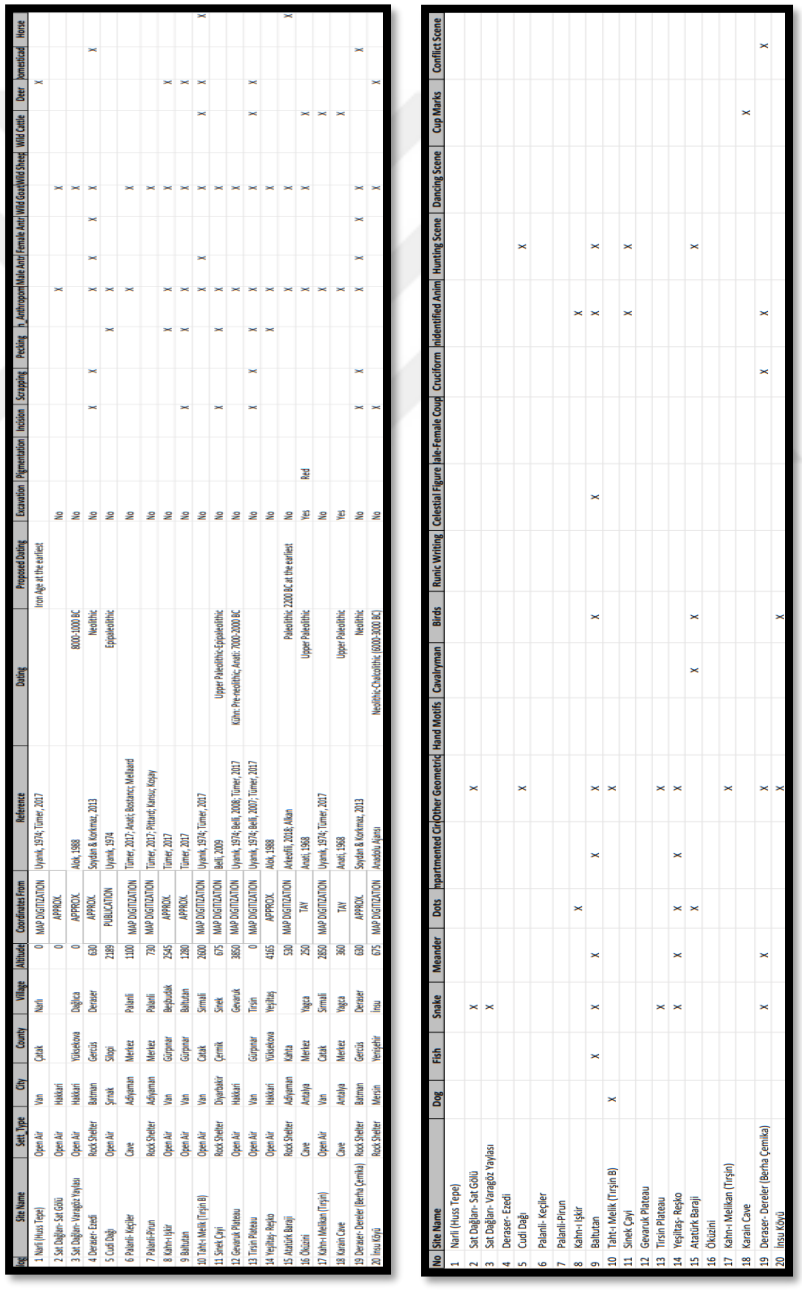
APPENDICES

A. ATTRIBUTE DATA OF THE LISTED ROCK ART SITES

Table 8. Attribute Data of the Upper Paleolithic – Early Neolithic Petroglyphs of the Taurus Range



No	Site Name	Dog	Fish	Snake	Meander	Dots	Inpartmented Grid	Other Geometric	Hand Motifs	Cavalryman	Birds	Runic Writing	Celestial Figure	Jale-Female Coup	Cruciform	Unidentified Animi	Hunting Scene	Dancing Scene	Cup Marks	Conflict Scene
1	Nairi (Huus Tepe)			X				X												
2	Sat Dağları- Sat Gölü			X																
3	Sat Dağları- Varagöz Yaylası																			
4	Derasen- Ezedi							X									X			
5	Cudi Dağı																			
6	Palanlı- Keçiler																			
7	Palanlı-Pirun																			
8	Kahn-i Işkır					X										X				
9	Baltutan		X	X	X		X		X		X					X	X			
10	Tahi-i Melik (Tirşin B)	X						X												
11	Sinek Çayi															X	X			
12	Gevarık Plateau																			
13	Tirsin Plateau			X			X													
14	Yeşiltaş- Reşko			X	X	X	X										X			
15	Atatürk Barajı					X				X	X									
16	Öküzini																			
17	Kahn-i Mellkan (Tirşin)							X												
18	Karain Cave																			
19	Derasen- Dereler (Berha Çemika)			X	X			X							X	X				X
20	Insu Köyü							X			X									

Table 9. Attribute Data of the Late Neolithic – Early Chalcolithic Red Pictographs

No	Site Name	City	County	Village	Altitude	Coordinates From	Reference	Dating	Proposed Dating	Excavation	Pigmentation	Incision	Scrapping	Pecking	h_Anthropom	Male Antro	Female Antr	Wild Goat/Wild Sheep	Wild Cattle	Deer	Domesticat	Horse
21	Kanlıtas	Manisa	Salihli	Yeni Sindel	382	APPROX.	Akdeniz, 2010; Ulusoy et. al, 2019	Bronze Age		No	Red and Purple Black											
22	Gevre Bihri (Hırkanis- Giyimli)	Van	Gürpınar	Giyimli	2400	MAP DIGITIZATION	Belli, 2003	Neolithic-Chalcolithic		No	Red				X							
23	Çine-Madran	Aydın	Çine	Toçcam	1015	APPROX.		Late neolithic-early chalcolithic		No	Red				X		X					
24	Balkayası	Eskişehir	Sivrihisar	Hisarönü	920	MAP DIGITIZATION	Türkcan, 2007	Late neolithic-early chalcolithic (5000 BC)		No	Red				X							X
25	Kurtunini	Konya	Seydişehir	Taşağıl	1115	APPROX.	Solecki, 1964	Neolithic		Yes	Black							X				
26	Doğu Sandal	Mersin	Erdemli	Sandal Deresi	240	MAP DIGITIZATION	Kıyıcı et. al, 2020	Neolithic		No	Red and Black				X	X						
27	Hayıtlı Göl	Antalya	Kemer	Beldibi	170	PUBLICATION	Bostancı, 1959	Epipaleolithic		No	Red											
28	Cine-Sağlık	Aydın	Çine	Sağlık	613	MAP DIGITIZATION	Atik	Chalcolithic		No	Red				X	X	X				X	
29	Yeşilsalkım Cave 1	Van	Gürpınar	Yeşilsalkım	2454	APPROX.	Belli, 2003	Neolithic-Chalcolithic		No	Red							X				
30	Keçemağarası	Kahramanmaraş	Elbistan	Keçemağara	1765	MAP DIGITIZATION	K. Kökten, Yaman, 2019		Epipaleolithic at the earliest-Chalcolithic the latest	Yes	Red				X	X						
31	Deraser-Yazili	Batman	Gercüs	Deraser	620	APPROX.	Soydan & Korkmaz, 2013	Neolithic		No	Red and Black	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X
32	Pagan (Yeşilalç)	Van	Özalp	Pagan	0	MAP DIGITIZATION	Uyanık, 1974; Tümer, 2017; Alek, 1988	Uyanık: Late neolithic, Tümer: 9th century BCE		No	White				X							
33	Kızlarin (Pul) Cave 1 - East Cave	Van	Gürpınar	Yeşilsalkım	2500	APPROX.	Tümer, 2017; Belli, 1975; Belli, 2007			No	Red				X	X	X	X		X		
34	Akyapi	Mersin	Gülnar	Ilıss (Avşar)	805	MAP DIGITIZATION	Gregner & Durukan, 2017	late neolithic-early chalcolithic		No	Red				X	X						
35	Kum Bucagi	Antalya	Kemer	Beldibi	30	TAY	Bostancı, 1959; Erdoğu, 2020	Paleolithic		Yes	Red				X	X		X	X	X		
36	Tavabasi	Muğla	Fethiye	Arsalıköy	900	MAP DIGITIZATION	Konut et. al, 2015	Middle Chalcolithic		Yes	Red, Yellow				X	X	X				X	
37	Inkaya	Balıkesir	Dursunbey	Delice	795	APPROX.	Şahin, 2018; Yalcıkl, 2018	Late neolithic-early chalcolithic		No	Red, Black				X	X	X					
38	Baltalilin	Balıkesir	Dursunbey	Delice	320	APPROX.	Şahin, 2018	Late neolithic-early chalcolithic		No	Red and Black				X	X		X		X		
39	Arslanli	Mersin	Erdemli	Alata	750	MAP DIGITIZATION	Kıyıcı et. al, 2020	Late neolithic-chalcolithic		No	Red				X	X	X	X		X		
40	Latmos	Muğla	Milas	Sakarkaya	760	MAP DIGITIZATION	Peschlow-Bindokat, 2005; 2006	Late neolithic-early chalcolithic		No	Dark Red and				X	X	X				X	
41	Sarıcınar	Antalya	Kemer	Beldibi	511	MAP DIGITIZATION	Bostancı, 1959	Epipaleolithic-Neolithic		No	Red		X		X			X				
42	Başet Dağı	Van	Gürpınar	Yeşilsalkım	3720	MAP DIGITIZATION	Alok, 1988	Alok: pictographs (4000-3000 BC), petroglyphs		No	Red			X	X	X		X				X
43	Çapanuk Tepesi	Van	Gürpınar	Yeşilsalkım	3050	MAP DIGITIZATION	Belli, 2003			No	Dark Red							X				
44	Aliger	Bitlis	Adilcevaz	Cemaletin	2493	APPROX.	Kılıç, 2020	Neolithic		No	Red				X		X		X	X		
45	Kızlarin (Pul) Cave 2 - West Cave	Van	Gürpınar	Yeşilsalkım	2482	MAP DIGITIZATION	Belli, 2007; Belli, 1975	two production phases btw neolithic-		No	Red and Dark				X	X	X			X		
46	Dogantas	Muş	Malazgirt	Dogantas	1658	MAP DIGITIZATION	Belli, 2014			No	Red				X							
47	Yeşilsalkım Cave 2	Van	Gürpınar	Yeşilsalkım	2476	MAP DIGITIZATION	Belli, 2003	Neolithic-Chalcolithic		No	Red							X				

No	Site Name	Dog	Fish	Snake	Meander	Dots	Inpartmented Cir	Other Geometric	Hand Motifs	Cavalryman	Birds	Runic Writing	Celestial Figure	Male-Female Coup	Cruciform	Indentified Anim	Hunting Scene	Dancing Scene	Cup Marks	Conflict Scene
21	Kanlitas					X		X	X										X	
22	Gevre Bihri (Hırkanis- Giyimli)							X					X							
23	Çine-Madran	X							X											
24	Balkayası																			
25	Kurtunini																			
26	Doğu Sandal			X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X			X	
27	Hayıtlı Göl						X	X							X					
28	Cine-Sağlık								X					X						
29	Yeşilsalkım Cave 1															X				
30	Keçemağarası					X		X							X	X				
31	Deraser-Yazili							X		X	X				X					X
32	Pagan (Yeşilalç)							X												
33	Kızlarin (Pul) Cave 1 - East Cave																			
34	Akyapi						X								X	X				
35	Kum Bucagi						X	X							X					
36	Tavabasi				X	X	X	X								X				
37	Inkaya		X					X			X			X					X	
38	Baltalilin				X	X		X							X					
39	Arslanli				X	X	X	X								X			X	
40	Latmos				X	X		X							X	X		X		
41	Sarıcınar							X								X				
42	Başet Dağı			X				X		X	X					X				
43	Çapanuk Tepesi																			
44	Aliger							X					X			X		X		
45	Kızlarin (Pul) Cave 2 - West Cave												X							
46	Dogantas															X				
47	Yeşilsalkım Cave 2															X				

Table 10. Attribute Data of the Northeastern Petroglyphs

No	Site Name	City	County	Village	Altitude	Coordinates from	Reference	Dating	Proposed Dating	Excavation	Pigmentation	Incision	Scrapping	Pecking	Anthropom	Male Anth	Female Anth	Wild Goat/Wild Sheep	Wild Cattle	Deer	Domesticated	Horse
48	Çiçekli (Çiçeklikaya)	Kars	Kağızman	Çiçekli	2003	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018; B. Bingöl, 2020	A. Ceylan: Turkic		No		X	X					X		X		
49	Çamuslu-Yazılıkaya	Kars	Kağızman	Çamuslu	3134	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018; Belli, 2010; Budak, 2014	Kültəən: middle-upper paleolithic; Belli: 15000-7000 BC		No					X			X			X	X
50	Doyumlu	Kars	Susuz	Doyumlu	1980	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018; Uzun, 2010; B. Bingöl, 2020		2200 BC at the earliest	No			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
51	Baskőy	Ardahan	Cildir	Damlıca-Baskőy Deresi	2225	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018			No		X	X		X			X				X
52	Senkaya - Kaynak (Sirvaz Kalesi)	Erzurum	Şenkaya	Çağlayan-Kaynak	2329	APPROX.	Özgül, 2015; Sevindi & Tavukçu, 2013	Özgül: Turkic; Sevindi & Tavukçu: 4th century BC	Historical	No		X	X					X		X		X
53	Karayazı-Cumi	Erzurum	Şenkaya	Çağlayan	2135	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018		11th century AD at the earliest	No		X			X			X				X
54	Dilli	Erzincan	Kemaliye	Eğin (Dilli)	1031	APPROX.				No			X	X	X			X		X		X
55	Demirkapı - Namazgah	Artvin	Arhavi	Arılı	2200	MAP DIGITIZATION	Özgül, 2021; Aytekin, 2020	early Turkic		No		X	X	X	X			X		X	X	X
56	Dığor Dolaylı	Kars	Digor	Dolaylı	1570	APPROX.	B. Bingöl, 2020	B. Bingöl: Bronze Age-Iron Age		No		X	X		X			X				
57	Borluk- Mağaracık Atakőy	Kars	Borluk	Atakőy	1910	MAP DIGITIZATION	Yardımcıel & Gülenci, 2016	MBA-LBA		No			X									
58	Tunçkaya	Kars	Kağızman	Tunçkaya	1996	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018; B. Bingöl, 2020			No		X	X					X		X		
59	Karaboncuk Çeşmebaşı	Kars	Kağızman	Karaboncuk	1835	APPROX.	B. Bingöl, 2020			No		X	X					X				
60	Çalli- Geyiklitepe	Kars	Kağızman	Şahan	2247	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018; Belli, 2006; Sahlaoğlu, 2018; B. Bingöl, 2020	A. Ceylan: Turkic; Belli: Neolithic	11th century AD	No		X						X		X		
61	Azat	Kars	Merkez	Azat	1830	APPROX.	Türker, 2017; Belli, 2006; B. Bingöl, 2020		Chalcolithic at the earliest	No			X	X	X			X	X	X	X	
62	Borluk- Köyaltı	Kars	Borluk	Atakőy	1875	MAP DIGITIZATION	Yardımcıel & Gülenci, 2016	MBA-LBA		No			X		X							
63	Borluk- İkisu	Kars	Borluk	Atakőy	1820	MAP DIGITIZATION	Yardımcıel & Gülenci, 2016	MBA-LBA		No			X					X				
64	Arı Alem Köyü	Kars	Digor	Alem	1340	APPROX.	Bradshaw Foundation			No			X	X	X	X		X		X		X
65	Katırekazanı	Kars	Azat	0	MAP DIGITIZATION	Yardımcıel & Gülenci, 2016; Belli, 2006	Belli: upper-paleolithic			No										X		
66	Karaboncuk	Kars	Kağızman	Karaboncuk	1812	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018; Belli, 2006; Belli, 2010	Belli: 10000 BC; A. Ceylan: Bronze Age	11th century AD	No		X	X	X				X			X	
67	Yağlıca Kalesi	Kars	Kağızman		2145	MAP DIGITIZATION	N. Ceylan, 2016	N. Ceylan: Bronze Age-Iron Age	11th century AD	No			X		X							
68	Çamuslu Kurbanağa	Kars	Kağızman	Çamuslu	1660	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018; Türker, 2017	Kültəən: upper paleolithic; A. Ceylan: Turkic		Yes		X		X				X				
69	Kozlu (Ağçar)	Kars	Kağızman	Ağçar	1820	APPROX.	Belli, 2012			No		X			X	X		X				
70	Bürkü'lü	Kars	Kağızman	Köseoğlu	2111	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018			No		X		X	X			X		X		X
71	Borluk-Kervan	Kars	Borluk	Azat	1832	MAP DIGITIZATION	Yardımcıel & Gülenci, 2016		3000 BC at the earliest	No		X	X		X			X		X	X	
72	Dereiçi	Kars	Merkez	Çamlık	1798	APPROX.	A. Ceylan, 2018	A. Ceylan: Turkic	11th century AD	No		X			X	X		X		X	X	X

No	Site Name	Dog	Fish	Snake	Meander	Dots	Squarmented Circ	Other Geometric	Hand Motifs	Carabhyman	Birds	Runic Writing	Celestial Figure	Male-Female Coup	Cruciform	Indentified Anim	Hunting Scene	Dancing Scene	Cup Marks	Conflict Scene
48	Çiçekli (Çiçeklikaya)																			
49	Çamuslu-Yazılıkaya																			
50	Doyumlu	X						X		X			X				X	X		
51	Baskőy	X								X							X			
52	Senkaya - Kaynak (Sirvaz Kalesi)	X						X			X	X	X							
53	Karayazı-Cumi							X				X								
54	Dilli	X	X	X	X	X				X			X				X			X
55	Demirkapı - Namazgah	X						X		X			X			X	X			
56	Dığor Dolaylı							X		X						X	X			
57	Borluk- Mağaracık Atakőy									X										
58	Tunçkaya							X												
59	Karaboncuk Çeşmebaşı																			
60	Çalli- Geyiklitepe	X						X			X	X					X			
61	Azat									X							X			
62	Borluk- Köyaltı							X		X										
63	Borluk - İkisu							X									X			
64	Arı Alem Köyü	X																		
65	Katırekazanı																			
66	Karaboncuk	X																		
67	Yağlıca Kalesi			X			X						X				X			
68	Çamuslu Kurbanağa																			
69	Kozlu (Ağçar)									X	X						X			
70	Bürkü'lü																			
71	Borluk-Kervan							X		X							X			
72	Dereiçi	X																		

Table 11. Attribute Data of the Other Petroglyphs

No	Site Name	City	County	Village	Altitude	Coordinates From	Reference	Dating	Proposed Dating	Excavation	Pigmentation	Incision	Scrapping	Pecking	h_Anthropom	Male Anim	Female Anim	Wild Goat	Wild Sheep	Wild Cattle	Deer	Domesticat	Horse
73 Gümüşlü	Niğde	Gümüşler	Efendibey	1370	PUBLICATION	Uyanık, 1974		Byzantine at the earliest	No	Red	X			X			X						
74 Seydikemer	Muğla	Seydikemer		1560	APPROX.	Gökçe & Aygün, 2020	6-8th century AD		Yes		X	X		X			X						
75 Mesudiye	Ordu	Mesudiye	Esatli	1350	APPROX.	Demir, 2009	1st-2nd century AD	Historical	No		X			X	X						X		X
76 Güdül (Asmalı Yatak)	Ankara	Güdül	Salihler	950	PUBLICATION	Aksoy, 2018	Aksoy: 3000 BC	Historical	No					X	X	X	X				X		X
77 Bozkurt	Denizli	Bozkurt	Inceler	1080	APPROX.	Gökçe & Eroğlu, 2020		Historical	No		X			X			X						
78 Serevdin	Bingöl	Karlıova		2250	APPROX.	Tiryaki, 2020	Epipaleolithic-Neolithic		No		X	X					X				X		
79 Elmalı	Antalya	Elmalı	Yörenler	1545	APPROX.	A. Ceylan & Aydın, 2021	LBA-Early Iron Age	Historical	No			X	X	X			X						X
80 Kozagacı (Cagman)	Antalya	Korkuteli	Kozagacı	1630	MAP DIGITIZATION	Çankaya, 2015; Saltaoğlu, 2019	Çankaya: early middle age; Saltaoğlu: 6-9th century AD	15th century AD at the earliest	No					X			X						X
81 Ödemiş Konaklı	İzmir	Ödemiş	Konaklı	390	MAP DIGITIZATION		Pictographic late neolithic-early chalcolithic	Petroglyphs: Historical	No	Red	X	X	X		X								
82 Gülnar Taşeli Beleni / Körcoluk	Mersin	Gülnar	Körcoluk	790	MAP DIGITIZATION	I. Şahin, 2012		Historical	No		X												
83 Yarımburgaz Cave	Istanbul	Başakşehir	Altınşehir	50	PUBLICATION	Kansu, 1963	Early Bronze Age		Yes	Red				X									
84 Kümbet Pınarı	Burdur	Yeşilova	Sazak	1346	MAP DIGITIZATION	Çankaya, 2015	Iron Age		No		X	X	X				X						
85 Kümbet Köyü Kümbeti	Eskişehir	Seyitgazi	Kümbet	1070	PUBLICATION	M. K. Şahin & Varis, 2017		Later than 13th century AD	No			X		X			X				X	X	X
86 Aizanoi Çavdarhisar	Kütahya	Çavdarhisar	Yukarı	1010	PUBLICATION	Beşazıt, 2014	13th century AD	13th century AD	Yes				X	X	X		X						X
87 Cerrah Petroglyphs	Şırnak	İdil	Kızıltaca	531	APPROX.	Diyarbakır Bölge Koruma Kurulu Karar			No		X	X		X			X					X	X
88 Baynaz Tepe	Burdur	Yeşilova	Başkuyu	1260	MAP DIGITIZATION	Çankaya, 2015			No								X						
89 Yanki Tasi	Burdur	Yeşilova	Alanköy	1100	APPROX.	Çankaya, 2015		Roman at the earliest	No		X						X						
90 Bayındır	İzmir	Bayındır	Çeniköy	300	MAP DIGITIZATION	Cilmiroğlu & Gürbüz, 2019	1500 BC-100 AD		No		X												

No	Site Name	Dog	Fish	Snake	Meander	Dots	Compartmented Cir	Other Geometric	Hand Motifs	Cavalryman	Birds	Runic Writing	Celestial Figure	Male-Female Coup	Cruciform	Unidentified Anim	Hunting Scene	Dancing Scene	Cup Marks	Conflict Scene
73	Gümüşlü																X			
74	Seydikemer							X								X				
75	Mesudiye		X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X				X			
76	Güdül (Asmalı Yatak)			X				X		X		X					X	X		
77	Bozkurt							X		X		X								
78	Serevdin							X												
79	Elmalı	X								X			X				X			
80	Kozagacı (Cagman)							X		X	X	X				X				
81	Ödemiş Konaklı								X											
82	Gülnar Taşeli Beleni / Körcoluk							X				X								
83	Yarımburgaz Cave																			
84	Kümbet Pınarı																			
85	Kümbet Köyü Kümbeti		X				X	X		X	X	X	X			X				
86	Aizanoi Çavdarhisar	X						X		X						X	X			
87	Cerrah Petroglyphs									X										
88	Baynaz Tepe							X							X					
89	Yanki Tasi															X				
90	Bayındır	X															X			

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Anadolu'nun kaya sanatı görece az çalışılmış bir alandır. Konuyla ilgili yapılan az sayıda araştırma bölgesel belgeleme odaklıdır ve stilistik karşılaştırmalarla sınırlıdır. Kaya sanatının genellikle ulaşılması zor yerlerde bulunması ve peyzajı kalıcı bir şekilde işaretlemek için bilinçli bir çaba içermesi, kaya sanatını anlanmalndırmak için mekansal verinin oldukça önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu sebeple, kaya sanatının anlamını ve işlevini anlamak etrafında şekillenen ara araştırma sorusu, CBS yazılımı kullanılarak üretilen mekansal ve zamansal dağılım haritaları üzerinden cevaplanmaya çalışılmıştır. Anadolu kaya sanatının farklı bağlamları için çeşitli yorumlar mümkün olduğundan, öncelikle bu bağlamları ayırdedebilmek oldukça önemlidir. Bu nedenle bu çalışmada öncelikle Anadolu kaya sanatının arkeolojik dönemlere ve coğrafyaya göre nasıl dağıldığı alt sorusuna cevap aranacaktır. Birbirlerine mekansal olarak yakında konumlanmış ve benzer yerleşme tiplerine, figürlere ve sahnelere sahip yerleşmelerin aynı döneme tarihlendiği hipotezine dayanarak, orijinal araştırmacılar tarafından önerilmiş tarihlendirmeler için bir zaman dilimi haritası oluşturulacaktır. Bu yolla, benzer yerleşme tipine, figürlere ve sahnelere sahip yerleşmelerin kümelendiği coğrafyaların belirlenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Tarihlendirme için kriter olarak kullanılabilecek, evcil at, köpek, deve ve süvari figürleri gibi ögelerin varlığı üzerinden, bazı yerleşmeler için alternatif tarihlendirmeler önerilecektir. Farklı kaya sanatı türleri belirlendikten sonra, belirli bir kaya sanatı grubunun anlamı ve işlevi sorusuna cevap vermek mümkün olacaktır. Bu süreçte kullanılan ana hipotezler, av hayvanlarının

belirgin bir şekilde tasvir edildiği, saklı yerleşmelerin av büyüsünün yapıldığı ve önemli av rotalarını işaretleyen ritüel alanlar olduğu; hayvan kostümü ve maskelerle tasvir edilmiş antropomorfik figürlerin ve kalabalık dans sahnelerinin doğanın döngülerini, evlilik veya erginleme törenlerini kutlayan şamanistik ritüellerle ilgili olduğudur. Bir kaya sanatı alanı için yukarıda belirtilen işlevlerden birini ortaya çıkarmak için stilistik karşılaştırmaların yanı sıra yerleşme tipi, yükseklik ve erişilebilirlik verileri de incelencektir.

Kaya sanatı, Paleolitik dönemde başlayan ve hiç durmayan küresel bir olgudur. Kaya sanatı terimi, herhangi bir resim (piktograf), oyma (petroglif) ve toprak modifikasyonu (geoglif) için kullanılan bir şemsiye terimdir. Arkeoloji disiplini içerisindeki nispeten marjinal konumuna rağmen, kaya sanatı çalışmaları dünya çapında giderek önem aynı zamanda yenilikçi bir araştırma alanı olarak gelişmektedir (Conkey, 2012). Kaya sanatı küresel bir olgu olsa da, ana araştırma konuları ve metodolojiler bölgesel olarak farklılık gösterir. Güneybatı Avrupa, İskandinavya, Kuzey Amerika, Güney Afrika ve Avustralya, kaya sanatı araştırmalarında öne çıkan bölgelerdir. Orta Doğu incelendiğinde, Türkiye'yi çevreleyen bölgede, Suriye, Negev-Sina, İran, Nachcivan, Azerbaycan, Ermenistan ve Gürcistan gibi bol ve iyi çalışılmış kaya sanatı örnekleri olmasına rağmen Anadolu kaya sanatı üzerine sistematik çalışmalarda büyük bir boşluk vardır.

Modern Türkiye'nin farklı yerlerinde Paleolitik'ten erken Türk dönemlerine kadar kaya sanatına dair kanıtlar bulunsa da, konu hakkında daha sistematik araştırmalar yetersizdir. Anadolu'nun tarihöncesi kaya sanatına ilişkin mevcut literatür, çoğunlukla üslup analizine odaklanmıştır. Kaya sanatını stil, içerik ve üretim tekniğine göre kategorize etmek birkaç nedenden dolayı sorunludur. İlk olarak, bu yaklaşım, araştırmayı, kaya sanatını belirli "yaşam biçimleriyle" veya

varsayımsal kültürel varlıklarla ilişkilendirmeye yönelik doğrudan bir çabayla sınırlandırır. Bu değerlendirme şekli oldukça özneldir ve yanlış sonuçlara yol açabilir. İkincisi, bu yaklaşımın tarihleme ve kronoloji için sorunlu olduğu kanıtlanmıştır. Kaya sanatı çoğunlukla arkeolojik veriyle doğrudan ilişkilendirilemediğinden tarihlendirilmesi sorunlu bir alandır. CBS yazılımını kullanan mekansal analiz, yakınlık ve erişilebilirlik üzerinden kaya sanatını yakınlarındaki arkeolojik alanlarla ilişkilendirme ve böylece alternatif bir tarihlendirme sunma potansiyeline sahiptir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Anadolu kaya sanatıyla ilgili mevcut tüm parçalı verileri gelecekteki araştırmacıların kullanımı için tek ve kapsamlı bir veri tabanında toplamak, ve bu yolla kaya sanatının işlevi ve anlamı üzerine tezler sunmaktır. Bunun için Anadolu kaya sanatı tarihlendirilmesi, coğrafi dağılımı, stilleri, temaları, içeriği ve teknikleri açısından detaylıca incelenmiştir. Bu parametrelere göre Anadolu kaya sanatı için bir sınıflandırılma sunulmuştur. Bu sınıflandırmanın eksiklikleri olsa da, az çalışmış bir alandaki tüm veriyi derlemek için böyle bir sınıflandırma çabası elzemdir. Sınıflandırma göre kategoriler: (1) Toros Sıradağlarının Üst Paleolitik – Erken Neolitik Petroglifleri, (2) Geç Neolitik - Erken Kalkolitik Kırmızı Piktograflar, (3) Kuzeydoğu Anadolu Petroglifleri ve (4) Diğer Petroglifler olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu dördüncü kategoride listelenen kaya resimlerinin çoğu, stilistik olarak Kuzeydoğu Petrogliflerine paraleldir; dolayısıyla bu geleneğin Anadolu'nun diğer bölgelerine yayılması olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

Bağlamından bağımsız olarak, Anadolu kaya sanatındaki en yaygın unsurlar antropomorfik figürler, zoomorfik figürler ve geometrik bezemelerdir. Stilleri, uygulamaları, sıklıkları ve mekansal dağılımları yukarıda belirtilen kategorilere göre değişir. Bu çalışmadaki 90 yerleşmeden 64'ünde en az bir antropomorfik figür tespit

edilmiştir. Bu yerleşmelerin yirmi üçü piktograf ve 41'i petroglif içerir. Antropomorfik figürlerin sıklığı teknik açısından anlamlı bir fark vermese de, petroglif ve piktograf kompozisyonlarındaki birincil rolleri önemli ölçüde farklılık göstermektedir. Çoğu zaman piktograflarda, antropomorfik figürler ana odak noktasını oluştururken, petrogliflerde ya ikincil ya da kompozisyonun diğer unsurlarına eşit derecede önemli görünürler.

Antropomorfik figürler tarzlarına göre üç kategoriye ayrılabilir: natüralist, şematik ve soyut. Natüralist bir tarzda vücut oranları korunur ve kafalar daireseldir. Şematik üslupta beden, bazı özellikler basitleştirilerek veya abartılarak stilize edilmiştir. Petrogliflerdeki antropomorfik figürlerin en yaygın stilizasyonu, ekstremitelerin basit, çöp adam benzeri çizgilerle basitleştirilmesini içerir. İnsanlar "koşar, yürür, diz çöker, dua eder, ok atar, dans eder, davul çalar, ata biner, kalkan taşır" pozlarında tasvir edilirler (Uyanık,1974, s. 46). Piktograflarda stilizasyon, temsil edilen bireyin statüsüyle ilgili özel başlıklar veya saç stillerini sembolize etmesi muhtemel zikzak veya T-biçimli kafaları içerir. Petrogliflerdeki antropomorfik figürler daha çok avlanma faaliyetinde bulunurken tasvir edildiğinden, çoğunlukla erkek olarak nitelendirilirler. Bununla birlikte, piktograflarda stilizasyon, cinsiyetin tanımlanmasına izin verir. Erkek figürleri, uzun kolları ve bacakları olan basit çöp adamlara benzer ve her zaman cepheden tasvir edilmiştir. Bazı durumlarda abartılı falluslara sahiptirler. Piktograflardaki şematik erkek antropomorfik figürler için en yaygın pozlar, kollar ve bacaklar dirseklerden ve dizlerden 90 derece bükülüyken ayakta durmaktır ve vücuda genel olarak gamalı haç benzeri bir duruş verir. Kadın figürleri stilizasyon ve poz bakımından daha fazla çeşitliliğe sahiptir. Genellikle Neolitik kadın figürlerine benzeyen abartılı, hacimli kalçalar mevcuttur. Son olarak, insan vücudunun haç şeklinde sadeleştirildiği soyut

üslup, özellikle Antalya, Beldibi/Kumbucağı, Hayıtlıgöl ve Sarıçınar piktograflarında görülmektedir.

Anadolu kaya sanatında temsil edilen figürlerin büyük çoğunluğunu zoomorfik figürler oluşturmaktadır. 90 siteden 84'ünde en az bir zoomorfik figür var. Geriye kalan altı mekan Çine-Madran, Kanlıtaş ve Ödemiş-Konaklı'dır. Hayıtlıgöl haç benzeri antropomorfik figürler, Yarımburgaz gemi resimleri ve Gülnar Taşeli Beleni-Körcoluk'ta tamga motifleri. Zoomorfik figürler, av sahnelerinin birincil unsurlarıdır; bu nedenle çoğu av hayvanıdır. Zaman ve mekandan bağımsız olarak en yaygın tür, 61 alanda temsil edilen dağ keçisidir. Onları 31 yerleşme ile geyik figürleri ve 27 yerleşme ile atlar takip etmektedir. Yabani sığır, bizon, muffon ve geyik gibi türler erken petrogliflerde yaygındır ve daha sonraki kuzeydoğu petrogliflerinde ortadan kalkar. Anadolu kaya sanatında temsil edilen hayvanların büyük çoğunluğunun av hayvanları olduğu düşünüldüğünde, yenmeyen, çoğu zaman tehlikeli hayvanların varlığı, keşfedilmeye değer bir soru ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bir koruyucu ruh hayvanı kavramı, Anadolu kaya sanatındaki yenmeyen hayvanların varlığını açıklamada yararlı olabilir. Anadolu'da temsil edilen hayvanların çoğunluğu av hayvanları olmakla birlikte leopar, sırtlan, tilki gibi yırtıcı hayvanlar da vardır; yılanlar ve örümcekler gibi böcekler ve sürüngenler; ve turnalar ve yırtıcı kuşlar da dahil olmak üzere çeşitli türden kuşlar görülür. Bu figürler, tehlikeli hayvanlara karşı korunmak için bir tür yıkıcı büyü olarak yaratılmış veya şamanistik bir ritüelin temsilleri olabilir. Yakar, Anadolu'nun tarih öncesi avcı-toplayıcı ve erken yerleşik sanatındaki ikonografinin, şamanlar aracılığıyla gerçekleştirilen çeşitli animistik inanç ve ritüellerin bir koleksiyonunu düşünmektedir. (Yakar, 2009, s.311-3). Bu nedenle, bu zoomorfik figürlerin zaman ve mekan arasındaki dağılım modelini

anlamak ve kümelenme eğiliminde oldukları konumları belirlemek, potansiyel olarak şamanistik işleve sahip kaya sanatı alanlarını ortaya çıkarabilir.

Geometrik şekiller ve süslemeler, antropomorfik ve zoomorfik figürlerin yanında yer alır. Listelenen elli dört yerleşme, en az bir geometrik figür içermektedir. Yaygın geometrik şekiller düz çizgiler, zikzak çizgiler, menderesler, noktalar, noktalı çizgiler, daireler, dikdörtgenler, bölümlere ayrılmış daireler ve dikdörtgenler, elmaslar, haç biçimleri, dikdörtgenler, ağ desenleri, çiçekler, çelenkler, X-şekilleri, V-şekilleri, dokuma desenlerdir. Bu geometrik şekiller ve süslemeler, anlamları bizim için erişilemez hale gelse de, muhtemelen kendi başlarına sembolik anlamlar taşıdıkları için figüratif sahnelere eklenen basit dolgu malzemeleri olarak ele alınmamalıdır. Örnek olarak, Bacon ve meslektaşları (2022), Üst Paleolitik Avrupa kaya sanatındaki hayvan figürlerinin yanı sıra figüratif olmayan motiflerin, belirli türlerin doğum yaptığı ayları izleyen fenolojik/meteorolojik bir takvimi temsil eden notasyonel/dış hafıza sisteminin bir biçimi olduğunu göstermiştir. Lewis-Williams'ın (2012) fenomenolojik yaklaşımı ve "gömülü metaforlar" teorisi izlenirse, yılanları veya nehirleri sembolize edebilecek kıvrımlar gibi bu motiflerden bazılarının anlamlarının çözmek mümkün olacaktır. Bununla birlikte, böyle bir girişim, çalışılan kültürün ontolojisinin daha geniş bir şekilde anlaşılmasını gerektirir ve birçok durumda Anadolu kaya sanatı için bu mümkün değildir.

El izleri genellikle geometrik şekiller ve süslemeler kategorisinde incelenir; ancak ayrı bir kategori olarak incelenmeyi hak etmektedir. El izleri, kaya sanatında evrensel unsurlardır. El motiflerini oluşturmak için kullanılan farklı teknikler, elin kaya yüzeyine yerleştirildiği ve konturlarının boyandığı boyama; elin kendisinin boyandığı ve ardından bir baskı oluşturmak için kaya yüzeyine bastırıldığı baskı; ve elin kaya yüzeyine yerleştirildiği ve ardından kaya yüzeyinde negatif bir iz

oluşturmak için boyanın püskürtüldüğü stensil teknikleridir. Doğusandal 1 ve 4'te birkaç stensil örneği bulunmasına rağmen, Anadolu bağlamındaki el figürlerinde kullanılan birincil teknik resim ve baskıdır. Latmos, Çine-Sağlık, Çine-Madran, Ödemiş-Konaklı, Kanlıtaş ve Doğusandal, el izleri içermektedir. El izlerinin küresel bir fenomen olarak varlığı ve anamı kaya sanatı araştırmacıları arasında tartışmalı olmaya devam ediyor. Bununla birlikte, el izlerinin ritüel aktiviteyle ilişkisi konusunda bir fikir birliği vardır. Kişiliğin güçlü sembolleri olan el izlerinin genellikle erginleme törenlerinin bir parçası olduğu düşünülür. Öte yandan, şamanizm teorisinin önde gelen savunucularından Lewis-Williams, elin, ruhlar alemine bir kapı işlevi gören kaya yüzeyine yerleştirilmesinin bir tür şemanist ritüel olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Başka bir teori, el figürlerinin apotropaik olduğunu, kötülüğü uzak tutmak için üretildiklerini öne sürmektedir. Latmos'ta el figürlerinin yanı sıra dört ayak izi vardır. Kaşaklı'daki küçük ayak izinin bir çocuğa ait olduğu düşünülmektedir (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, s.80).

Toros Sıradağlarının Üst Paleolitik - Erken Neolitik petroglifleri, yerleşim tipi, boyutu veya erişilebilirlik açısından üniform değildir. Ancak bu grup bölgesel farklılıklar açısından incelendiğinde anlamlı bir örüntü görülmektedir. Antalya'daki Öküzini ve Karain Mağaralarının petroglifleri, belirli bir zamanda yalnızca küçük bir grup insanı barındırabilen mağaraların daha derin, loş kısımlarında bulunur. Adıyaman-Diyarbakır-Batman bölgesine ait petroglifler (Atatürk Barajı, Palanlı-Pirun, Sinek Çayı, Deraser-Dereler, Deraser - Ezedi) mevsimlik akarsuların oluşturduğu sarp vadiler içindeki sığ kaya sığınaklarının içlerinde yer almaktadır. İkonografilerinin öne çıkan av teması ve su kaynaklarıyla mekansal korelasyonu, araştırmacıları avlanma büyüsü teorisine yöneltmiştir. Bu gizli kaya sığınakları, hayvanların su kaynaklarının etrafında toplandığı dağlık arazide avlanmak için en

uygun cepleri işaret ediyor. Bu anlamda, bu kaya sanatı yerleri, bu toplulukların geçimi için hayati önem taşıyan bilgilerin paylaşıldığı düğüm noktalarıdır. Son olarak, Tırşin ve Gevaruk Yaylalarında yoğunlaşan Van-Hakkari yaylalarının petroglifleri, tamamen açık hava yeleşmeleri oldukları için bambaşka bir tablo ortaya koymaktadır. Bu petroglifler, küçük andezit blokları üzerinde geniş bir alana dağılmıştır. Tırşin Yaylası'ndaki Kahn-ı Melikan, Taht-ı Melikan ve Kahn-ı İşkir gibi petrogliflerin kümelenme eğiliminde olduğu birincil bölgeler olmakla birlikte kaya sanatının tek bir alanı değil geniş bir coğrafyayı işaretlediği görülmektedir. Üslup ve temsil edilen türlerdeki değişimle gözlemlenen çoklu üretim evreleri, yaylaların Epipaleolitik'ten tarihsel dönemlere kadar simgesel değerini koruduğunu göstermektedir (Uyanık, 1974; Alok, 1988; Belli, 2007; Tümer, 2017).

Kırmızı piktograflar, Van, Mersin, Antalya, Aydın ve Balıkesir'de yoğunlaşmıştır. Antalya'nın Epipaleolitik piktografları olan Beldibi/Kumbucağı, Hayıtlıgöl ve Sarıçınar piktografları ile Gümüşler Manastırı'nın grafitileri ve Yarımburgaz'ın gemi resimleri gibi tarihi çağlara tarihlenen piktografların haricinde geri kalan tüm kırmızı piktograflar Geç Neolitik-Erken Kalkolitik'e tarihlenir. Bu grupta listelenen 29 yerleşmeden 16'sı mağara ve 10'u kaya sığınağı olduğu için saklı yerleşme tanımına uymaktadırlar. Buna karşılık sadece 2 tanesi, Başet Dağı ve Balkayası, açık hava sitleridir. Çoğu uzak, erişilmesi zor yerlerde bulunur. Kızların Mağaraları 78 m, Gevre Bıhri Mağarası 44m ve Yedisalkım Mağarası 23m zorlu bir tırmanış gerektirir. Ulaşılması zor kaya sanatı bölgeleri veya yalnızca daha küçük bir grubu ağırlayabilecek özel mekanlar, kaya sığınağı veya mağarada gerçekleştirilen ritüel faaliyetin, topluluğun ritüel/sembolik sermayesini tekelinde tutan belirli yetkili kişilere ayrılmış olabileceğini gösterebilir. Kaya sanatı alanlarını, potansiyel toplanma merkezleri olarak kabul edecek olursak, o zaman bu küçük yetkili grup,

gruplar arasında işbirliğini sağlamak için ritüel etkinliği birlikte gerçekleştiren, farklı gruplardan şamanlardan oluşmuş olabilir. (Kolankaya-Bostancı, 2014, s.187).

Kırmızı piktograflar için konumun önemli olduğu bir diğer nokta ise odaları, avluları, doğal nişleri ve banklarıyla inşa edilmiş mimariyi andıran kaya sığınaklarının tercih edilmesidirPeschlow-Bindokat, "Latmos Pantheon" panelinin yer aldığı Karadere kaya sığınağında, iç oda ile dış avlunun boyut farklılığına dikkat çekmekte ve topluluğun geri kalanı avluda beklerken, iç mekanın ritüelleri yerine getiren küçük bir yetkili insan grubuna ayrıldığına inanmaktadır (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006, s.64). Benzer şekilde Kızların (Put) Mağarası 1, Yedisalkım Mağarası 2, Doğusandal Mağarası 4 ve 6 da bu tür iç "odalar"dan ve mağara girişinde geniş bir terastan oluşmaktadır. Bu piktograflar ile Çatalhöyük'ün iç mekan duvar resimleri arasındaki ilişki düşünüldüğünde, mimari benzerlik daha da önem kazanmaktadır. Geç Neolitik-Erken Kalkolitik kırmızı piktograf geleneğinin, Çatalhöyük'de de temsil edilen daha erken bir duvar resmi pratiğinin bir uzantısı olması muhtemeldir.

Kuzeydoğu petroglifleri ve bunların Anadolu'nun başka yerlerindeki üslupsal benzerleri, yalnızca açık hava alanlarından oluşmaktadır. Tüm topluluğun teşhiri için yüksek, göze çarpan yerler özellikle seçilmiştir. Pek çok araştırmacı, petroglifler ile kurgan tipi gömü alanları arasındaki mekansal ilişkiye işaret etmektedir. Demirkapı (Arılı/Namazgah) petroglifleri Yaylalar Kurgan yakınlarındadır. Asmalı Yatak-Güdül petroglifleri, kurgan tipi mezarlarla çevrili kutsal bir mahfaza içindedir. Seydikemer petroglifleri, Elmalı Müzesi'nin şu anda kazdığı yakınlardaki bir kurganı işaret etmektedir. Kurgan tipi gömüt içermemesine rağmen, bir Roma mezarlığının bitişiğinde inşa edilmiş tarihi bir Türkmen mezarlığı, Kozağacı-Çağman

petrogliflerinin yakınındadır. Belki de bu petrogliflerden bazıları, topluluğun atalarıyla olan bağlarını vurgulamak amacıyla oluşturulmuştur.

Bu çalışma, Anadolu kaya sanatına ilişkin mevcut tüm bilgileri gelecek araştırmacılarının kullanımı için tek bir külliyatta bir araya getirmeyi amaçlamıştır. Ayrıntılı bir literatür taraması ile Anadolu kaya sanatı konumu, tarihlenmesi, tekniği, üslubu ve temaları açısından incelenmiş ve kapsamlı bir veri tabanı oluşturulmuştur. Bu çaba, Anadolu'nun kaya sanatı geleneklerindeki mekansal ve zamansal eğilimleri tanımlamak açısından faydalı olmuştur. Stilistik analize dayalı olarak, bu çalışma, kaya sanatının incelenmesi için bir sınıflandırma önermektedir: (1) Toros Sıradağlarının Üst Paleolitik - Erken Neolitik Petroglifleri, (2) Geç Neolitik-Erken Kalkolitik Dönemin Kırmızı Resimli Resimleri, (3) Petroglifler Kuzeydoğu Anadolu'nun tarihi zamanlara tarihlenen petroglifleri ve (4) Anadolu'nun başka yerlerinde bulunan ve stilistik olarak Kuzeydoğu petrogliflerine paralel olan petroglifler ve grafiti. Bu kategorizasyon, belirli yerleşmelerin karmaşıklığı ile başa çıkmakta başarısız olsa da, çok sayıda parçalı veriyi bir araya getirmek için kategorizasyona ihtiyaç duyulmuştur.

İncelenen ilk kategori, Türkiye'deki kaya sanatının en eski kanıtlarını oluşturan "Toros Sıradağlarının Paleolitik-Erken Neolitik Petroglifleri"dir. Üst Paleolitik Avrupa kaya sanatına paralel olarak büyük figürlü vahşi av hayvanlarının öne çıkmasıyla karakterize edilirler. İnsan figürleri, av sahnelerine yardımcı unsurlar olarak karşımıza çıkar. Belirgin av teması, önceki araştırmacıları bir avlanma büyüsü üzerine açıklamalara yönlendirmiştir. Avlanma büyüsü teorisinin şamanistik bir açıklamayı dışlamadığına dikkat etmek önemlidir. Etnografik kanıtlar, şamanların başarılı bir av için veya av hayvanı sürüleri arasında doğurganlığı artırmak için ritüeller gerçekleştirdiğini göstermektedir. Bu ritüeller, genellikle yenmeyen,

tehlikeli bir tür olan bir koruyucu hayvana dönüşümü içerebilir. Göbeklitepe'nin de ikonografisine paralel olarak yırtıcı hayvanlar, yılanlar ve kuşlar yaygın koruyucu hayvanlardır (Yakar, 2009; Kolankaya-Bostancı, 2014). Bu çalışmada sunulan dağılım ve yoğunluk haritaları, Türkiye'nin güneydoğusunda genellikle uçmakla veya yukarı alem/gökyüzüyle ilişkilendirilen bir kuşların ve genellikle aşağı alem/yeraltıyla ilişkilendirilen yılanların bu kategorideki kaya sanatı lokasyonlarında kümelendiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu yoğun kuş ve yılan figürleri bu kaya sanatı alanlarının olası şamanistik işlevinin göstergesidir. Alternatif bir yoruma göre, hayvanların toplanmış olabileceği su kaynaklarına yakınlıkları nedeniyle, bu petroglifler, av hayvanları hakkında bir bilgi ağı içinde düğüm noktaları olarak işlev görmekte de olabilir. Bu grupta listelenen yerleşmeler, erişilebilirlik açısından bütünlük göstermez. Orta Toroslar'da Antalya ve Güneydoğu Toroslar'da Van-Hakkari olmak üzere iki ana lokasyon bu grup için merkez olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu kategorideki petrogliflerde birden fazla üretim fazının görülmesi, halihazırda sorun olan tarihlendirmeleri daha da karmaşıklaştırmaktadır.

Antalya'da birbirine yakın üç kaya sığınağı, yani Beldibi/Kumbucağı, Sarıçınar ve Hayıtlıgöl dışında, Anadolu'daki diğer tüm kırmızı piktografları Geç Neolitik-Erken Kalkolitik'e tarihlenmektedir. Tarihlendirmeleri çoğunlukla Latmos piktograflarıyla üslup benzetmelerine dayanmaktadır. Üretim tekniği bakımından petrogliften piktografa geçişe, hayvan figürlerinin azalması ve insan temsillerinin öne çıkmasında da görüldüğü gibi, kaya sanatı üreticilerinin dünya görüşünde ideolojik bir kayma eşlik etmektedir. Hayvanlar kırmızı piktograf geleneğinde temsil edilmeye devam etse de, büyük figürlü ac hayvanlarının yerini daha küçük, stilize evcilleştirilmiş hayvanlar almıştır. Kırmızı piktograflardaki ana vurgu, insanlar ve onların sosyal ilişkileri üzerinedir. Kalabalık şenlikler, dans sahneleri ve kadın

temsilleri bu grupta artan bir sıklıkta karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu grupta listelenen yerleşmelerin çoğunun erişimi zor olan kaya sığınakları ve mağaralar olması, bunların gizlendiği ve muhtemelen bu alanları belirli durumlarda ziyaret eden daha küçük bir grup için ayrıldığı şeklinde bir yoruma izin verir. Bu kaya sanatı alanlarının, doğanın ve insanın döngüsel yenilenmesi kutlamaları, bahar şenlikleri, evlilik törenleri ve erginleme törenleri gibi şenlikli/ritüel etkinliklere ev sahipliği yapan toplanma alanları olarak kullanılmış olması muhtemeldir. Kırmızı piktografların baskın sosyal teması, şamanistik bir açıklamayı da dışlamaz. Hayvanları andıran "özel" başlıklar, maskeler ve kostümler ile tasvir edilmiş antropomorfik figürler ve av imgelerinin eksikliği, dans sahnelerine yapılan vurgu şamanistik ritüellerinin göstergesidir. Bu kaya sığınaklarını ve mağaraları ziyaret etme hakkına sahip olan küçük, kısıtlı grubun, farklı grupların şamanları olması, bayramlarda topluluğun geri kalanı adına ayinler yapmak için bir araya gelmeleri ve böylece farklı gruplar arasında sosyal uyum ve alışverişi sağlamaları muhtemeldir (Kolankaya-Bostancı, 2014, s.187).

Önerilen üçüncü kategori, Kars-Erzurum çevresinde yoğunlaşan "Kuzeydoğu Anadolu Petroglifleri"dir. Bu grup, stili ve temaları benzer, birbirine yakın petrogliflerden oluşur. Bu petroglifler, Orta Asya kaya sanatı repertuarında bulunan özellikleri sergilediğinden, tarihlemeleri biraz sorunludur. Bu petroglifleri çalışan araştırmacılar, genellikle petroglifleri Türk boylarının Anadolu'ya göçüyle ilişkilendirmekte fakat aynı zamanda,bazı noktalarda Orta Tunç Çağı'na kadar geri giden tutarsız tarihlendirmeler önermektedir. Orta Asya ilişkilerine ilişkin iddialar, süvari ve tamga motifleri ve "runik yazıtlar" gibi bu petrogliflerin üslup ve kelime dağarcığı ile tutarlı olsa da, Kuzeydoğu petroglifleri muhtemelen A. Ceylan ve meslektaşlarının öne sürdüğünden çok daha geç bir döneme aittir.

Önerilen dördüncü kategori, Anadolu'nun başka yerlerindeki Kuzeydoğu petrogliflerine üslup olarak paralel olan petroglifleri ve ayrıca yukarıda belirtilen herhangi bir sınıfa sığdırılması zor olan yerleri kapsar. Kuzeydoğu stiline benzer bazı petroglifler, tarihleme için bir referans noktası oluşturabilecek mimari özelliklerin üzerine oyulmuştur. Eskişehir'deki Selçuklu Kümbeti ve Aizanoi'deki Zeus Tapınağı üzerindeki grafitiler, güvenli bir şekilde en azından MS 13. yüzyıla tarihleniyor ve bu da benim Kuzeydoğu petroglifleri için tarihsel dönemler önermemi destekliyor.

Anadolu'nun kaya sanatı, özellikle açıkça ilişkili arkeolojik kalıntıların yokluğunda tarihlendirmenin zorlukları nedeniyle, nispeten keşfedilmemiş bir alan olmaya devam ediyor. Bu çalışmayla, karşılaştırmalı üslup analizi ve Anadolu kaya sanatının mekansal ve zamansal dağılımına ilişkin dağılım ve yoğunluk haritaları üzerinden çeşitli örüntüler ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu örüntülerden hareketle Anadolu kaya sanatının işlevi ve anlamı üzerine olası tezler sunulmaktadır. Toros Dağları'nın erken dönem petroglifleri, şamanist avlanma ritüelleri, önemli avlanma alanlarını ve rotalarını işaretlenmesi veya av hakkında bilgi paylaşımı ile ilgili olabilir. Geç Neolitik-Erken Kalkolitik'in kırmızı piktografları, şamanlar veya akraba grupları gibi daha küçük gruplara ayrılmış ve grup üyeleri veya farklı gruplar arasında sosyal uyumu sağlayan ritüellerle ilgilidir. Kuzeydoğu petroglifleri, muhtemelen grup kimliğinin veya mezarlık alanlarının belirteçleri olarak işlev görmüştür. Bu çalışma esas olarak üslup araştırması ile sınırlı olsa da, gelecekteki araştırmacıların burada derlenen verilerden faydalanacağını umuyorum. Bu araştırma kapsamında toplanan konumsal ve öznitelik verileri, kaya sanatı konumlarının kullanımına ilişkin daha ileri bir çalışma için özellikle yararlı olacaktır. Bir kaya sanatı mahallinin çevredeki yerleşim yerlerine olan saha havza analizi ve yakınlık analizi, potansiyel olarak yerleşme örüntülerini ve ayrıca kaya sanatıyla çağdaş olma olasılığı en yüksek olan

yerleşim yerlerini tanımlayacaktır; bu nedenle alternatif bir tarihlendirme metodu olarak da kullanılabilir.

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