

New Stories from Old Buildings:

Revisiting architecture and social organisation
in central Anatolia and the Lake District
between 6500 and 5500 BC

Appendices

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APPENDIX 1: SITE CHRONOLOGIES

The chronology of Hacilar

The site of Hacilar in the Lake District, excavated by James Mellaart's team between 1957-1960, was the first to reveal Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic material in southcentral Anatolia. Therefore not only the subsequent building of the pre-Bronze Age chronology of the Lake District, but also that of central Anatolia was heavily influenced by Mellaart's reconstruction and dating of the Hacilar sequence. Within the 5m high mound of Hacilar (diameter 140m, Mellaart 1970c:xii), Mellaart (1970c:94) distinguished 20 building levels, divided into three main stratigraphical and cultural packages: Aceramic Neolithic occupation (6750-5750 BC) was followed by a hiatus. Reoccupation of the site in the Late Neolithic (5750 BC) started 500 years of stratigraphically uninterrupted and culturally continuous occupation into the Early Chalcolithic. Locally evolved culture then came to an abrupt end when an influx of an outside group in ca. 5250 BC started the latest building level, Hacilar I, which persisted until ca. 5000 BC, when the site was deserted. Occupation shifted several times across the area of the site, creating a stratigraphically complex site where not all levels were found superimposed in all areas, for example with Level VI directly overlying the 'Aceramic' (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.37-41). From the 'Aceramic' levels, as well as the following Levels IX-VII, only fragments of built structures were uncovered (Mellaart 1970c:9, Figs. 2-6). The area where Levels IX-VII were excavated was small (Mellaart 1970c:Figs. 2-6) and this might be the reason why little architecture was uncovered (cf. Mellaart 1970c:9), but the 'Aceramic' excavation area measured about 150 m² (Mellaart 1970c:3), so the lack of architecture might represent the actual archaeological record. Levels V-III, although the excavation area was large, also showed only fragments (Mellaart 1970c:24-26, Figs 16-18) which Mellaart (1970c:24-25) ascribed to the fact that the village had shifted in occupation outside of the excavated zone. By contrast, Levels VI, II and Ia-b were very well preserved, and excavated in a large area (Cutting 2005b:95; Mellaart 1970c:10, 25, 75; Figs.7, 20, 29). The remains of the uppermost Levels Ic-d were scanty

(Mellaart 1970c:86).

Mellaart's reconstruction of the Hacilar chronology was methodologically based on a combination of all three dating tools (radiocarbon dates, pottery, stratigraphy). Nine radiocarbon dates and three dendrochronological dates are available from Hacilar (Thissen 2002a:318). By modern standards, they are ridden with methodological problems. At the time, the necessity of calibrating radiocarbon dates was not yet known, and Mellaart used the uncalibrated dates, setting the entire chronology off by ca. 1000 years. Further, all were done on charcoal, and many on architectural wood (Mellaart 1970c:93; Thissen 2010:Tab.6), which has been shown to often have been reused in prehistoric Anatolia and therefore be older than the building it is found in ('old wood effect'; Thissen 2002a:334), as Mellaart (1970c:93) already recognised. But also the samples from more short-lived charcoal from hearths is problematic, since because of the premodern facilities at the time, larger amounts of material were necessary, so that the samples from Level X and Aceramic Level V were each combined from several pieces of wood, in the case of Aceramic V even from several different hearths (Barker and Mackey 1963:107; Mellaart 1970c:93; Ralph and Stuckenrath 1962:145)—and possibly also P-313 and P313a from Level VI, although that is not explicitly mentioned.

Within the rough timeline given by the handful of radiocarbon dates (Mellaart 1961b:74, 1970c:93), Mellaart used relative dating tools to determine the length of individual site levels. With only Mersin and later Canhasan available to compare the pottery sequence, Mellaart's reconstruction was based mainly on considerations of how fast pottery styles developed, and how well-constructed the architecture of a building level was, which Mellaart took as indicative of length of occupation (e.g. Mellaart 1970c:10, 23). Mellaart's reconstruction of stratigraphy and pottery development have recently come under critique. Although issues with it became apparent earlier (e.g. Duru 1989c), only in recent years have Mellaart's interpretations of the dating of Hacilar been systematically challenged (Reingruber 2008:420-426; Rosenstock 2010a; Thissen 2010).

The 'Aceramic' levels

The existence of a very early settled occupation at Hacilar was postulated by Mellaart based on a radiocarbon sample dating to 7000 BC (Mellaart 1970c:94) and the fact that he did not find pottery within those layers. Calibrated, this sample dates to 7800 BC. In the last decades, the early date of the layers in question has been systematically disproven: the radiocarbon date is unreliable, the levels probably not pottery-less and the structures and finds generally similar to the LN levels.

If it existed in 7800 BC, Hacilar would have been the only (so far investigated) farming site in the Lake District for between 1000 and 1300 years, if not accepting the Bademağacı early radiocarbon date (see below). While that is not impossible, an interpretation with such implications would need to rest on a comfortable evidence basis. However, the reliability of the single radiocarbon date (BM127) from the courtyard floor in Aceramic V seems questionable (Düring 2011b:125; Schoop 2005a:179) not only because of the old wood effect, but also because Mellaart (1970c:6), underlining added describes this as “charcoal samples collected on the courtyard floor”, which could suggest that several pieces of charcoal collected on this outdoor floor were combined into one radiocarbon sample, making for very insecure context (Schoop 2002:433). Although Thissen (2002a:334) points out that the existence of this early date cannot simply be ignored, he does just that in the 2010 paper, where he does not mention this date or integrate the ‘Aceramic levels’ into his site chronology (Thissen 2010).

Further, the aceramic status of these levels has been doubted. Schoop (2005a:178-179) points out that Mellaart did not only not find pottery within the levels in question, but really recovered hardly any finds (Mellaart 1970c:6 “Small finds were disappointingly few”). Schoop (2002:432) implies that the haste with which the only five days of excavation (Mellaart 1970c:6) at ‘Aceramic’ Hacilar were conducted might have impaired the rigour of finds recovery, and the lack of pottery might rather be a product of the excavation style. Duru (2012:3) suggests that the limited size of the ‘Aceramic’ exposure makes it impossible to state with certainty that no pottery could be found in this occupation layer. Finally, one might point out that even if early Hacilar was aceramic, this again could signify cultural choice rather than old age.

A further, however ambiguous line of evidence against the aceramic state of Hacilar comes from a series of sondages around the perimeter of the mound undertaken by Duru in 1985 and 1986 in an effort to locate the cemetery of Hacilar (Duru 1987a, 1987b, 1989, 2008:12, 24-25, 53, 2010, 2012:1-3). He found between 1.2m and 2m below the site's surface red-coloured floors with ceramic sherds trampled into them. Because the only red-coloured floors found by Mellaart (1970c:4) at Hacilar were 'Aceramic', Duru argues that his floors must date to the same period, but however were clearly not aceramic, but instead belong to the 'Early Neolithic' phase he had discovered at other sites in the Lake District. However, these floors are not stratigraphically linked with any Mellaart levels and are therefore only of limited use in dating the sequence excavated by Mellaart (Baird 2012a:443).

Without reliable radiocarbon dates, and without pottery, comparison of the few recovered stone artefacts and architecture to later levels at Hacilar and levels at other sites present the only remaining dating tool. The few stone artefacts recovered from the 'Aceramic' levels do not vary significantly from Late Neolithic layers excavated in the Lake District (Schoop 2002:433, 2005a:179). Further, the amount of finds was equally low in Levels IX-VIII (Reingruber 2008:423). The architecture and fire installations do not vary significantly from LN/EC levels at the site (Reingruber 2008:422).

To conclude, while the 'Aceramic' levels have not produced any secure datable evidence at all, it seems most reasonable to interpret them as part of the Late Neolithic sequence, starting around or maybe before 6500 BC. There is nothing to contradict this assumption, while there seems to be lots of evidence making it unlikely that this settlement was vastly different or vastly earlier than the LN level of Hacilar or other sites in the region. Further, the time span represented by the Aceramic levels might be rather short. Mellaart (1970c:6) himself remarks that the architectural remains do "not create the impression of a long and extended period of occupation", although he then goes on to interpret that more substantial occupation might have existed outside the area reached by his trench and lasted "from a few centuries to a millennium". That, however, is pure guesswork. The 'Aceramic' is therefore in fact Late Neolithic, and part of the main LN-EC sequence which will be discussed in the following—including a re-assessment of its stratigraphic connections with the 'Aceramic' levels.

Levels 9-1: Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic

In contrast to the 'Aceramic' levels, Levels IX-I have a more consistent series of radiocarbon dates. After calibration moved the dating of Hacilar 1000 years back in time, and statistic modelling changed the phase durations as well as the overall length of the sequence (Thissen 2010:271, Fig.13), the entirety of its main sequence (Levels IX-I) dates to the Late Neolithic (Level IX-II) and Early Chalcolithic (Level I) as defined in this thesis. However, the dating of levels within this time frame has been a much discussed issue. Düring, Schoop and Thissen differ in their dating of individual levels within the IX-I sequence (Table 11). Since Thissen's (2010) suggestion is the most comprehensive, including detail reviews of radiocarbon dates and stratigraphy, it will be adopted here. Before further discussion radiocarbon dates, however, it is necessary to review the stratigraphy of Hacilar.

Reworking stratigraphy

Of major importance for this thesis are new suggestions as to a reworking of the stratigraphic connections of buildings and building levels at Hacilar (Table 12). The variety of opinions on this matters attest to the fact that a systematic revision of the Hacilar stratigraphy is urgently necessary, however it can only partially be achieved in the scope of this thesis. It will review existing opinions on these issues, but not attempt a comprehensive re-evaluation of the Hacilar stratigraphy, going back to the basic architectural data. Three issues are of relevance: that some of the building levels identified by Mellaart could in fact just be sub-phases of each other; the stratigraphic relation between what Mellaart defined as 'Level I' and 'Level II'; and of the 'Aceramic' and the Late Neolithic levels.

Merging levels

While Mellaart (1970c) reconstructed a very eventful cultural history, shown by many stratigraphic breaks and shifts, Thissen (2010) suggests reconstructing the Level IX-I sequence as essentially only three subsequent villages (represented by Levels IX-VI, V-II, I) with

sublevels representing internal alterations. Reingruber (2008:429) support this reconstruction by pointing out that in several places, Level II remains overlay Level VI remains directly. This notion is supported by the pottery development, where a major shift occurs between Levels VI and V (Schoop 2005a:190). Further, radiocarbon dates (Thissen 2010) and Schoop's (2005a:Fig.13) pottery evaluation show that Levels V-II represent a chronologically tight bundle that only lasted one century. Levels IX-VI as well lasted only 150 years in Thissen's (2010) model, which seems a reasonable time frame for the usage of the same built environment. Mellaart (1970c:9, 11) himself has recognised that "level VII essentially presents us with an earlier form of level VI" and "there is no break between these two phases, which should really be called VIA and VIB", and noted (Mellaart 1970c:24) similarities of the scanty Level IV-III architecture with that of Level II; and Reingruber (2008:425) provides a more detailed assessment of stratigraphic connections between Levels IX-7 and VI which strongly supports their identification as all one. I therefore agree with reconstructing Level IX-VI together as one occupational level, and Levels V-II also as one level, each with modifications (but see also Appendix 12 for a further discussion of whether the Level II plan might be a composite of stratigraphically different sublevels). After this, two remaining questions are the relation of Level I to the Level V-II village, and of the 'Aceramic' levels of the Level IX-VI village.

The Level 2-1 problem

Mellaart (1970c:37, 75, Fig.41) reconstructed that the people who built the Level I settlement excavated and removed a substantial amount of the pre-Level I remains at Hacilar before building a new settlement. The newcomers chose the mound of Hacilar as settlement location but "were not content to build their houses on top of the burnt ruins" from Level II, which would not have provided a secure foundation "for the sort of architecture they were used to, which was far more massive than any thing ever previously seen at Hacilar" (Mellaart 1970c:75). To create such a foundation, the builders of Hacilar I cut deep into the existing mound to remove cultural material around the mound fringes and create a platform to build upon, after which the mound would have been shaped like a hat, with a raised area in the centre. Where this levelling operation impacted, layers were removed up to a

depth of 2m, completely destroying Levels II-IV, and leaving only patches of Level V occupation (Mellaart 1970c:75, Fig.15, 37). Most of the Level II occupation, however, lay at the centre of the mound and was there not impacted by the “level I cut” (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20, 21). The Level I “newcomers” then erected a “fortress” on the levelled ‘hat brim’, leaving out the raised middle part. This reconstruction has recently convincingly been challenged by Rosenstock (2010a:27-29). who shows that the evidence present by Mellaart for the existence of the ‘level I cut’ does not hold up to closer scrutiny, and that his excavation style as well as Byzantine and modern destruction of the prehistoric mound might have important destroyed stratigraphical connections between Level II and I. She suggests that instead the stratigraphy of the upper levels of Hacilar is to be reconstructed as Level IV – Level Iab – Level II (of which V-III are subphases) – Level Icd. This reconstruction is however heavily based on comparisons of the relative height of architecture remains asl, which is a problematic stratigraphic tool at Near Eastern mound sites that frequently saw horizontal shifts of occupation, such as Tell Sabi Abyad (Van der Plicht et al. 2011), or Hacilar itself in Mellaart’s reconstruction.

Accepting Rosenstock’s (2010a) refusal of the ‘level I cut’, another possible reconstruction would be to reconstruct Levels I and II together as one level—they were, after all, at the same height asl. Mellaart himself (1970c:Fig.28) actually provides a visualisation of this scenario by combining the Level II and I plans into one image that shows that the stratigraphic connections between the two excavation areas were investigated in only a very small area. Mellaart’s argument that the architectural styles of Levels II and I were completely different (Mellaart 1970c:75, 145) becomes invalid if his architectural reconstructions are challenged, as will be done in Appendix 12. The few available radiocarbon dates from Level I and II (Table 11) have such large error margins that essentially all three scenarios are possible: Level II being older, both being the same, or Level I being older. In light of such inconsistent evidence, this thesis will remain conservative and assume that Level I did in fact represent a new building phase following Level II. Since no radiocarbon dates are available from its uppermost sublevels, the end of Level I, and thus of Hacilar, is not certain. A duration of 250 years as tentatively suggested by Thissen (2010:Fig.13) seems a lot taking into account that Level I represents modifications of the same built environments, just as Levels IX-VI and Levels V-II, reconstructed by Thissen as having lasted only 150 and 100 years respectively. Thissen’s model is however at present the best available option.

The Aceramic/ Level IX-VII problem

Mellaart (1970c:8) reconstructed a long hiatus between the 'Aceramic' and the Late Neolithic settlement, and that the Late Neolithic 'newcomers' founded partially on virgin soil and partially on eroded Aceramic remains. There is thus only minimal physical/stratigraphical overlap between these two stratigraphic packages: The 'Aceramic' levels and Levels IX-VII form two small mounds next to each other at roughly at the same absolute height above sea level; and both covered by the large Level VI village (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.41). While this is possible and such shifts are documented at Neolithic Near Eastern settlements (see above), the overlap of Level IX-VII overlying 'Aceramic' is shown in a section drawing (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.39) that seems to indicate that this overlap was only found in a very small area. If it is thus not seen as entirely reliable, it could be possible to suggest that the 'Aceramic' levels were in fact contemporary with those demarked as Level IX-VII, and therefore also associated with Level VI, a scenario that does not seem impossible looking at the above mentioned section drawing, in which Level IX-VII and 'Aceramic' deposits are shown abutting the same Level VI wall from both sides.

Again in the interest of being conservative, I will however here work from the assumption that the 'Aceramic' levels were indeed older than Level IX. Their nature (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.2-4) makes it more likely that they represent modifications of each other and therefore a chronologically tight bundle instead of the up to 500 years suggested by Mellaart (1970c:6). Thissen sees the start of Level IX at 6350 BC, and the 'Aceramic levels' could date to any point within the 150 years between 6500-6350 BC, assuming the 6500 BC mark that seems to have seen the earliest farming occupation in the Lake District (Chapter 3.3.1). In sum, a revision of stratigraphy and radiocarbon dates can date the entire Hacilar sequence to between 6500-5700 BC. Despite suggestions of major flaws in the stratigraphy suggested by Mellaart (1970c), for example that Level I might partially predate Level II (Rosenstock 2010a), the Mellaart sequence is currently the only coherent suggestion until a more systematic re-ordering of stratigraphy is done. However, radiocarbon dates and stratigraphy can be used to suggest that in fact Hacilar was in total occupied for a much shorter amount of time than the 2000 years suggested by Mellaart (1970c:94), and that its stratigraphic sequence can be simplified to

essentially represent four successive villages: 'Aceramic' VII-I, Levels IX-VI, V-II and I.

Level	Mellaart 1970c:94		Thissen 2002a:332	Schoop 2005a:Fig.4.9	Thissen 2010:Fig.13, 273	Düring 2011c:Tab 5.2	Duru 2012:1, 23	Radiocarbon dates (Mellaart 1970c:93; Thissen 2002a:318, 2010:Tab.6)
Level Id	Early Chalcolithic	5100-5000 BC		5800-5700 BC	5790-5700 BC? Early Chalcolithic	between 5800-5600 BC	Early Chalcolithic	
Level Ic	Early Chalcolithic							
Level Ib	Early Chalcolithic	5250-5100 BC		[hiatus]	5950-5790 BC Early Chalcolithic			
Level Ia	Early Chalcolithic							
Level IIb	Early Chalcolithic	5400-5250 BC	occupation attested by radiocarbon dating 6300-5700 BC	6100-6000 BC	6110-5950 BC Late Neolithic	between 6000-5800 BC		P-315 5828±91 BC (architectural wood) P-315a (from same sample as P-315) 5951±208 BC
Level IIa	Early Chalcolithic							

Level III	Early Chalcolithic	5450-5400 BC						
Level IV	Early Chalcolithic	5500-5450 BC						
Level V	Early Chalcolithic	5600-5550 BC						
Level VI	Late Neolithic	5670-5600 BC		6450-6100 BC	6350-6110 BC Late Neolithic	between 6500-6000 BC	Late Neolithic	BM-48 6414±179 BC (architectural wood) P-313 6037±108 BC (hearth ashes) P-313a 6227±108 BC (from same sample as P-313) (dendrochronological samples taken from same beam as BM-48) AA-41602 7468±51BP AA-41603 7452±51 BP AA-41604 7398±63 BP
Level VII	Late Neolithic	5700-5670 BC						BM-125 = 6711±226 BC (architectural wood)
Level VIII	Late Neolithic	5750-5700 BC						
Level IX	Late Neolithic							P-314 6220±112 BC (hearth throwout on floor)
	Hiatus	6750-5750 BC					hiatus	

Aceramic I								
Aceramic II		end of 8 th millennium – 6750 BC	occupation attested by radiocarbon dating 8200-7550 BC				early Neolithic, around 8000 BC	
Aceramic III								
Aceramic IV								
Aceramic V								BM-127 = 7862±241 BC (hearth throwout on floor)
Aceramic VI								
Aceramic VII								
Virgin soil								

Table 11 The chronology of Hacilar discussed in the literature.

Level	Mellaart 1970c	Schoop 2005a:Fig.4.9	Thissen 2010:271-272	Rosenstock 2010a:28-29	Düring 2011c:170
Level Id	survivors of the Ib conflagration occupying ruins and constructing insubstantial new architecture: Id represents alterations are repairs of Ic (Mellaart 1970c:86)		[n/a]	Levels Icd follow Level II	
Level Ic			[n/a]		
Level Ib	new construction of a large fortified village, which involved the excavation and destruction of many of the buried older remains; Ib represents small modifications within the Ia architecture (Mellaart 1970c:75-76); destroyed by fire (Mellaart 1970c:86)		[n/a]	Levels Iab stratigraphically below/ chronologically before Level II	
Level Ia			[n/a]		

		hiatus of 200 years				
Level IIb	IIB represents the rebuilding of IIA after a fire destroyed the eastern part of the village; IIB also destroyed by fire (Mellaart 1970c:31, 75)		a single stratigraphic unit	a single stratigraphic unit (V-III are subphases of II) that follows Level VI directly	a separate phase to 2a	
Level IIa	new construction of a small fortified village at the centre of the mound (Mellaart 1970c:25)				actually represents two different building levels 2a-2 (younger) = western part of the 2a village; 2a-1 = eastern part of the village called 2a (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20)	
Level III	new construction of a small village shifted further north and east of the Level IV area (Mellaart 1970c:24)					
Level IV	new construction of a small village shifted north of the Level VI area (Mellaart 1970c:23-24)					
Level V	shortlived village of the survivors of the Level VI conflagration (Mellaart 1970c:23, 94)					
Level VI	a large village destroyed by fire; VI and VII are two floors within one building level (Mellaart 1960:40, 1970c:9-11)		a single stratigraphic unit including refurbishings			
Level VII						
Level VIII						a small village with ephemeral architecture, IX and VIII represent "two floors of one building-level" (Mellaart 1960:40, 1970c:8-9)
Level IX						
	hiatus					
Aceramic						
V. soil						

Table 12 The stratigraphy and cultural history of Hacilar discussed in the literature

Level	date
Level Id	Early Chalcolithic 5800-5700 BC
Level Ic	
	Levels 1c-d reused the Level 1ab remains
Level Ib	Early Chalcolithic 5950-5800 BC
Level Ia	
	Level 1b represents modifications of Level 1a
Level IIb	Late Neolithic 6100-5900 BC
Level IIa	
Level III	
Level IV	
Level V	
	Levels 5-3 are modifications of Level 2
Level VI	Late Neolithic 6350-6100 BC
Level VII	
Level VIII	
Level IX	
	Levels 9-7 are modifications of Level 6
Level Aceramic I	Late Neolithic after 6500, before 6350 BC
Level Aceramic II	
Level Aceramic III	
Level Aceramic IV	
Level Aceramic V	
Level Aceramic VI	
Level Aceramic VII	
	Aceramic 7-1 represent modifications of each other

Table 13 Chronology of Hacilar used in this thesis.

The chronology of Kuruçay

Kuruçay Höyük (1978-1988) was the second Neolithic/ Chalcolithic excavation in the Lake District after Hacilar. Excavations covered a large area (3500m²) and reached virgin soil in nearly the entire excavation area (Duru 1994c:95). Refik Duru's team exposed a deep stratigraphy from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age, distinguishing 15 building levels. Levels relevant to this thesis (Levels 13-7) were separated by a long hiatus from the later LC and EBA occupation, whose dating is not scrutinised here.

Level 13

Although the period designations chosen by Duru (1994c:96) seem to imply an early start and long duration of Levels 13-7 (Early Neolithic to Early Chalcolithic), the absolute dates given by him (Duru 1994c:92, 2008:15) are between 6200 and 5000 BC. This includes Level 13, the dating of which has changed in Duru's publications over the years. Level 13, according to Duru (2008:14, 55) the earliest settlement phase at Kuruçay and 60-80cm thick, excavated in a small sondage, did not contain architecture, but 150 pottery sherds and other finds (Duru 1994c:99, 2008:14). In the 1994 monograph, Duru (1994c:114-115) reports the single radiocarbon date that dates Level 13 to between 6200 and 6100 BC, but then suggests an alternative date of 7100-6900 BC based on parallels with 'Aceramic' Hacilar, dated by Mellaart (1970c:93) to ca. 7000-6750 BC based on an uncalibrated radiocarbon date. Later, he must have decided to ignore the Hacilar parallel and date level 13 close to level 12, as already suggested in 1994 (Duru 1994c:114, "an early subphase of Level 12"): in the 2007 (Duru 2007:337) and 2012 (Duru 2012:24, 26)¹ papers, Duru dates Level to around 6500 BC, and in 2008, Duru (2008:15) lists radiocarbon dates between 6200 and 5900 BC for Levels 13 and 12. Thissen

¹ Duru's 2012 paper in *Neolithic in Turkey* is in large parts an English translation of his 2007 *Neolithic Turkey* paper. It presents the same opinion on the dating of Kuruçay and Höyücek as in 2007. The 2008 book will therefore be counted here as Duru's last updated opinion on the dating of Kuruçay and Höyücek.

(2002a:334) excludes the Level 13 radiocarbon date because it does not come from a secure context, but instead from an erosion deposit. Schoop (2005a:Fig.4.9) dates the Kuruçay 13 pottery to between 6200-6100 BC, which we will follow here as the most precise available date. This is not contradicted by Düring (2011c:Tab.5.2, 226) placing Kuruçay 13 sometimes between 6500 and 6000 BC. Since Düring (2011c:162) himself states that his scheme of Lake District pottery phases is “simple”, i.e. generalising, it will be ignored here in the following—also because it is at times at odds with the radiocarbon dates.

However, Schoop’s (2005a:Fig.4.9) pottery chronology for the Lake District should be approached with care since it is mainly based on the cross-referencing of sequences that are in themselves all problematic; and a lot of it evolves around the Hacilar sequence which is the most problematic of all. However, dating Level 13 6200-6100 BC still holds up, since in the following section, Level 12 will be shown to start around 6100 BC. Assuming that Level 13 lasted for about 100 years before the Level 12 start makes sense if no hiatus occurred between the levels, and if one considers it prudent to reconstruct shorter time spans for single occupational levels cf. Duru (2012:12) who envisaged the early levels of Kuruçay as long-lasting settlements, for example Levels 13-11 together spanning 500-600 years.

Levels 12-8

Of Levels 12-9, parts of a few built structures each were uncovered (Duru 1994:99-100, 2008:Figs.77, 81, 86). Levels 8/7 are comparatively better preserved/researched, with five complete buildings excavated of Level 8, and six of Level 7 (Cutting 2005b:105; Duru 1994c:100, 2008:Figs 88-89). Of many built structures, however, not more than a few stone courses of the foundations were preserved (Cutting 2005:103).

Two factors complicate the dating of Levels 12-8. First, it remains unclear whether or not there was a hiatus between Levels 13 and

12. Such a hiatus is suggested by Duru (Duru 1994c:96, 2007, 2012:24, 26) initially, and taken over by Schoop (2005a:Fig.4.9) albeit in shorter form. But this suggested hiatus might be mainly based on the now refuted early date of Level 13, and in 2008 (Duru 2008:13), Duru does not mention hiatus any more. Second, the time frame covered by these levels might have been exaggerated by Duru. Thissen (2010:273) observes that Levels 12-8 might in fact represent modifications within the same built environment. Thissen (2010:273) suggests that some excavations techniques were not ideal in dealing with the complex stratigraphy of the site, which was rendered all the more difficult by the fragmentary preservation of the architecture: “There is a general absence of systematic profile sections (but cf. Duru 1994c:Pls. 8.1; 17.1), and stone foundations from higher levels remain standing during the dig (e.g., Duru 1994c:Pl. 20.1), prohibiting a clear overview”. Third, despite the existence of two radiocarbon dates, Duru (2007:355, 2012:25) tries to date the Kuruçay levels based on parallels with the Hacilar sequence, which is in itself so flawed that such comparisons might bring more confusion than clarification – which also puts doubts on Schoop’s (2005a:Fig.4.9) suggestions of dating the pottery sequence of Kuruçay. If ignoring Hacilar parallels, assuming no hiatus between Levels 13 and 12, taking Levels 12-8 as a stratigraphically and chronologically tight bundle, and working with the two available radiocarbon dates, the dating suggested by Thissen (2010:Fig.13) of Levels 12-8 between 6110 and 5990 BC seems the most reliable.

Level 7

A radiocarbon sample dating Level 7 to around 6100 BC is regarded by Duru (1994c:114) as “unreasonably high” and a probable intrusion from a lower level. He thus suggests disregarding it and does indeed not report it in his 2008 (Duru 2008:15) list of radiocarbon dates from Kuruçay. It is indeed possible that the Level 7 sample is older than its context given that it was done on charcoal while the Level 11-13 samples were done on animal bone, a far more secure dating material (Thissen 2010:Tab.6). The Level 7 sample could represent the old-wood-effect and should maybe be discounted (Reingruber 2008:447; Thissen 2010:274).

The reason for Duru to reject the Level 7 radiocarbon date as unreasonable seems to have been that this date did not fit with the established Hacilar sequence. Duru (1994c:114-115, 2008:12, 15) then tries to date Kuruçay 7 based on parallels of architecture and pottery with Hacilar, which is not only problematic because Hacilar is poorly dated and because for the 1994 chronology, Duru still used the uncalibrated Hacilar dates - but also because Duru apparently changed his mind on parallels between Hacilar and Kuruçay. For example, Duru (1994c:114,115) however assumes that Kuruçay was abandoned before Hacilar I was established. In 2008, Duru (2008:15) seems to suggest that Kuruçay 7 and Hacilar I existed at the same time, since both were destroyed in the same war/fire event immediately after 6000 BC. He is thus not far off the dating suggested by Thissen (2010:Fig.13), who has Level 7 starting in 6990 and lasting to ca. 5900 BC, which is accepted here.

To summarise, if completely ignoring attempts to make Kuruçay fit with Hacilar, the dating of Kuruçay Levels 13-7 is relatively unproblematic. All newer research agrees that they can be dated to a relatively narrow window of time between ca. 6200 and ca. 5800 or 5600 BC. There are however, differences between scholars, and I have decided to accept the dating of Levels 12-7 by Thissen (2010:Fig.13) as the most reliable suggestion, and add Level 13 as a 100-years span at the beginning. All of Kuruçay 13-7 might thus date into a narrow 300-year window.

	period after Duru 1994c:96,99 1996e:111-112, 2008:13, 2012:5	absolute dates after Duru (1994c:92, 115)	Schoop 2005e:Fig 4.9, 4.10	Duru 2012:24, 26 (same as Duru 2007)	absolute dates after Duru (2008:15)	Thissen 2010:Fig.13	Düring 2011c:Tab.5.2, 226	Radiocarbon dates (Duru 2012:7; Thissen 2010:Tab.6), calibrated with CalPal
Level 1	Early Bronze Age II				ca. 2500- 2200 BC			
Level 2	Early Bronze Age I- II							
	hiatus							
Level 3	Late Chalcolithic		3400-ca. 3000 BC				Late Chalcolithic	
Level 3A								
Level 4								
Level 5								
Level 6								
Level 6A					14C dates between 3640 and 3140 BC			
	long hiatus		long hiatus		long hiatus		long hiatus	
Level 7	Early Chalcolithic	5300/5200 BC	6000-5850		[ended just after 6000	5990-5900	between 5800 BC and 5600 BC	[Hacettepe lab]

		-5100/5000 BC	BC		BC]	BC?		6097±58 BC
Level 8						possibly also between 6110-5990 BC	between 6000 BC and 5800 BC	
Level 9								
Level 10						6110-5990 BC		
	short hiatus							
upper Level 11 (üst)	1994: Late Neolithic	5850/5800 BC		Late Neolithic; ending at the beginning of the 6 th millennium	14C dates between 6010 and 5800 BC			HD-12917 5912±91BC
lower Level 11 (alt)	2008: between Early and Late Neolithic	6000 BC						
upper Level 12 (üst)	Early Neolithic 2	6000 BC			14C dates between 6230 and 5920 BC			HD-12916 6024±22BC
lower Level 12 (alt)		6200 BC						
	1994:hiatus 2008:no hiatus	hiatus		[hiatus? No EN 2 occupation at Kuruçay mentioned]				
Level 13	Early Neolithic 1	around 7000 BC with unclear start and end	ca. 6200-6100 BC	end of EN 1 period, middle of the 7 th millennium			between 6500 BC and 6000 BC	HD-12915 6173±73BC
virgin soil								

Table 14 The chronology of Kuruçay discussed in the literature.

Level 1	Early Bronze Age II
Level 2	Early Bronze Age I-II
	hiatus
Level 3	Late Chalcolithic
Level 3A	
Level 4	
Level 5	
Level 6	
Level 6A	
	long hiatus
Level 7	Late Neolithic to Early Chalcolithic
Level 8	
Level 9	6200-5800 BC
Level 10	
upper Level 11 (üst)	
lower Level 11 (alt)	
upper Level 12 (üst)	
lower Level 12 (alt)	
Level 13	
virgin soil	

Table 15 Chronology of Kuruçay used in this thesis.

The chronology of Höyücek

At Höyücek, Duru's team distinguished three occupational phases above virgin soil, labelled in order from oldest to youngest, and bottom to top, the 'Early Settlements phase' (ESP; or Erken Yesleşmeler Dönemi, EYP), 'Shrine/temple phase' (ShP; or Tapınak Dönemi, TD), 'Sanctuary phase' (SP, or Kutsal Alanlar Dönemi, KAD), and the uppermost level 'mixed accumulation'. The uppermost level, of considerable thickness of 2.6m and over 6m in some areas, contained pottery, but the associated architecture has survived only in fragments (Duru and Umurtak 2005:178), the other levels had architectural remains.

The 'Early Settlements Phase'

One radiocarbon dates on animal bone is available from ESP. Duru (2012:13, 2008:15-16 2007:342; Duru and Umurtak 2005:226) suggests disregarding this date, which falls within the range of the ShP dates although it should be older. Instead, he dates ESP to 7000-6550 BC (Duru and Umurtak 2005:226-228) based on the assumption that the accumulation of the 4m of deposit that made up ESP must have taken around 500 years before the start of ShP (Duru 2008:16). It must be remarked, however, that generally bone is a more reliable dating material in southcentral Anatolia than charcoal, even though this particular bone does not seem to have been articulated. In a different approach, Thissen (2010:274-275) discards the two ShP dates (HD-14218, HD-14219) that are older than the ESP date, and also remarks that then finally also the third remaining date from ShP (HD-14217) might be older than its context because it came from a wooden post and does not fit the date for material culture reached by comparison with Hacilar and Kuruçay. Using the two more trustworthy radiocarbon dates from ESP and ShP and contextual evidence, Thissen (2010:Fig.13) dates ESP between 6400 and 6200 BC, which also fits the date suggested by Schoop (2005a:Fig.4.9) and Düring (2011c:Tab.5.2) and will thus be accepted here. Duru (Duru and Umurtak 2005:162) and Thissen (2010:Fig.13) further subdivide ESP into subphases, but because of

the limited architectural remains, discussing this subdivision is not relevant for this thesis.

The ‘Shrine Phase’

The dating of ShP to some time between 6500 and 6000 BC is refreshingly unanimous between Duru, Schoop, Thissen and Düring. However, Schoop (2005a:Fig.4.9) and Thissen (2010:Fig.13) do not agree with Duru and Umurtak (2005:226-228) on how long this occupational phase lasted, and on whether or not there was a hiatus between ESP and ShP. Duru and Umurtak (2005:226-228) reconstructed a hiatus of 50 years between ESP and ShP because the material culture of both levels was so different that they are reconstructed to represent very different cultures. Neither Thissen (2010:275) nor Schoop (2005a:Fig.4.9) follow this interpretation, also without stating reasons. Due to a lack of clear evidence for a gap in occupation between ESP and ShP in the sequence itself (e.g. erosion levels), this thesis will assume there was none.

Also, although Duru and Umurtak (2005:226) saw ShP lasting for 500 years from 6500 until 6000 BC, both Schoop’s (2005:Fig.4.9) pottery chronology and Thissen’s (2010:Fig.13) modelling of radiocarbon dates arrive at a duration of 150 years or 50 years respectively. The estimation by Duru and Umurtak relies on the span of the radiocarbon dates from Level 3, of which the two older ones probably should be disregarded because they came from ‘old wood’ (Thissen 2010:274). Thissen (2010:275) does not state clearly why he reconstructs the duration of ShP at only 50 years, but he does remark that its material culture is very close to that of SP, and therefore both must be “very close in time”. This might explain why he reconstructs rather short durations for both, and also does not follow Duru and Umurtak (2005:227) or Schoop (2005a:Fig.4.9) who see a hiatus between ShP and SP, explained by Duru (2012:10) with the fact that ShP was destroyed. On the other hand, Duru and Umurtak (2005:227) stress continuity between ShP and SP, because in both phases Höyücek was a religious centre in their reconstruction.

Despite using it in the eventually suggested dating of Höyücek (Thissen 2010:Fig13), Thissen (2010:275) is conflicted about whether to rely on one radiocarbon date (HD-14217) from ShP that he deemed fairly reliable because it is later than the ESP date; or whether

to suspect that it is too old because it was derived from architectural wood and does not fit the material culture parallels identified by Thissen. Thissen (2010:275) points out parallels of Höyücek ShP material with Kuruçay Levels 12-8 and Hacilar V-II including the final stages of Level VI; Schoop (2005a:180) finds its pottery similar to Hacilar VI-IV, and Umurtak (2005a:188) names Kuruçay 12-9 and Hacilar IX, VI and II. While pottery thus does not seem to be a reliable dating material, presumably again because it relies on the cross-referencing of very problematic site sequences, as a solution to Thissen's doubts about the ShP radiocarbon date it could be suggested to place ShP and SP together between 6200 and 6000 BC, which would fit both their chronological closeness as well as their possible contemporaneity to Kuruçay 12-8 and Hacilar VI-II (see Figure 3). The possibly unreliable radiocarbon date does not contradict this dating. How does this suggestion hold up when turning to discuss SP dating?

The 'Sanctuary Phase'

Between Duru himself offering differing dates for SP over the years, and Thissen, Düring and Schoop weighing in the discussion, there are now several conflicting opinions about the dating of this not-radiocarbon dated occupation level. The major feature of dating in this discussion is the painted pottery that appears at Höyücek with SP. A majority of scholars ((Düring 2011b:Tab.5.2; Schoop 2005;Fig.4.9; Yakar 2011a:Tab 4.2) seem to want to date SP later than 6000 BC, the traditional date for the beginning of pottery painting in southcentral Anatolia. Painted pottery did, however, exist in the Lake District well before 6000 BC (Chapter 3.3.1). This opens the way to date Höyücek SP to earlier than 6000 BC, as suggested by Thissen (2010:275, Fig.13), who as already mentioned sees it in close chronological connection with ShP and, much like me, shows a preference for assigning shorter rather than unfoundedly long durations to individual occupation levels. A tentative dating of ShP and SP to between 6200 and 6000 BC shall therefore be assumed for this thesis.

In conclusion, based on the admittedly suboptimal dating evidence, the three architecture-bearing occupation levels at Höyücek

represent a small settlement that existed for at the most 500 years during the Late Neolithic. It must however be remembered that the exposure at Höyücek was of limited size, and occupation of different date than those excavated layer could have been present elsewhere on the mound. The dating of the ‘mixed accumulations’ is not of primary concern to this thesis because of the lack of preserved architecture remains in it. Here, it shall suffice to remark that after the end of SP occupation, some activity was performed at the site that left no preserved architectural remains, but pottery that was dated by Duru and Umurtak (2005:226-228), Düring (2011c:Tab.5.2) and Schoop (2005:Fig.4.9) to some time between 6000 and 5000 BC, the Early Chalcolithic.

	Duru 2007:342, 2008:16, 2012:12-13; Duru and Umurtak 2005:226-228	Schoop 2005a: Fig.4.9	Düring 2011c:Tab.5.2	Thissen 2010:274-275, Fig.13	radiocarbon dates (Duru and Umurtak 2005:226-228; Thissen 2010:Tab.6); calibrated with CalPal
mixed accumulation	Early Chalcolithic (5700-5500 BC) and later			--	
West Trench, Batı Çukur		5850-5750 BC	between 5800-5600 BC		
Sanctuary phase	2005: Late Neolithic (5900-5700 BC) 2007/2012: end of the 7 th millennium 2008: Late Neolithic (around 6000 BC)	6000-5900 BC	between 6000-5800 BC	ca. 6160-6100 BC	
	hiatus (ca. 100 years)	hiatus (ca. 100 years)	[no comment on hiatus]	no hiatus	
Shrine phase	Early Neolithic II (6500-6000 BC)	Late Neolithic 6250-6100 BC	between 6500-6000 BC	ca. 6210-6160 BC	HD-14219 6421±28 BC HD-14218 6420±29 BC HD-14217 6194±64 BC

	hiatus (ca. 50 years)	no hiatus	[no comment on hiatus]	no hiatus	
Early Settlements phase	Early Neolithic I (7000-6550 BC)	6400-6250 BC	between 6500-6000 BC	ca. 6410-6210 BC	Utc-3793 6294±53 BC)
Virgin soil					

Table 16 The chronology of Höyücek discussed in the literature.

'mixed accumulation (MA)'	Early Chalcolithic
'Sanctuary phase (SP)'	Late Neolithic ca. 6160-6100 BC
'Shrine phase (ShP)'	Late Neolithic ca. 6210-6160 BC
'Early Settlements phase (ESP)'	Late Neolithic ca. 6410-6210 BC

Table 17 Chronology of Höyücek used in this thesis.

The chronology of Bademağacı

Refik Duru's team worked at Bademağacı from 1993 until 2010 and distinguished 19 building levels from the Early Neolithic to the Middle Bronze Age (Duru 2008:18), as well as short-lived or ephemeral EC and LC occupation evidenced by pot sherds without architecture found above the late Neolithic levels (Duru 2008:18, 45, 122, Fig.129, 278; Schoop 2005a:170). It is possible that the forthcoming monograph will update information regarding the dating of Bademağacı; until then, Duru's (2007, 2008, 2012) summaries of the Lake District Neolithic represent the most up-to-date view.

'Early Neolithic II' levels

Of the pre-EBA levels, the dating of the 'ENII' levels is the least problematic because verified by radiocarbon dates, and will therefore be discussed here first to provide a reference point for the dating of the other levels, of which no radiocarbon dates have been published yet. There is consensus that these levels date between 6500-6000 BC, which is the Early Neolithic in Duru's Lake District chronology, but the Late Neolithic in this thesis. Seven radiocarbon dates from the ENII levels span 6450-6000 BC (Duru 2007:349, 2008:19, 2012:14; Thissen 2010:Tab.6). Although they are from charcoal (Thissen 2010:Tab.6), they seem to be deemed fairly reliable by Duru (2008) and Thissen (2010). Thissen's (2010:Fig.13) radiocarbon modelling dates the ENII to between 6380 and 6160 BC. Düring's (2011b:Tab.5.2) overview of pottery phases in the Lake District also dates the Bademağacı ENII to between 6500 and 6000 BC. Schoop's (2005a:181, 190, Fig.4.9) comparison of the pottery with other Lake District sites dates them 6450-6100 BC, which fits well with Thissen's dating.

'Early Neolithic I' levels

One major issue of debate on the dating of the Bademağacı sequence is its start. The architectural remains from the earliest period ('ENI') are described as 'scarce' by Duru (2008:24); in fact, they seem to have been not more than a floor without walls in Level ENI 8 and a few burials (Düring 2011c:162; Duru 2008:18, 51-52, Fig.42, 2012:14). Duru (Duru 2008:19) dates the ENI levels to start in ca. 7000 BC based on one radiocarbon sample that with error margin is dated between 7000 and 6700 BC (Thissen 2010:Tab.6). Thissen (2010:276) accepts the validity of this sample, but suggest assuming the tail end of 6700 BC as the most likely start of the Bademağacı settlement. Düring (2011c:125-126, 162) doubts the reliability of this sample, which was done on charcoal. Also, if a pre-6500 BC date for the beginning of Hacilar is refuted, this would make Bademağacı the only Lake District site to have been occupied before 6500 BC—a major interpretation to base on one single radiocarbon date. It could instead be suggested to date the Bademağacı 'ENI' levels to some time between ca. 6500 BC, the presumed start of farming occupation in the Lake District, and 6380 BC, the start of ENII as evidence by radiocarbon dates.

Such a suggestion can be substantiated with material culture evidence. Schoop (2005a:180-181) remarks that the 'Early Neolithic' pottery from Bademağacı closely resembles that of the Hacilar 'Late Neolithic' levels IX-VI, here dated to between 6300-6100 BC. A change in surface rendering and vessel form that occurred in Hacilar between Levels VIII and VII occurs in Bademağacı between ENII and ENI. A few special ceramic forms that only occur in the uppermost EN levels also occur in Hacilar VI and Höyücek ShP and thus towards the end of the Late Neolithic at these sites (Schoop 2005a:181). The pottery sequence therefore seems to indicate that the entire Bademağacı 'Early Neolithic' dates more towards the latter half of the Late Neolithic period. Schoop (2005a:Fig.4.9) tentatively suggests this, and seems to hesitate only because this would make Bademağacı ENI roughly contemporary to Hacilar IX-VIII, but the latter has more complicated vessel shapes that could suggest a chronologically later position (Schoop 2005a:181). It needs however to be remarked that the radiocarbon dates that have the ENII starting in 6380 BC (Thissen 2010:Fig.13) would make the ENI older than 6380 BC, and therefore older than Hacilar IX-VI in the Hacilar chronology accepted here, rather contemporary

with 'Aceramic' Hacilar. Duru (2012:23) himself equates Bademağacı ENI8 with the Hacilar 'Aceramic' because both have red lime floors, which however should not be seen as very strong chronological proof. Schoop (2005a:181) however also remarks that the amount of excavated Bademağacı ENI sherds is small, the amount of published sherds even smaller, and thus any comparison with Hacilar must stay preliminary.

The dating of early Hacilar and early Bademağacı display the same issues then: Both have each produced one ¹⁴C date predating 6500 BC. While these ¹⁴C cannot simply be ignored, they are both from unreliable materials/contexts. At both sites, the amount of material recovered from the lowest levels is not sufficient to get an impression whether they might be contemporary with each other, and how long they might have lasted before the onset of the more securely dated layers that date to the last two or three centuries of the LN. It does not seem prudent to assign long duration spans to such incompletely researched occupation levels, especially not if such an interpretation has important implications for the history of the establishing of farming and settled life in the Lake District, by suggesting that some sites started already before 6500 BC. In the interest of being conservative, it shall be assumed for both cases that prior to the well-dated occupation starting in 6380 BC (Bademağacı) and 6350 BC (Hacilar) respectively, the less well dated levels covered only a short span of time that could have started somewhat but not significantly, before 6500 BC.

'Late Neolithic' and 'Early Chalcolithic' levels

These levels consisted of architecture-less accumulations at the centre of the mound that Duru typically discusses together as LN/EC based on the variety of pottery found; and a few structures he dates to the LN (Duru 2008:44-45, 114, 2012:13-14, 17-18). No radiocarbon dates are available. Schoop (2005a:181) suggests a dating of the LN-EC levels contemporary to Kuruçay 12-7, which covers the period between 6000 and 5800 BC in his chronology scheme (Schoop 2005a:Fig.4.9), and 6100-5900 BC in mine. Düring's (2011c:Tab5.2) pottery comparison arrives at a later date of 5800-5600 BC, but as already stated it too general to be of much use

here. Here, the LN-EC levels are tentatively dated to between 6100 and 5900 BC following Schoop's suggestion to date it contemporary to Kuruçay 12-7. The scarcity and bad preservation of architectural remains from these levels render a hiatus between 'EN' and 'LN' levels as suggested by Duru (2012:14) possible, but not verifiable, and further it seems possible that these levels represent the remains of occupation that lasted longer than 5900 BC. Alas, their poor preservation prevent such conclusions. After the end of the 'EC', the site seems to have experienced a long hiatus and the later occupation starting in the Late Chalcolithic is not studied here, therefore a closer examination of the post-EC chronology is not relevant.

	period after Duru 2007:343, 2008:17-19, 2012:14	Radiocarbon dates, Duru 2008:19	Schoop 2005a:190	Thissen 2010:Fig.13	Düring 2011c:126, 162, Tab 5.2	Radiocarbon dates (Thissen 2010:Tab.6, calibrated with CalPal)				
church	Early Christian period									
MBA 1-2	Middle Bronze Age									
	hiatus									
EBaII1-3	Early Bronze Age II									
	hiatus									
	Late Chalcolithic									
	hiatus									
EC	Early Chalcolithic									
LN1-2	Late Neolithic						--	6000-5800BC		5800-5600 BC?
	2007/2012: hiatus									

ENII1	Early Neolithic	between 6220 BC - 6080 BC	6450-6100 BC	6200-6160 BC	6500-6000 BC	Hd-21046 6161±52 BC		
ENII2		--						
ENII3		between 6250 and 6450 BC			6250-6200 BC		Hd-20910 6420±25 BC Hd-21058 6332±60 BC	
ENII3A					6300-6250 BC		Hd-22339 [4-3A] 6429±17 BC	
ENII4					6380-6300 BC		Hd-21015 6345±61 BC Hd-21016 6312±50 BC Hd-22279 6334±54 BC	
ENII4A								
ENII4B								
ENI5		--		post-6500 BC?	6700-6380 BC	doubtful whether pre-6500 BC		
ENI6		--						
ENI7		--						
ENI8			between 7000 BC - 6700 BC		6800-6700 BC		Hd-22340 6882±108 BC	
ENI9		--			---			
v. soil								

Table 18 The chronology of Bademağacı discussed in the literature.

EBAII1	Early Bronze Age II
EBAII2	
EBAII3	
hiatus	
LC	Late Chalcolithic
hiatus	
EC	Early Chalcolithic 6000-5800 BC
LN1	
LN2	
possible hiatus	
ENII1	Late Neolithic 6380-6160 BC
ENII2	
ENII3	
ENII3A	
ENII4	
ENII4A	
ENII4B	
ENII5	
ENI6	Late Neolithic between 6500 and 6380 BC
ENI7	
ENI8	
ENI9	

Table 19 Chronology of Bademağacı used in this thesis.

The chronology of Hacilar Büyük Höyük

Since 2011, Refik Duru and Gülsün Umurtak are directing a new excavation project at a mound a few hundred metres away from the site of Hacilar that was excavated in the 1950s. Work of the first seasons (Umurtak 2012, 2013; Umurtak and Duru 2012) found a major Early Bronze Age settlement, but since the mound is large, as its name implies (Hacilar Büyük Höyük = *large mound of Hacilar*), pre-EBA occupation exists and might be uncovered during the next seasons of excavations. The presence of Early Chalcolithic occupation is evidenced by fragments the diagnostic painted pottery found in fill units of the Early Bronze Age (Umurtak and Duru 2014:Fig.17). Further, some pottery and small finds seem to date to the Late Chalcolithic (Umurtak and Duru 2012).

The chronology of Çatalhöyük East

The site of Çatalhöyük is visually separated into two mounds, of which the larger and higher East Mound was subject to extensive excavations in the 1960s (Mellaart 1967) and since 1993 by the Çatalhöyük Research Project directed by Ian Hodder. After the Neolithic/ Chalcolithic occupation, both mounds at Çatalhöyük were used intermittently as burial grounds during the Classical, Late Byzantine and Early Islamic periods (Moore and Jackson 2014), but there was no major occupation that disturbed the Neolithic or Chalcolithic sequences (Farid 2014:92). Mellaart's excavations focused on an area in the southwest that is now part of the 'South Area' excavations of the new project. The Çatalhöyük Research Project opened trenches at several areas of the mound. 'South' and 'North' (sometimes also called 4040, because started as a trench of 40m x 40m) are large exposures, and South is also deep. Smaller areas have been excavated by independently funded projects: the BACH area (Berkeley Archaeologists at Çatalhöyük, Tringham and Stevanović 2012; now part of North), TP and TPC area (Team Poznan, Marciniak 2015a, 2015b), IST (Istanbul University, Özbaşaran and Duru 2014) have explored occupational layers within the uppermost meters of the mound.

Mellaart (Mellaart 1964:119, 1966b:167-168) divided the East Mound sequence, which he dug nearly to virgin soil (Bayliss et al. 2015:2) into 15 levels labelled 0-XIII, with Level VI being subdivided into VIa and VIb. The new project has reworked the stratigraphic distinction of East Mound levels and re-assigned buildings to different levels (Farid 2014; Hodder 2014b:Tab.1), the equation of new (Hodder) levels with old (Mellaart) levels is therefore an approximate one. Especially in the well-researched uppermost levels, Mellaart's level scheme has been entirely abandoned as incongruent with recent observations (Hodder 2014b:2). As part of the Hodder project, an extensive program of radiocarbon dating (Bayliss et al. 2014, 2015; Cessford 2005; Hodder 2014b:Tab.1; Marciniak et al. 2015b) is still underway with so far 144 dates published and many more in preparation. Çatalhöyük can be considered the only site in Neolithic and Chalcolithic southcentral Anatolia where enough radiocarbon dating has been done to at least securely date the sequence as a whole, even if open questions remain about the dating of individual buildings. The new dating of the East Mound sequence generally confirms, but further refines, Mellaart's dating. By the end of his excavations, Mellaart (1964:116-119, 1965a:135, 155, 1966b:167-168) dated the East Mound occupation to have started in "the earlier seventh, if not [...] eighth millennium B.C." and to have lasted until 5600 BC. This was based upon a total of 13 uncalibrated radiocarbon dates from Levels X-II (Mellaart 1964:116); at the time of writing, more 14C samples were being processed, and Thissen (2002a:304-305) provides a full list, which however does not seem to have been taken into account in Mellaart's chronological schemes (e.g. Mellaart 1967:52; 1978:13). This was a considerable number at the time, but ridden with methodological problems by today's standards (Bayliss et al. 2015:4; Cessford 2005:66-68). Mellaart (1964:117; 1967:50-51) verified the level durations indicated by the 14C dates by comparing them with the number of plaster layers on house walls, which he assumed to have been replastered once a year. Once the necessity to calibrate radiocarbon dates had become known, Mellaart adjusted this to ca. 7100-6300 BC (Mellaart 1978:13) and was therefore through estimation interestingly close to what has now been proved through more coherent and extensive radiocarbon dating. The new radiocarbon dating program is in progress, and the beginning and end date of the sequence are as much under discussion as the dating of individual levels of buildings (e.g. compare Hodder 2014b:Tab.1 with Marciniak et al. 2015b and Bayliss et al. 2015). The dates in Table 20 were combined from these three sources and give an occupation span between 7100 BC and 5950 BC. Occupation dating into the time frame considered in this thesis has been excavated on a large scale in the North

area, where nearly all excavated buildings postdate 6500 BC, the TP area, IST, and in the South Shelter starting with Level N (Bayliss et al. 2014:Tab.3.2; Hodder 2014b:Tab.1). In all areas except for IST, excavations are still ongoing.

Mellaart Levels	Mellaart 1964: 119, 1967:52	Mellaart 1978:13	Hodder South Levels	Hodder North Levels	Çatalhöyük project dating
0	5720-5600 BC	6300 BC	TP	[no occupation]	6400-6000 BC
I					
II	5750-5720 BC				
III	5790-5750 BC			South T North J	
IV	5830-5790 BC			South S North J	
V	5880-5830 BC			South R North I	
Vla	5950-5880 BC			South Q North H	
Vlb	6050/6070-5950 BC			South P North H	
VII	6200-6050/6070 BC			South O North G	
VIII	6280-6200 BC			South N North G	6500-6400 BC
IX	6380-6280 BC			South M North F	
X	6500-6380 BC			South L North F	6700-6500 BC
XI				South K [unexcavated]	
XII			South J		7100-6800 BC
XIII			South I		
[unexc.]	estimated start of occupation: early 7 th /late 8 th millennium	estimated start of occupation: 7100 BC	virgin soil		

Table 20 The dating of Çatalhöyük East discussed in the literature.

The chronology of Erbaba

Erbaba was excavated in five seasons between 1969 and 1977 by a team directed by Jacques Bordaz from the University of Pennsylvania. All remains date to the Neolithic, and the excavators identified three cultural layers at the site (Bordaz and Bordaz 1982). Düring (2006:249-250) doubts the reliability of this stratigraphic division, established in small test trenches that do not do justice to the complex formation processes of prehistoric mound sites, and suggests that in reality the site's stratigraphy was more complex.- The discussion around the dating of Erbaba is mainly based on radiocarbon dates. Four radiocarbon samples were dated from Erbaba. Before the necessity of calibration became known, Bordaz (Bordaz and Bordaz 1982:88) used the BP dates (minus 1950 years) to arrive at a dating of 5800-5400 BC for the Erbaba sequence. After calibration, this can be adjusted to 6700-6400 BC (Düring 2011c:136) or 6600-6400 BC (Thissen 2002a:324). However, Thissen (2002a:326; similarly Bordaz 1973:187; Düring 2006:250) deems only one date (I-5151) from Level III to be reliable, since the others have very large error margins of around 1000 years. All samples were charcoal and their precise context not recorded (Thissen 2002:307), which represent further causes for caution. Recently, Arbuckle (2008:Tab.1) published three new radiocarbon dates from bone samples (labelled 'AA' in Table 21). These generally fall into the spans also given by the older radiocarbon dates. Bone is shorter-lived material, but since there is no context to these samples (Arbuckle 2008 only indicates levels), it is not clear whether they come from reliable deposits.

Pottery typology is only of limited use in dating Erbaba, because no recently updated analysis is available: Schoop was prevented from including Erbaba into his discussions because the pottery from the site was never published comprehensively (Schoop 2005a:128). Bordaz (Bordaz and Bordaz 1982:88) reports that "the correlation of Erbaba Layer III with Early Neolithic Çatal Hüyük levels VIII-0 and Erbaba Layers II and I with Late Neolithic Hacilar levels IX-VI was established by extensive ceramic parallels". When compared against the updated dates for the Çatalhöyük and Hacilar sequences, however, this statement is not helpful because it is

too general; for example, Çatalhöyük Mellaart Levels 8-0 are now known to span 700 years—and the end of Hacilar IX-VI predates Çatalhöyük Level 0, another detail that is difficult to collate with Bordaz’s statement. Levels I-II have only one radiocarbon date—or none if that sample is deemed unreliable—so that their duration and the end of the site is not securely dated. Thissen (2002a:324) suggests it might have continued until 6000 BC, however without discussing the reasons. Given that the one, albeit unreliable, radiocarbon date from Level II-I is within the range of the Level III dates, it is unclear why Thissen assumed a duration of 400 years for the upper levels. It might therefore be prudent to assume an overall shorter occupation of Erbaba, as Düring (2011c:136) does. Remembering the pottery parallel of Erbaba II-I with Hacilar IX-VI, an occupation of Erbaba until sometime between 6300-6100 BC could be assumed. However, in conclusion the dating of Erbaba remains entirely insufficiently evidenced, and the dates assumed here more guesswork than anything else.

Level	Bordaz 1982:88	Thissen 2002a:324	Düring 2011c:136	Ceramic parallels according to Bordaz and Bordaz 1982:88	Radiocarbon dates (Arbuckle 2008:Tab. 1; Thissen 2002a:307)
Level I	5800-5400 BC	6400-6000 BC	6700-6400 BC	Hacilar IX-VI [= 6300-6100 BC]	(from Level I) AA66741 6535±70 BC (from Level II-I) GX-2543 6546±614 BC
Level II		6600-6400 BC		Çatalhöyük VIII-0 [= 6700-6000 BC]	AA66738 6146±53 BC AA66739 6354±80 BC GX-2545 6499±471 BC GX-2544 5831±548 BC I-5151 6618±134 BC
Level III					
virgin soil					

Table 21 The chronology of Erbaba discussed in the literature.

Level	date
Level 1	Late Neolithic
Level 2	6400-6100 BC
Level 3	Early to Late Neolithic 6600-6400 BC
virgin soil	

Table 22 The chronology of Erbaba discussed in the literature.

The chronology of Canhasan

Nine building levels (1-7) were defined within the excavated sequence of Canhasan I (French 1998:69). Levels 7-6 were only reached in a very small test trench of 2m x 3m (Düring 2011c:140) that was designed to document the stratigraphic sequence, not to excavated architecture. Not more than one wall each was uncovered from these two levels (French 1998:20-22). Of Levels 5-3, dense built structures were excavated in smaller areas of between 4m x 4m and 10m x 10m (French 1998:22-26). Levels 2 and 1 were the focus of excavations. Finally, more ephemeral traces of later periods were found, dating from the Iron Age to Byzantine period (French 1998:69).

French (1998:67) assumed that the unexcavated lowest deposits represented a series of occupations from the Early Neolithic, contemporary to that of Çatalhöyük East. Radiocarbon dating, at the time a new method with birthing problems, is only available for Level 2, and the other levels were dated through their pottery. The designation of Level 2b as ‘transitional’ between Early and Middle Chalcolithic also stems from French’s considerations of the development of pottery styles at the site. It must be remembered that these opinions were formed at a time when only the very limited excavations of Çatalhöyük West in 1961 (Mellaart 1965a)

offered a direct comparison with another Chalcolithic assemblage in the Konya plain, so that French (1967:175) relied on comparisons with the Hacilar and Mersin pottery sequences to date Canhasan levels.

Level 2

In the penultimate preliminary report of the Canhasan I excavation, French (1967:Chart 2) offers an absolute chronology of Canhasan that remained his final word on the matter until the monograph publication (French 1998). The 1967 chronology relies on uncalibrated radiocarbon dates (French 1967:Chart 1; see also French 1966:121 for a chronology prior to the ¹⁴C results), but in 1998 French offers no updated view, instead refraining from any mention of absolute dates and assigning levels only to a period (French 1998:67-69). To avoid confusion (French 1998:19), the attribution of levels to certain periods as published in 1998 remained the same as in 1967, and is thus at odds with the (calibrated) radiocarbon dates – similarly in Schoop (2005a:110-115, App.1), who follows French's chronology scheme very closely.

Taking ¹⁴C dates into account, however, changes the periodisation of Canhasan considerably. The available nine radiocarbon dates on charcoal and four dendrochronological dates were all from Level 2b except one from Level 2a. Even leaving out one sample that Thissen (2002a:303) suggests might be intrusive from Level 1, the eight ¹⁴C dates for Level 2b cover a span from ca. 5600 to 6100 BC. The dendrochronological dates are consistently older than the radiocarbon dates which supports the impression that thicker pieces of wood were older than the context they were found in ('old wood effect'); they are therefore best ignored. The single date from Level 2a falls more towards the middle of the range taken by the Level 2b samples. This could indicate that the sublevels of Level 2, all modifications within a continuously used built environment (Düring 2011c:141-142, 146; French 1998:66) with a critical discussion of the Level 2 subdivision), represent an overall short time span. Their pottery as well is very similar (Düring 2011c:146). Level 2 dates firmly into the Early Chalcolithic, or even to the last century of the Late Neolithic as defined in this thesis. The Middle

Chalcolithic date of Level 2a was determined by French (French 1967:175) based on comparisons with Mersin pottery, and Mersin has since been discovered to be part of a different cultural sphere, therefore this evidence is not strong enough to contradict the—though admittedly not satisfactory—radiocarbon evidence. Further, the similarities between Canhasan 2a and Mersin 17-19 pottery are not particularly strong (Düring 2011c:146; Schoop 2005a:131).

Levels 7-3

Since no radiocarbon dates are available from Levels 7-3, stratigraphy and pottery typology remain as the only dating tools. Originally, French (1967:176, 1998:67-69) dated Levels 7-4 Late Neolithic and Level 3 Early Chalcolithic. The reason for the latter might be the small amount of painted pottery (French 1967:172) found in this level, although in the 2005 final publication, French (2005:18) states that Level 3 pottery cannot be securely defined, because no in situ pottery was found in this level. Unfortunately Schoop (2005a:113) was not able to discuss Canhasan Level 3, because no pottery had been published, thus leaving this critical episode of pottery development uncommented. Pottery evidence from Level 3 is thus ambiguous; but French's observation (French 1998:66) that Level 3's architecture is similar to Level 2 seems to indicate a close chronological relationship between both levels. With Level 2 radiocarbon dates starting around 6000 BC, Level 3 can here tentatively be dated to around 6000 BC, which also suits the possible existence of painted pottery in this level—assuming that 6000 BC was really the start of pottery painting in the Konya plain. Accepting a Late Neolithic date, Levels 7-4 must date to some time between 6500 and 6000 BC (Düring 2011c:146). They have only been excavated in relatively small areas (French 1998:20), but the sections (French 1998:Fig.38, 41-43) indicate the existence of several subphases and modifications within these levels which shows longer use lives of the built environment so that Levels 7-4 might indeed span several centuries. This remains the best available estimation for the dating of the lower levels at Canhasan.

Level 1

Canhasan Level 1 featured red and black burnished wares similar to wares that were dated Late Chalcolithic by Mellaart (1963:199) during his surveys of the Konya plain based on similarities with Mersin pottery, and accordingly also by French (1963:37, 1998:69, 2005:15) at Canhasan. Newer research has redated Level 1 to the Middle Chalcolithic. Thissen (2000:91-95 cited in Düring 2011c:245) uses ceramic parallels with the Aegean region to date Level 1 to the late 6th millennium, i.e. the beginning of the MC, whereas Düring (2011c:245) argues that the ceramic wares are so different from Köşk Höyük and Güvercinkayası that the three sites cannot be contemporary and Canhasan Level 1 must post-date the Cappadocian sites, e.g. post-date 4800 BC, and are thus late Middle Chalcolithic. Schoop (2005a:140-141, 148, Tab 3.4, 2011:165), however, questions an MC dating because of missing parallels with the contemporary Mersin-Yumuktepe assemblage and instead sides with French in dating Level 1 to the Late Chalcolithic. All these suggestions are essentially unsatisfactory since it cannot be assumed that Canhasan needed to share pottery traditions from the Aegean, Mersin or even Cappadocia. The most secure way to date the level would be to identify Konya plain-specific MC or LC wares at the site, but of course it is not known how pottery traditions from this time period looked like, because Canhasan is the only excavated site from either the MC or the LC. Since Schoop (2005a:140-141, 148, 2011:165) discusses at length the difficulties of relating the Canhasan pottery sequence to that of Mersin, however, it currently seems to be the best option to follow Düring's and Thissen's suggestion of a Middle Chalcolithic date of Canhasan 1.

	French 1966:113, 115, 1967:175	absolute dates from French 1967:Chart 2	French 1998:67-69	Schoop 2005a:Fig.3.12, App.1	Düring 2011c:139-140, 245	Radiocarbon dates (Thissen 2002a:303, calibrated with CalPal)
surface finds			Iron Age to Byzantine			
Level 1	Late Chalcolithic	ca. 4000 BC	Late Chalcolithic		Middle Chalcolithic	
	<i>hiatus</i>	<i>hiatus</i>	<i>hiatus</i>			
Level 2a	Middle Chalcolithic	5000-4400 BC	Middle Chalcolithic	5500-ca.5250 BC	Early Chalcolithic	(not clear which level within 2a) P-789 5870±87 BC
Level 2b	transitional Early-Middle Chalcolithic		transitional Early-Middle Chalcolithic	5750-5000 BC		BM-153 6071±149 BC P-794 5903±87 BC BM-151 5795±133 BC P-795 5740±73 BC P-790 5738±72 BC P-791 5660±63 BC P-792 5595±58 BC P-793 5201±103 BC (possibly intrusive from Level 1)
Level 3	--	5400-5000 BC	Early Chalcolithic	6000-5750? BC		
Level 4	Upper Neolithic		Late Neolithic	pre-6000 BC	Late Neolithic, 2 half of the 7 th	
Level 5	Upper Neolithic		Late Neolithic			

Level 6	Upper Neolithic		Late Neolithic		millennium	
Level 7	Upper Neolithic		Late Neolithic			
unexcavated			Early Neolithic			

Table 23 The chronology of Canhasan discussed in the literature.

Level 1	Middle Chalcolithic
	hiatus
Level 2	between 6000-5600 BC
Level 3	around 6000 BC
Level 4	between 6500 and 6000 BC
Level 5	
Level 6	
Level 7	
unexcavated	?

Table 24 The chronology of Canhasan used in this thesis.

The chronology of Çatalhöyük West

The second mound at Çatalhöyük (> 5ha, Farid 2014:91) was excavated in smaller capacity than the well-known Çatalhöyük East. A full history of the dating of the Çatalhöyük West Mound will appear in a paper (Orton et al. in prep), therefore only a summary is provided here. In sum, the dating of the Çatalhöyük West Mound relied on pottery typology until fairly recently, when the first radiocarbon dates were published; and more are in process. These radiocarbon dates indicate that the buildings from different trenches are not contemporary; therefore, despite the limited extent of excavations on the West Mound, they cover a certain time depth. The radiocarbon dates also show that for a short period of time, both mounds at Çatalhöyük were occupied simultaneously (Orton et al. in prep), an interesting feature of local settlement behaviour that is however not of primary concern here.

The Mellaart trench and dating of West Mound pottery

In 1961, Mellaart's team spent a very short season excavating two soundings (Mellaart 1965a). Since Mellaart did not do radiocarbon dating on the West Mound, the discussion of its dating has since the 1960s relied on two factors: the pottery and its parallels with the Canhasan and Mersin sequences; and the dating of the end of the East Mound, which was thought to predate the West Mound's occupation. Mellaart (1965a:13) dated the painted pottery found on the mound to the Early Chalcolithic and early Middle Chalcolithic. He (Mellaart 1965a:135, 155) compared West Mound pottery to that from the partially radiocarbon-dated sequences of Canhasan and Mersin-Yumuktepe to determine that that the West Mound was "occupied after the desertion of the neolithic site [East Mound], perhaps from c. 5600 B.C.". 5600 BC was the date determined by Mellaart (1964:119, 1965a:135, 155) for the end of the East Mound sequence from uncalibrated radiocarbon samples, but he does not discuss the reasons for his assumption that settlement shifted seamlessly from one mound to another. After the necessity of calibrating radiocarbon dates

became known, Mellaart (1978:23) adjusted his dating to a West Mound start in 6300 BC, but kept the hypothesis of the seamless transition between the mounds. The 1978 publication does not provide an updated opinion on the end of the site, nor is the issue of the dating of Çatalhöyük West ever revisited in Mellaart's later publications. But since the Early Chalcolithic is determined to end in 5650 BC in the 1978 book (Mellaart 1978:23), this can be taken as a rough estimate which also fits the fact that in 1965 Mellaart had determined the West Mound settlement to have lasted 700 years.

The following occupation sequence of the West Mound was subdivided by Mellaart into three phases and dated based on pottery parallels with Canhasan and Mersin: Most of the West Mound sequence dated to an 'Early Chalcolithic I' phase. The following, shorter, 'Early Chalcolithic II' was that of pottery with a different style found in the pits dug into EC I houses (Mellaart 1965:135-136). The EC II ended in 4900 BC, but surface sherds on the West Mound were determined by Mellaart as postdating 4900 BC and thus to the Middle Chalcolithic. The 4900 BC date for the end of the Early Chalcolithic, and beginning of Middle Chalcolithic period in the Konya plain, is based on Mellaart's (Mellaart 1965a:155) assumption that this transition was marked by the influx of Halaf pottery and culture (e.g. Canhasan 2a), which he dates to 4900 BC based on the Mersin and Halaf chronologies, and radiocarbon dates available from these sites. In newer research, the EC II-EC I distinction has fallen out of use in favour of radiocarbon dating individual buildings or excavation areas; and the interpretation of some Middle Chalcolithic activity at the West Mound can be refuted when Çatalhöyük chronology is uncoupled with that of Mersin and Upper Mesopotamia; and Canhasan 2a is dated to the Early Chalcolithic instead.

Following Mellaart, French (1967:Chart 2) and Schoop (2005a:129-131, Fig. 3.12) suggested alternative dating of the West Mound pottery. Thissen (2002a:324) calibrated the 1960s radiocarbon dates and thus moved the chronology approximately an entire millennium back in time, with Canhasan I now dating 6000-5600 BC and Çatalhöyük West tentatively being dated to the same time span. These suggestions will however not be discussed here since new radiocarbon dates provide a more accurate dating.

Trench 7 and cores: duration of the sequence

The joint project by SUNY Buffalo (Peter Biehl) and FU Berlin (Eva Rosenstock) opened Trenches 5, 6 and 7 on the very eastern fringe of the West Mound, with the aim of investigating temporal and cultural relations to the earlier settlement (Biehl et al. 2006). Trench 7 (10 m x 15m), positioned in the slope of a large modern canal dug into edge of the mound, was designed to be a deep trench in which virgin soil was reached in 2008 (Biehl and Rosenstock 2008). While the Trench 7 sequence did not yield much architecture, but rather what seem to be activity and erosion areas at the end of the settlement, radiocarbon dates from throughout its sequence give a time bracket for the duration of occupation on the mound. The Biehl-Rosenstock team has dated the Trench 7 sequence with five dates that have already been published (Biehl et al. 2012a:Tab.1) and another five that await publication. These dates span a time period from 6050 BC to 5550 BC. This fits well with dates from a core that was taken in 1996 and the dates were published in 2002 published (Göktürk et al. 2002), but never experienced a lot of attention in the research community. Two charcoal samples from the bottom of the core were to between 6000 and 5800 BC (Cessford 2005:Tab.4.13, Fig.4.10). Dating charcoal without a stratigraphic context is not the most secure dating technique; however the core dates are well within the estimation of the start of West Mound occupation given by the Trench 7 dates.

Trench 5-6

Trenches 5 and 6 were intended to expose and investigate contexts on a larger area (10m x 10m each). After the initial season in 2006, work in Trench 6 was discontinued after removal of the topsoil as it turned out that the expected prehistoric levels were overlain and disturbed by a deep stratigraphy of classical and medieval graves rendering exposing the prehistoric remains more time-consuming than anticipated. Work focused on Trench 5 (14m x 14m), which was in the following years extended to include five buildings entirely, and parts of eight other buildings. In the last years, excavation focused on four of those buildings (B.98, B.105,

B.106, B.107) or rather building sequences, which we followed down to a depth of up to 3.2m below tops of walls. Work in Trench 5 was finalised in August 2013.

Trench 5 has been dated with so far 9 radiocarbon dated to between 5900–5800 BC (personal communication by David Orton/Orton et al. in prep), and a more detailed dating of individual buildings is underway. Within the time bracket given by the Trench 7 dates, the Trench 5 buildings date therefore more towards the beginning of the sequence. No radiocarbon dates were done in Trench 6, but since it is located right next to Trench 5, it can be assumed that its architecture would be roughly contemporary. However, due to the short duration of work here, not much prehistoric architecture was uncovered.

Trench 1: end of the sequence

The Mellaart trench on the summit (Trench 1) was re-opened and widened by a British team 1998–2004 (Gibson and Last 2003a). This team uncovered dense architectural features that they interpreted as having been part of one single-phase building B.25. Two soundings, Trenches 3–4 at the edges of the mound did not yield architecture and were discontinued after the first season (Last 1998b). Dates obtained from Trench 1 at the summit of the West Mound cluster between 6000-5900 BC (Orton et al. in prep; see Göktürk et al. 2002; Cessford 2005:94-95 for earlier suggestions of a later date). The architecture uncovered here therefore seems to date a little earlier than the Trench 5 architecture.

Trench 8

Trench 8 was positioned at the very western fringe of the mound by a team from Trakya Üniversitesi (University of Thrace) at Edirne under the direction of Burçin Erdoğan (2012) and excavated over five seasons between 2007 and 2012 an area of ca. 10x15m to a depth of ca. 1.8m, uncovering two buildings (B.78, B.94). No radiocarbon dating was done in Trench 8, and since it is a fair distance away from Trench 1 and Trenches 5/6, no stratigraphic links can be made either.

In conclusion, excavated architecture from the Çatalhöyük West Mound (Trench 5, Trench 1) dates to a relatively narrow window of time between 6000 and 5800 BC.

	Mellaart 1965a:135-136, 155	Mellaart 1978:23	French (1967:Chart 2)	Thissen 2002a:324	Schoop 2005a: Fig.3.12	Orton et al. in prep
	surface pottery post-4900 BC					
end of West Mound occupation	4900 BC	[until ca. 5650 BC]	4600 BC	5600 BC	5500 BC	---
start of West Mound occupation	5600 BC	6300 BC	4800 BC	6000 BC	5700 BC	between 6100–6000 BC
	no hiatus	no hiatus	hiatus of 600 years	hiatus of 100-200 years	hiatus of 500 years	overlap
end of East Mound	5600 BC	6300 BC	5600 BC	6200 BC or 6100 BC	6200 BC	[from Marciniak et al. 2015b: 5950 BC]

Table 25 The dating of the Çatalhöyük West Mound discussed in the literature.

Excavation area	Mound base (Cessford 2005:Tab.4.13; Göktürk et al. 2002)	Trench 7 (Biehl et al. 2012a:Tab.1)	Trench 5 (Orton et al. in prep)	Trench 1 (Orton et al. in prep)
Radiocarbon dates	PL-980524A 5990-5660 BC AA-27981 6000-5800 BC	Poz-24052 5630–5480 BC Poz-24048 6090–5970 BC Poz-24051 5000–4580 BC Poz-24050 5990–5760 BC Poz-24049 5980–5950 BC	between 5900–5800 BC	between 6000–5900 BC

Table 26 Radiocarbon dates from the West Mound. Trenches 6 and 8 have not been radiocarbon dated.

The chronology of Pınarbaşı B

Excavation area B at Pınarbaşı is dated to between 6400 and 5900 BC through two radiocarbon dates from roomfill in a circular built structure in Trench 1. A third sample from a shallow pit just below the site’s surface, dating to around 4500 BC, can probably be seen as intrusive (Thissen 2002a:310, 324). With just two dates that are described as “mutually exclusive” by Thissen 2002a:327, statistically modelling is not possible, and so they might represent maximum book ends for the use of Pınarbaşı B instead of actually indicating continued occupation from 6400 to 5900 BC. A Late Neolithic date (between 6500 and 6000 BC) of the remains found in the trench is generally accepted (Baird 2012b:200; Baird et al. 2011:382; Hodder 2014b:14, Thissen 2002a:324).

context	Radiocarbon dates (Thissen 2002a:310, Watkins 1996:52, calibrated with CalPal)
Trench 1	OxA-5504 6326 ± 68 BC OxA-5503 6012 ± 67 BC OxA-5502 4584 ± 80 BC

Table 27 Radiocarbon dates from Pınarbaşı B.

The chronology of Köşk Höyük

The excavators have identified five prehistoric building levels above bedrock at Köşk Höyük (Öztan 2007:224, 2012:32) and dated Levels 5–2 to the Neolithic and Level 1 to the Early Chalcolithic based on pottery typology and radiocarbon dates. The area around the prehistoric site was then again used much later during the Late Iron, Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval periods (Öztan 2012:32).

Levels 3-2

Levels 5-2 are dated Neolithic by Öztan (2012:32). However, Öztan’s periodisation is not the same as the one used in this thesis: She states that “Building Levels II -V of Köşk Höyük date to 5600-6300 cal. BC according to the C14 analysis results” (Öztan 2012:45). The latter part of the Level 5-2 sequence would therefore already be Early Chalcolithic according to my periodisation. Since no radiocarbon dates are however individually listed in any of the project’s publications, it is unclear what dates came from what levels. One radiocarbon sample dates Level 3 to between 5600–5380 BC (Düring 2011c:151; Öztan 2003:76). This date contradicts that stated by Öztan. A look at pottery typology might help to clarify the open questions left by radiocarbon dating.

Öztañ's dating seems to be partially based on material culture (lithics, pottery, architecture) comparisons, especially since the radiocarbon dating seems to have been done only in the last few years. The publications (Öztañ 2007, 2012) are however not entirely clear about what Köşk Höyük material was interpreted to be contemporary with which other site and level; but Tepecik, Çatalhöyük East, Hacilar, Kuruçay and Höyücek are mentioned (Öztañ 2007:225, 299, 230, 2012:34, 39, 41, 45). Most other discussions of Köşk Höyük chronology, however, agree that the material culture from Levels 3-2 fits an Early Chalcolithic date more than a Neolithic date. Schoop (2005a:133-134) dated Köşk Höyük Layers 2-3 to the Early Chalcolithic based on pottery analogies with Çatalhöyük West, Canhasan 2B-A and Mersin XXIII-XXIV. Thissen (2002a:324, 327) hypothesised that earlier occupation must have included the time period 6000-5600 BC because of similarities in material culture to Çatalhöyük West and Canhasan 2B-2A, and dated it to between 6000-5600 BC. Düring (2011c:151-154) agrees that material culture at the site supports a date in the Early Chalcolithic. Merging this with the one radiocarbon date known to be from Level 3, it seems plausible to date Levels 3-2 to around 5600 BC. It should, however, be noted that the date from Level 3 might indicate that parts of this level or Level 2 post-date 5500 BC, for example Arbuckle (2012a:33) has Level 2 ending in 5400 BC.

Levels 4-5

Schoop and Thissen were not able to discuss Levels 5-4 which were not excavated at the time, and Düring's (2011c:151) overview had only limited information available about these levels which were exposed on a much smaller scale than Levels 3-1 (Öztañ 2012:32). Öztañ's (2012:45) date of 6300 BC as the start of Köşk Höyük occupation might suggest that radiocarbon dates were taken from Levels 5-4 and dated to around 6300 BC – but this remains a guess until the actual dates are published. Until then, it might be more prudent to also date these levels to the Early Chalcolithic (post-6000 BC): With Level 3 dated to the end of the Early Chalcolithic or even the beginning of the Middle Chalcolithic, Levels 5 and 4 must have lasted several centuries each to span the period since 6300 BC. The limited Level 5-4 evidence that Düring (2011c:151-154) was able to discuss seems to fit an Early

Chalcolithic date. And Öztan (2012:32) herself states that “throughout the time span of the Neolithic occupation, there was a marked consistency in architectural features”, making a shorter duration of the Level 5-2 sequence more likely.

Level 1

Level 1 is dated Early Chalcolithic by Öztan (2012:32). No clear calendric dates are given by Öztan, but her remark that “The settlement was completely deserted shortly after a full-scale fire around 5000 BC” (Öztan 2007:223, 2012:32) gives a date for the end of this period, and no hiatus is mentioned between Levels 2 and 1 indicating that the start of Level 1 was around 5600 BC, which marks the end of Level 2 as cited by Öztan (2012:45). This would put Köşk Höyük Level 1 clearly within early Middle Chalcolithic as defined in this thesis. This dating of Level 1 to the Early Chalcolithic by Öztan seems to rely on sherds that are similar to Canhasan 2B pottery (Öztan 2003:72). This dating is contested by a number of other scholars. Düring (2011c:151) points out that the diagnostic Early Chalcolithic sherds from Level 1 are few in number and suggests they might be intrusive from earlier deposits. Schoop (2005a:133) suggests they might be imported from the Konya plain and additionally points out that there seems to be confusion as to whether the discussed sherds really come from Layer 1, as stated by Öztan (Öztan 2003:72)—or from Layers 2-3 as indicated by the excavation director at the time they were excavated, Silistreli (1990:93). Silistreli (1989a:61, 1991b:99) had dated Levels 1–2 as Early Chalcolithic.

Instead, absolute dating of Level 1 clearly points to the Middle Chalcolithic, but a later part of the Middle Chalcolithic as suggested by Öztan’s 5600-5000 BC timeframe. A set of nine dendrochronology dates is available from a single wooden beam in Level 1, Room 1. These dates span a range from 5200-4800 BC (Thissen 2002a:327), and are statistically most like to date to ca. 4900 BC (Kuniholm and Newton 2002:276). This dating of Level 1 to the earlier Middle Chalcolithic is accepted by Thissen (2002a:324, 327), Arbuckle (2012a:33) as well as Düring (2011b:803, 2011c:151) and Schoop (2005:134, 2011:Fig.7.1) who find additional evidence in similarities of Level 1 pottery and architecture to nearby Güvercinkayası (5200-4800 BC; Düring 2011c:151).

A date of Köşk Höyük Level 1 to around 4900 BC makes a hiatus between Levels 2 and 1 likely. Schoop (2005a:116) mentions the possibility of a hiatus between Layers 2 and 1, given that Layer 2 was destroyed by fire (Silistreli 198a:32). Öztan (2002:56; 2003:71) instead states it was Level 1, not Level 2 that was destroyed by fire, and that a hiatus is unlikely because no accumulation of sterile sediment was observed between Levels 2 and 1—an argument that Schoop (2005a:116) refutes. Arbuckle (2012a:33), member of the Köşk Höyük team, instead believes in the hiatus and states “The MC occupation of Köşk Höyük (level I; 5300–4700 BC) represents a significant cultural break from the earlier levels. Following a brief hiatus after the abandonment of the EC occupation, the MC settlement was laid out according to a new plan with linear banks of houses lining several wide, stone-paved streets”.

To summarise, in this thesis it shall be assumed that Köşk Höyük Levels 2-5 were occupied during the Early Chalcolithic, and Level 1 during the Middle Chalcolithic after a hiatus following the end of the Level 2 settlement. However, secure dating of Levels 5-2 awaits a full publication of a list of all available radiocarbon dates.

	Silistreli 1989a:61, 1991b:99	Thissen 2002a:324, 327	Schoop 2005a:116, 133-134	Öztan 2007:224, 234	Düring 2011c:151	Arbuckle 2012a:303	Öztan 2012:32, 45	14C /dendro dates
Level 1	Early Chalcolithic	5200-4800 BC	Middle Chalcolithic hiatus between Levels 1 and 2 ?	Early Chalcolithic [5600-5000 BC]	Middle Chalcolithic	Middle Chalcolithic 5300-4700 BC	Early Chalcolithic [5600-5000 BC]	9 dendrochronological dates from the same wooden beam – between 5200-4800 BC (Thissen 2002a:308)
		hiatus						
Level 2	Early Chalcolithic	6000-5600 BC	Early Chalcolithic	Ceramic Neolithic 6400-5600 BC	Early Chalcolithic	Final Neolithic/ Early Chalcolithic 6200–5400 BC	Neolithic 6300-5600 BC	Öztan (2012:45): radiocarbon dates from 5-2 between 6300-5600 BC one radiocarbon date from Level 3, 5600-5380 BC (Düring 2011c:151; Öztan 2003:76)
Level 3	late Early Neolithic		Early Chalcolithic					
Level 4	-- (not yet excavated)		-- (not studied)		undated			
Level 5	-- (not yet excavated)		-- (not studied)		undated			
Virgin soil								

Table 28 The chronology of Köşk Höyük discussed in the literature.

Level 1	Middle Chalcolithic around 4900 BC
	Hiatus
Level 2	Early Chalcolithic around 5600 BC
Level 3	
Level 4	Early Chalcolithic between 6000 and 5600 BC
Level 5	

Table 29 Chronology of Köşk Höyük used in this thesis.

The chronology of Gelveri

Gelveri, located in Cappadocia, was excavated for only two short seasons—1990 by Ufuk Esin (Esin 1993b), 2007 by Sevil Gülçur (Gülçur and Kiper 2009; Gülçur et al. 2010) and has experienced substantial destruction post-Chalcolithic. Three building levels were distinguished during excavation, with a possible fourth one remaining unexcavated in one part of the site (TAY 2016). All four building levels can be dated to the Early Chalcolithic, but some of the artefacts found between the structures could have been washed in from (unexcavated or unpreserved) later occupation. Since no radiocarbon dates are available, the dating of the site rests entirely on pottery typology. Gülçur (Gülçur and Kiper 2009:289) had dated the site to the Middle Chalcolithic based on similarities

with Canhasan Level 2a/b pottery; Esin (1993b:50-52) saw similarities with a chronologically wider array of sites that also included Canhasan Level 1 (Middle or Late Chalcolithic, see Canhasan above). Schoop (2005a:134) and Düring (2011c:155) confirm this similarity, and point out further similarities with Çatalhöyük West sherds. Since Canhasan 2 is now dated to the Early Chalcolithic (see below), and the Gelveri pottery can also be compared to that excavated in Köşk Höyük Levels 4-2 (Düring 2011c:155) and Tepecik (Schoop 2011b:155), the site must be dated to the Early Chalcolithic (Düring 2011c:155; Schoop 2005a:App.1).

Most recently, Godon and Özbudak (in press) re-examined the Gelveri assemblage and postulated that the site saw two phases of occupation. The 'Early Phase' has pottery similar to Tepecik Level 2 and Köşk Höyük Level 2 (i.e. Early Chalcolithic), but the 'Late Phase' is tentatively assigned to the beginning of the 5th millennium based on similarities with pottery sequences from northern Anatolia. They conclude that "one should assume that Gelveri Early Phase and Gelveri Late Phase were two distinct settlements, separated by a *hiatus*, the first one occupied around 6000 cal B.C., the second between 5000-4500 cal B.C." They locate the settlement belonging to the Late Phase uphill, from where it eroded onto the Early Phase remains and probably was completely destroyed. This potential Middle Chalcolithic settlement is thus not of interest here, since all excavated architectural remains seem to be from the Early Chalcolithic. It must however be noted that complex formation processes were at work at Gelveri that might have deposited later material inside and around Early Chalcolithic buildings.

The chronology of Musular

Musular, a small site located across the river from the Early Neolithic site of Aşıklı Höyük is known mainly for its Early Neolithic occupation, but also featured a badly preserved second occupational phase dated by the excavators to “the very end of the Neolithic and the beginning of the Chalcolithic period” (Özbaşaran et al. 2012:166). The excavators dated this phase through a single radiocarbon sample to around 5800 BC (bone, KIA-30923, 6955±45 BP, Özbaşaran et al. 2012:167; calibrated with CalPal = 5838±55 BC). However, this sample is not from within the building, but instead from what seems to have been a refuse deposit in the open area next to it; and the excavators also relate difficulties with finding stratigraphically sound samples within this uppermost, disturbed level (Özbaşaran et al. 2012:167). Düring (2011c:150), however, accepts the Early Chalcolithic date of the multi-roomed building at Musular, and this thesis will as well since pottery of this occupation level confirms a Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic date (Özbaşaran 1999:151; 2000:133).

The chronology of Tepecik

Tepecik (also called Tepecik-Çiftlik) is located 40km north of Köşk Höyük in a small fertile basin between hills and mountains. A team under the direction of Erhan Bıçakçı has been excavating the site since 2000. The site covers ca. 6ha and reached 9.6m above the surrounding plain (Bıçakçı et al. 2012:90). Nine building levels have been excavated without reaching virgin soil yet. Bıçakçı et al. (2012:90) date Levels 9-4 to the Pottery Neolithic, of which Levels 6-9 are so far only known from a deep sounding; Level 3 to the Early Chalcolithic and Level 2 to the Middle Chalcolithic. Level 1 represents a poorly preserved Late Roman-Byzantine cemetery that used the prehistoric mound.

Level 2

However, Bıçakçı et al. (2012:104; also Godon and Özbudak in press) indicate that the overall prehistoric occupation space of the site is 7000-5500 BC. This seems to indicate that their 'Middle Chalcolithic' actually dates to before 5500 BC, making Level 2 Early Chalcolithic in the periodication used in this thesis. Further, while Level 2 shows different architecture to that of Level 3, pottery traditions continue (Bıçakçı et al. 2012:104). It remains unclear why Level 2 was dated Middle Chalcolithic in the first place – possibly because its pottery resembles that of Gelveri (Bıçakçı et al. 2012:91). With Gelveri now dated to the Early Chalcolithic, Tepecik Level 2 can be dated EC as well (Düring 2011c:155; Thissen 2002a:324).

Levels 4-3

The three so far published radiocarbon dates locate the Level 4-3 transition around 6000 BC, and Level 4 between 6300 and 6000 BC. Therefore, at least Level 4-2 at Tepecik would fall into the scope of this thesis, possibly also the not yet radiocarbon dated Level 5-6. With Level 4 starting in 6300 BC, Levels 5 or 6 underneath might also post-date 6500 BC. Here, Levels 6 and 5 will be studied as Late Neolithic; at present, Levels 9-7 are only known as sediment layers in a very small sounding (Bıçakçı et al. 2012:95-96) and cannot contribute to a study of architecture in any case; therefore the question whether they date to before or after the 6500 BC mark can as present remain open. With work still ongoing, it can be expected that the open questions will soon be resolved. Recent excavations focus on the basal levels as well as Level 2 (Bıçakçı et al. 2012:104). Bıçakçı et al.'s (2012:103) remark that "There are a large number of C¹⁴ samples that are still being processed" indicates that the chronology of the site will soon be even better documented than at present.

	Bıçakçı et al. 2012:90	Düring 2011c:148	Bıçakçı et al. 2012:103
Level 1	Late Roman-Byzantine	Late Roman-Byzantine	
Level 2	Middle Chalcolithic	Early Chalcolithic	
Level 3	Early Chalcolithic	Early Chalcolithic	KN-5916 6041±26BC from “Level 3.4”
Level 4	Pottery Neolithic	Pottery Neolithic	KN-5914 6297±80 BC KN-5915 6328±58BC
Level 5	Pottery Neolithic	Pottery Neolithic	
Level 6	Pottery Neolithic	Pottery Neolithic	
Level 7	Pottery Neolithic	Pottery Neolithic	
Level 8	Pottery Neolithic	Pottery Neolithic	
Level 9	Pottery Neolithic	Pottery Neolithic	

Table 30 The chronology of Tepecik discussed in the literature.

Level 1	Roman-Byzantine
Level 2	Early Chalcolithic
Level 3	Early Chalcolithic around 6000 BC
Level 4	Late Neolithic between 6300 and 6000 BC
Level 5	(Late?) Neolithic
Level 6	(Late?) Neolithic
Level 7	(Early?) Neolithic
Level 8	(Early?) Neolithic
Level 9	(Early?) Neolithic

Table 31 Chronology of Tepecik used in this thesis.

APPENDIX 2: LITERATURE / DATA

Literature used for the content analysis (component 1)

Architectural syntheses

Eslick 1988
Schachner 1999
Steadman 2000b
Düring 2002
Cutting 2003
Steadman 2004
Cutting 2005a
Cutting 2005b
Düring 2005
Cutting 2006a
Cutting 2006b
Düring 2006
Düring 2009
Düring 2011a
Düring 2013a
Düring 2014

Overview/ comparative works

Mellaart 1961a
Mellaart 1963c
Mellaart 1965b
Mellaart 1966a
Mellink 1966
Alkim 1969

French 1970
Mellaart 1970a
Mellaart 1970b
Mellaart 1971a
Mellaart 1971b
Mellaart 1972
French 1972
Bittel 1973
Mellaart 1975
Todd 1976
Singh 1976
Redman 1978
Mellaart 1978

Site-specific works

Hacılar

Mellaart 1958
Mellaart 1959
Mellaart 1960
Mellaart 1961b
Mellaart 1970c
Mellaart 1998b

Kuruçay

Duru 1994c
Duru 1996e
Duru 2001e

Höyücek

Duru 2001d
Duru and Umurtak 2005

Bademağacı

Duru 2001b

Erbaba

Bordaz 1973
Bordaz and Bordaz 1982
Arbuckle 2008

Çatalhöyük East

Mellaart 1962b
Mellaart 1963e
Mellaart 1964
Mellaart 1966b
Mellaart 1967
Heinrich and Seidl 1969

Hodder 1987
Forest 1993
Becks and Jacobs 1996
Hodder 1996a
Hodder 1996b
Hodder 1996c
Last 1998a
Mellaart 1998a

Mellaart 1979	Hodder 1999b
Todd 1980	Voigt 2000
Yakar 1985	Düring 2001
Duru 1989c	Düring 2003
Yakar 1991	Hodder and Cessford 2004
Yakar 1994	Lewis-Williams 2004
Balkan-Atlı 1994	Asouti 2005a
Duru 1996c	Cessford and Near 2005
Duru 1996d	Hodder 2005a
Joukowsky 1996	Hodder 2005b
Duru 1999b	Hodder 2005c
Umurtak 2000a	Hodder 2005d
Umurtak 2000b	Hodder 2005e
Duru 2001c	Last 2005
Schoop 2002	Matthews 2005a
Baird 2002	Matthews 2005b
Thissen 2002b	Tung 2005
G. Duru 2002	Hodder 2006
Gérard 2002	Cessford 2007
Özdoğan 2002	Düring 2007a
Yakar 2004	Düring 2007b
Baird 2005	Farid 2007
Schoop 2005a	Hodder 2007
Schoop 2005b	Düring 2008b
Rosenstock 2005	Russell et al. 2009
Düring and Marciniak 2005	Twiss et al. 2008
Umurtak 2005b	Hodder and Pels 2010
Umurtak 2005c	Hodder 2012a
Duru 2007	Love 2012
Marciniak and Czerniak 2007	Marciniak and Czerniak 2012
Umurtak 2007b	Matthews 2012
French 2008	Stevanović 2012a
Clare et al. 2008	Stevanović 2012c
Marciniak 2008a	Carleton et al. 2013
Duru 2008	Harrison et al. 2013
Rosenstock 2009	Hodder 2013a
Sagona and Zimansky 2009	Hodder 2013b
Clare and Weninger 2010	Love 2013a
Clare et al. 2010	Love 2013b
Rosenstock 2010a	Love 2013c
Rosenstock 2010b	Matthews et al. 2013
Thissen 2010	Stevanović 2013
Schoop 2011b	Tung 2013
Düring 2011a	Baranski 2014
Düring 2011b	Bogaard et al. 2014
Umurtak 2011b	Czeszewska 2014
Özbaşaran 2011	Hodder 2014b
Steadman 2011	
Yakar 2011a	

Yakar 2011b
Duru 2012
Rosenstock 2012
Baird 2012b
Biehl 2012a
Arbuckle 2012a
Düring 2013b
Düring 2013c
Duru 2013
Rosenstock 2014
Clare and Weninger 2014
Arbuckle 2014
Özbaşaran and Duru 2015
De Cupere et al. 2015
Vandam 2015
Vandam and Kaptijn 2015
Bachhuber 2015

Tepecik

Bıçakçı et al. 2007
Bıçakçı et al. 2012

Gelveri

Esin 1993a
Gülçur and Kiper 2009
Gülçur et al. 2010

Musular [the 6th millennium site]

Özbaşaran 1999
Özbaşaran 2000
Özbaşaran et al. 2007

Köşk Höyük

Öztan 2003
Öztan and Faydalı 2004
Öztan 2007a
Öztan 2012

Hodder 2014c
Hodder 2014d
Hodder 2014e
Hodder and Farid 2014
Özbaşaran and Duru 2014
Russell et al. 2014

Baranski et al. 2015
Carter et al. 2015
Haddow et al. 2015
Marciniak 2015a
Marciniak 2015b
Marciniak et al. 2015a
Marciniak et al. 2015b
Özdöl-Kutlu et al. 2015
Hodder 2016

Çatalhöyük West

Mellaart 1965a
Gibson and Last 2003a
Erdoğu 2009a
Erdoğu 2009b
Biehl and Rosenstock 2009b
Erdoğu and Ulubey 2011
Biehl et al. 2012a
Biehl 2012b

Canhasan

French 1962
French 1963
French 1964
French 1965
French 1966
French 1967
French 1968
French 1998

Pınarbaşı B

Watkins 1996
Baird et al. 2011
Baird 2012b

Literature used for architectural analysis (component 2)

Architectural syntheses

Eslick 1988
Duru 1999b
Schachner 1999
Steadman 2000b
Umurtak 2000b
Steadman 2004
Cutting 2005b
Düring 2006
Umurtak 2007b
Duru 2007
Duru 2008
Düring 2011a
Düring 2011c
Duru 2012

Hacılar

Annual reports and final book

Mellaart 1958
Mellaart 1959
Mellaart 1960
Mellaart 1961b
Mellaart 1970c

Summary literature and special reports

Mellaart 1975
Mellaart 1978
Mellaart 1998b
Barker and Mackey 1960
Ralph and Stuckenrath 1962
Barker and Mackey 1963
Duru 1987a
Duru 1987b
Duru 1989c
Duru 2010
Umurtak 2011b

Reviews

Parrot 1971
Redman 1972
Mellink 1973

Çatalhöyük West

Annual reports, Mellaart trench

Mellaart 1965a

Annual reports, Trench 1

Last 1998b
Gibson et al. 2000
Gibson and Last 2001
Gibson et al. 2002b
Gibson and Last 2003b
Gibson et al. 2004
Gibson and Last 2005

Summary literature and special reports, Trench 1

Gibson and Last 2000
Last 2000
Raszick 2001
Frame 2001
Gibson et al. 2002a
Gibson and Last 2003a

Annual reports, Trenches 5-7

Biehl et al. 2006
Biehl and Rosenstock 2007
Biehl and Rosenstock 2008
Biehl and Rosenstock 2009b
Biehl et al. 2010
Biehl et al. 2011
Biehl et al. 2012b
Biehl and Rogasch 2013

Summary literature and special reports, Trenches 5-7

Franz 2007
Orton 2007
Franz 2008
Orton 2008
Ostaptchouk 2008
Biehl and Rosenstock 2009a
Franz 2009
Orton 2009
Ostaptchouk 2009

Orthmann 1978
Rosenstock 2010a
Reingruber 2008

Kuruçay

Annual reports and final book

Duru 1979a
Duru 1979b
Duru 1980a
Duru 1980b
Duru 1981a
Duru 1981b
Duru 1982a
Duru 1982b
Duru 1983a
Duru 1983b
Duru 1983c
Duru 1984a
Duru 1984b
Duru 1985a
Duru 1985b
Duru 1986a
Duru 1986b
Duru 1986c
Duru 1986d
Duru 1987c
Duru 1987d
Duru 1987e
Duru 1988a
Duru 1988b
Duru 1988c
Duru 1988d
Duru 1989a
Duru 1989b

Duru 1994c
Duru 1996e

Summary literature

Duru 2001e

Höyücek

Annual report and final book

Duru 1991
Duru 1992a
Duru 1992b
Duru 1993b
Duru 1994a

Franz 2010
Orton 2010
Ostaptchouk 2010
Franz 2011
Orton 2011
Ostaptchouk 2011
Biehl et al. 2012a
Franz 2012
Franz and Ostaptchouk 2012
Orton 2012
Brady 2013a
Brady 2013b
Franz 2013
Orton and Piliougine 2013
Stroud 2013
Orton 2014
Ostaptchouk 2014
Franz 2015
Orton 2015
Ostaptchouk 2016
Orton et al. in prep.

Annual reports, Trenches 8

Erdoğu 2007
Erdoğu 2008
Erdoğu 2009c
Erdoğu 2010
Erdoğu 2012

Summary literature and special reports, Trench 8

Doherty 2009
Erdoğu 2009a
Erdoğu 2009b
Özbek 2009c
Özbudak 2009
Erdoğu and Ulubey 2011

Canhasan

Annual reports and final book

French 1962
French 1963
French 1964
French 1965
French 1966
French 1967
French 1968

French 1998
French 2005

Duru 1994b
Duru 1995b
Duru and Umurtak 2005

Summary literature and special reports

Duru 1993a
Duru 1993c
Duru 2001d
Martinoli and Nesbitt 2003
Duru and DeCupere 2003

Bademağacı

Annual report and final book

Duru 1995a
Duru 1996a
Duru 1996b
Duru 1997a
Duru 1997b
Duru 1997c
Duru 1998
Duru 1999a
Duru 2000a
Duru 2000b
Duru 2000c
Duru 2001b
Duru 2002
Umurtak 2002
Duru 2003
Duru and Umurtak 2003
Umurtak 2003
Duru 2004a
Duru 2004b
Duru and Umurtak 2004
Umurtak 2004
Duru 2005
Umurtak 2005a
Duru and Umurtak 2006a
Duru and Umurtak 2006b
Umurtak 2006
Duru and Umurtak 2007a
Duru and Umurtak 2007b
Umurtak 2007a
Duru and Umurtak 2008a
Duru and Umurtak 2008b
Duru and Umurtak 2008c
Umurtak 2008
Duru and Umurtak 2009a
Duru and Umurtak 2009b
Umurtak 2009
Duru and Umurtak 2010a

French 2010

Special reports

Renfrew 1968
Yalçın 1998

Reviews

Steadman 2000a
Wright 2002
Schoop 2010

Pınarbaşı B [the 6th millennium site]

Watkins 1996
Baird et al. 2011
Baird 2012b

Köşk Höyük

Annual reports

Silistrelili 1984a
Silistrelili 1984b
Silistrelili 1985a
Silistrelili 1985b
Silistrelili 1986a
Silistrelili 1986b
Silistrelili 1987
Silistrelili 1989a
Silistrelili 1990
Silistrelili 1991a
Silistrelili 1991b
Özkan et al. 2002
Özkan et al. 2004
Özkan et al. 2005
Özkan et al. 2006
Özkan et al. 2007
Özkan et al. 2008
Özkan et al. 2009
Özkan et al. 2010
Özkan and Açıkgöz 2011

Summary literature and special reports

Silistrelili 1989b
Silistrelili 1989c
Silistrelili 1989d
Silistrelili 1991c
Özkan 2001
Özkan 2002
Özkan 2003
Özkan and Özkan 2003
Özkan and Faydalı 2004
Özkan 2007a
Özkan 2007b

Duru and Umurtak 2010b
Duru and Umurtak 2011a
Duru and Umurtak 2011b
Umurtak 2011a
Duru and Umurtak 2012

Summary literature and special reports

DeCupere et al. 2008
Duru 2001a

Erbaba

Annual reports

Bordaz 1969a
Bordaz 1970
Bordaz 1973
Bordaz and Bordaz 1976
Bordaz 1977
Bordaz and Bordaz 1978
Bordaz and Bordaz 1982

Special reports

Arbuckle 2008

Arbuckle et al. 2009
Özbek 2009a
Özbek 2009b
Öztan 2012
Arbuckle 2012a

Gelveri

Esin 1993a
Gülçur and Kilper 2009
Gülçur et al. 2010
Godon and Özbudak in press

Musular [the 6th millennium site]

Özbaşaran 1999
Özbaşaran 2000
Özbaşaran et al. 2007

APPENDIX 3: RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF HOUSEHOLD AUTONOMY

no	indicator	node used in NVivo	stated by	based on evidence from
THEME 1: THE COMPLETE HOUSE				
#1	the house contains all necessary features to make the house(hold) socially and economically self-sufficient [see also #69]	<i>autonomy-complete house</i>	Schachner 1999:51; Steadman 2004:531, 544, 545, 547, Düring and Marciniak 2005:177, 179, 183; Cutting 2005b:136, 136, 137, 140; Hodder 2005d:15; Düring 2006:91, 101, 170, 173, 213, 214, 231, 245, 296, 302, 302, 312, 316; Düring 2007b:165, 171; Düring 2011c:64, 67, 68, 71, 98, 98, 117, 224; Stevanović 2012a:77-78, 79; Düring 2013a:29	Çatalhöyük East, Aşıklı Höyük, Bademağacı, Kuruçay 12, (LC) Beycesultan
#2	all or most contemporary houses inside the village are complete	<i>autonomy-symmetric completeness</i>	Hodder 2005a:14; Düring 2006:122, 256; Düring 2007b:163, 176; Düring 2011c:97, 98; Düring 2013a:29	Çatalhöyük East, Canhasan III, Erbaba
#3	all contemporary houses have a certain minimal size of internal space [see also #70, #71]	<i>autonomy-enough house</i>	Düring and Marciniak 2005:177; Cutting 2005b:130, 136; Cutting 2006b:96; Düring 2006:92, 95, 111, 122, 128, 167, 167, 168, 176, 256, 277, 295, 296; Düring 2011c:64	Aşıklı Höyük, Canhasan III, Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar, Bademağacı, Erbaba
#4	all contemporary houses have cooking facilities such as a hearth and/or oven located inside the	<i>autonomy-own hearth</i>	Schachner 1999:60; Steadman 2004:533, 544, 546; Düring and Marciniak 2005:173, 176; Cutting 2005b:127, 136; Cutting 2006b:96; Hodder 2005a:14; Hodder 2005d:15; Hodder 2006:94, 180; Düring	Aşıklı Höyük, Bademağacı ENII4-3, Çatalhöyük East,

	building or in privately owned outside areas [see also #72]		2006:92, 92, 95, 172, 176, 211, 212, 269, 296, 296, 312, 316; Düring 2011c:64, 97, 112; Hodder 2014d:156; Düring 2013a:29, 35	(LC) Kuruçay 6
#5	all contemporary houses have storage facilities located inside the building or in privately owned outside areas [see also #73, #74, #75]	<i>autonomy-own storage</i>	Mellaart 1967:62-63; Becks and Jakob 1996:61; Schachner 1999:60; Steadman 2004:544; Cutting 2005b:127, 136; Düring and Marciniak 2005:177; Düring 2006:212, 296; Hodder 2005a:14; Hodder 2005d:15; Hodder 2006:57, 94, 180, 219, 226; Twiss 2008:54; Yakar 2011b:171; Düring 2013b:29; Hodder 2014c:17; Hodder and Farid 2014:27	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar, (LC) Kuruçay 6
#6	all contemporary houses have storage facilities are only large enough to feed one household unit [see also #76, #77]	<i>autonomy-right storage</i>	Hodder 2006:57; Hodder 2013a:17-18; Hodder 2013b:23; Hodder 2014d:151, 155	Çatalhöyük East
#7	benches inside the house	<i>autonomy-bench</i>	Cutting 2005b:136; Cutting 2006b:96	Çatalhöyük East
#8	internal subdivision of the house through platforms	<i>autonomy-platforms</i>	Düring 2006:167, 172, 176, 211, 212, 212. 269, 296, 312; Düring 2011c:97; Cutting 2005b:136; Cutting 2006b:96; Düring 2013b:29, 35	Çatalhöyük East
#9	house has a socialising area marked by high quality and quantity of wall plaster (plaster of good quality, and repeated replastering)	<i>autonomy-good plaster</i>	Düring 2006:165, 166, 176, 268; Hodder 2006:129; Hodder 2007:32	Çatalhöyük East, Aşıklı Höyük
THEME 2: CONSTRUCTING INDIVIDUALITIES				

#10	differences in construction materials between contemporary houses, such as different brick recipes and types of wood [see also #57]	<i>autonomy-different materials</i>	Matthews 2005b:396; Hodder 2005a:14; Hodder 2005d:15, 29; Hodder 2006:94, 226, 231; Stevanović 2012a:190, 200; Love 2012:152, 153; Love 2013a:89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96; Love 2013b:755; Love 2013c:269, 270, 274; Hodder 2013a:17; Hodder 2013b:25; Hodder 2014b:6; Hodder 2014d:155, 156; Hodder and Farid 2014:18, 27	Çatalhöyük East
#11	differences in building construction techniques between contemporary houses [see also #56]	<i>autonomy-different construction</i>	Hodder 2006:94; Love 2013a:93, 94, 96	Çatalhöyük East
#12	contemporary and neighbouring buildings/houses do not share walls [see also #54]	<i>autonomy-nonshared walls</i>	Heinrich and Seidl 1969:118-119; Hodder 1996a:48; Steadman 2000b:188; Hodder 2005d:15, 29; Hodder 2006:57, 94, 106, 219; Düring 2006:162, 245; Düring 2007b:163; Stevanović 2012c:77; Love 2013c:274; Hodder 2013a:17; Hodder 2014d:155, 156	Çatalhöyük East, Canhasan I
#13	clustered settlement layout [see also #47, #32, #33]	<i>autonomy-clustered</i>	Rosenstock 2009:217	Çatalhöyük East
THEME 3: SYMBOLS OF THE HOUSEHOLD				
#14	symbolic elaboration (with moulded features, artefacts, paintings) of the house interior [see also #83, #84]	<i>autonomy-inhouse symbols</i>	Hodder 1987:49; Hodder 1996a:47, 48; Last 1998:369, 371, 372, 372, 375, 375, 376; Hodder 1999:163; Asouti 2005:81, 86; Last 2005:201, 205, 208; Hodder 2005b:11, 13; Hodder 2005c:184, 185, 186, 195; Hodder 2005d:23; Hodder 2005e:131, 133, 136; Hodder 2006:58, 135, 164, 169-170, 170, 184, 249, 255-256; Sagona and Zimansky 2009:89;	Çatalhöyük East, Boncuklu Höyük, Bademağacı, Canhasan I, Höyücek

			Baird 2012a:453; Özbaşaran et al. 2014:625, 632; Haddow et al. 2015:19	
#15	lack of a communal ritual building [see also #89]	<i>autonomy-no ritual building</i>	Asouti 2005a:81; Hodder 2005d:23; Düring 2006:310; Hodder 2005c:186; Hodder 2005e:131, 133; Hodder 2006:58	Çatalhöyük East
#16	symbolic images located in different buildings show different motives or styles [see also #85]	<i>autonomy-idiosyncratic symbols</i>	Hodder 1996a:47; Hodder 2006:143	Çatalhöyük East
#17	symbolic items occurring in (nearly) every house [see also #86]	<i>autonomy-symmetric symbols</i>	Düring 2006:217; Düring 2007a:136	Çatalhöyük East
#18	sub-floor burials [see also #87]	<i>autonomy-subfloor burials</i>	Mellaart 1962b:52; Hodder 1996a:47; Asouti 2005a:84, 86; Hodder 2005c:195; Hodder 2005d:23; Hodder 2005e:131, 133, 136-137; Hodder 2006:58, 61, 106, 164, 165, 231, 249, 249; Hodder 2007:32; Düring 2011c:67; Baird 2012a:460; Özbaşaran et al. 2014:625, 632, 642; Haddow et al. 2015:19, 20, 23, 24; Bachhuber 2015:94	Çatalhöyük East, Aşıklı Höyük, Boncuklu Höyük, Köşk Höyük
#19	burial chambers	<i>autonomy-burial chamber</i>	Marciniak et al. 2015:174	Çatalhöyük East
THEME 4: LEAVING AND CONTINUING THE HOUSE				
#20	abandonment/ closure and	<i>autonomy-</i>	Hodder and Cessford 2004:32-33; Hodder 2005b:12, 14; Hodder	Çatalhöyük East

	foundation rituals	<i>abandonment ritual</i>	2005c:186-187, 188, 195; Hodder 2005e:134, 136; Last 2005:201; Russell et al. 2009:108, 120, 121; Baird 2012a:453; Hodder 2013a:16, 16; Russell et al. 2014:119, 120	
#21	intentional burning of the house upon abandonment [see also #31]	<i>autonomy-houseburning</i>	Hodder 2005b:12; Hodder 2005e:134; Baird 2012a:453; Haddow et al. 2015:24	Çatalhöyük East
#22	idiosyncratic abandonment/closure and foundation rituals that vary from house to house	<i>autonomy-idiosyncratic abandonment</i>	Hodder 2005c:191; Hodder 2013a:17; Hodder 2014d:162; Hodder 2014c:17, 18; Russell et al. 2014:120	Çatalhöyük East
#23	constructing house walls upon the walls of an abandoned older house, thereby retaining the layout [see also #88]	<i>autonomy-building continuity</i>	Hodder 1996a:47; Hodder 1999b:162; Cutting 2005b:127; Baird 2005:71; Hodder 2005b:14; Hodder 2005e:136-137; Hodder 2005c:184, 187, 195; Hodder 2006:129, 165, 204, 226-227, 249; Hodder 2007:32; Twiss et al. 2008:42; Sagona and Zimanksy 2009:88; Rosenstock 2009:221; Baird et al. 2011:391; Baird 2012a:453; Hodder 2013b:25; Hodder 2013a:16, 17; Hodder 2014d:155; Haddow et al. 2015:19	Çatalhöyük East, Aşıklı Höyük
#24	repetition of symbolic items diachronically across a continuous house stack	<i>autonomy-continuous symbol</i>	Baird et al. 2011:391; Hodder 2005c:188, 194	Çatalhöyük East
#25	removal of (symbolic) features from houses after abandonment by digging down from upper house	<i>autonomy-feature retrieval</i>	Hodder and Cessford 2004:33; Hodder 1999b:162; Hodder 2005c:184, 186, 191; Hodder 2006:146, 149; Baird 2012a:453; Hodder 2013a:16	Çatalhöyük East

THEME 5: BREAKING WITH THE PAST

#26	decreasing/ abandonment of symbolic house elaboration [see also #85, #86]	<i>autonomy-elaboration abandoned</i>	Hodder 2005b:12, 12; Hodder 2005c:190, 195; Hodder 2005e:138; Hodder and Pels 2010:184; Hodder 2013a:23; Hodder 2014d:167; Hodder 2014e:182; Marciniak et al. 2015:173	Çatalhöyük East, Çatalhöyük West
#27	decreasing/ abandonment of sharing burial location between several households [see also #87]	<i>autonomy-asymmetric burials abandoned</i>	Düring 2006:229, 313; Düring 2011c:132; Düring 2013c:88	Çatalhöyük East
#28	decreasing/ abandonment of subfloor burials [see also #87]	<i>autonomy-subfloor burials abandoned</i>	Hodder 2005b:12; Hodder 2006:58, 254; Hodder 2013a:21; Hodder 2013b:21; Hodder 2014c:19; Hodder 2014e:179; Marciniak 2015a:91; Marciniak et al. 2015:173	Çatalhöyük East, Çatalhöyük West
#29	decreasing/ abandonment of building continuity [see also #88]	<i>autonomy-building continuity abandoned</i>	Düring and Marciniak 2005:180; Düring 2006:234, 298, 313; Hodder 2006:254; Düring 2007b:176; Düring 2011c:132; Hodder 2014b:15, 17; Hodder 2014c:19; Düring 2013c:88, Hodder 2016:3	Çatalhöyük East
#30	decreasing durations of house use lives	<i>autonomy-short house</i>	Hodder 2005c:190; Hodder and Pels 2010:184; Marciniak 2015a:96, 96	Çatalhöyük East
#31	intentional burning of the house upon abandonment [see also #22]	<i>autonomy-burning history</i>	Hodder 2014b:17; Hodder 2014c:19	Çatalhöyük East

THEME 6: GIVING EACH OTHER SPACE

#32	clustered settlement layout is abandoned [see also #47]	<i>autonomy-clustering abandoned</i>	Düring 2002:227; Düring and Marciniak 2005:180, 183; Hodder 2005a:19; Hodder 2006:254; Düring 2006:234, 247; Düring 2011c:132; Hodder 2013a:21; Hodder 2013b:26; Bogaard et al. 2014:123; Hodder 2014d:167; Hodder 2014e:183; Marciniak 2015a:91; Marciniak et al. 2015a:163	Çatalhöyük East
#33	houses are separated by unroofed spaces [see also #47]	<i>autonomy-nonclustered</i>	Steadman 2000b:190, 190; Düring and Marciniak 2005:178; Schoop 2005b:48; Bıçakçı et al. 2012:91	Tepecik 3, Kuruçay 7, Hacılar II, Bademağacı ENII3
#34	abandonment of demarcated and clustered neighbourhoods [see also #49, #50, #51]	<i>autonomy-neighbourhoods abandoned</i>	Gérard 2002a:107; Düring and Marciniak 2005:181; Düring 2006:247, 298, 314; Düring 2007b:176, 177; Düring 2011c:132, 135-136, 155-156, 199; Düring 2013c:88; Hodder 2013a:24; Hodder 2014c:6; Hodder 2014d:150	Çatalhöyük East
THEME 7: BUILDING INDEPENDENTLY				
#35	mudbricks used for house building become smaller	<i>autonomy-smaller bricks</i>	Hodder 2006:252-253	Çatalhöyük East
#36	preference for juniper use in house building	<i>autonomy-juniper</i>	Hodder 2013a:25; Hodder 2013b:28; Hodder 2014e:175	Çatalhöyük East
#37	smaller amounts of (large, fresh) timber used for house construction	<i>autonomy-less wood</i>	Marciniak et al. 2015a:163, Marciniak 2015b:94	Çatalhöyük East
#38	individual differences between	<i>autonomy-</i>	Hodder 2005d:29; Hodder 2006:232; Stevanović 2012c:67; Hodder	Çatalhöyük East

	residences in the way they are sized, furnished or decorated [see also #64]	<i>idiosyncratic layout</i>	2013b:25; Hodder 2014d:156; Hodder and Farid 2014:27	
#39	frequent modifications to the house	<i>autonomy-modifications</i>	Asouti 2005a:87; Düring 2005:21; Düring and Marciniak 2005:179; Düring 2006:97, 112, 228, 298, 313; Düring 2009:31; Düring 2011a:156; Matthews 2012:215; Stevanović 2012c:67	Çatalhöyük East, Aşıklı Höyük, Tepecik, Köşk Höyük
THEME 8: MORE PRODUCTIVE SPACE				
#40	increasing average house size [see also #41]	<i>autonomy-larger house</i>	Steadman 2000b:178, 182; Cutting 2005a:137; Hodder 2005b:12, 12; Hodder 2006:58, 256; Düring 2006:314, 314, 317; Hodder 2013a:21, 22, 25; Hodder 2013b:20, 21, 28; Bogaard et al. 2014:146; Hodder 2014b:10, 11, 12; Hodder 2014c:19; Hodder 2014d:167; Hodder 2014e:175; Hodder and Farid 2014:34; Marciniak 2015b:91	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar, Erbaba, Canhasan I
#41	decreasing average house size [see also #41]	<i>autonomy-smaller house</i>	Marciniak 2015a:96; Marciniak et al. 2015a:163	Çatalhöyük East
#42	presence of several side rooms within the building	<i>household autonomy-multi rooms</i>	Hodder 2005a:19; Hodder 2005b:12; Hodder 2006:58; Hodder 2013a:25; Hodder 2014b:10, 12; Hodder 2014c:19; Hodder 2014e:175, 182; Marciniak 2015a:91	Çatalhöyük East, Çatalhöyük West
#43	abandonment of standardised building layouts including size and furnishing [see also #64]	<i>autonomy-standard house abandoned</i>	Düring 2006:313; Düring 2011c:132, 136; Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014c:19	Çatalhöyük East
#44	size increase of household-specific (e.g. located inside house) storage facilities in most houses	<i>autonomy-large storage</i>	Steadman 2000b:182; Hodder 2013a:25; Hodder and Farid 2014:34; Hodder 2014b:10; Hodder 2014e:182	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar

#45	size increase of ovens in most houses	<i>autonomy-large oven</i>	Hodder 2006:214; Hodder 2005a:19	Çatalhöyük East
#46	increasing use of outdoor spaces around the house for production activities	<i>autonomy-yards</i>	Schoop 2005b:49; Hodder 2013b:24, 28; Bogaard et al. 2014:123, 146, 147, 147; Hodder 2014b:12; Hodder 2014c:19	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar II, Bademağacı ENII3

APPENDIX 4: RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF SUPRAHOUSEHOLD INTEGRATION

no	indicator	node used in NVivo	stated by	based on evidence from
THEME 9: LIVING CLOSE TOGETHER				
#47	clustering of buildings with minimal unroofed space within the settlement [see also #13, #32, #33]	<i>community-clustering</i>	Bittel 1973:14; Hodder 1996a:48; French 1998:68, 68; Acar 2001:20-21; Düring 2001:2; Düring 2002:226; Steadman 2004:527, 546, 548; Matthews 2005a:134; Düring and Marciniak 2005:175, 178; Düring 2005:21; Schoop 2005b:48, 54; Cutting 2005b:29, 135; Hodder 2005e:137; Hodder 2005d:15, 15, 16, 29; Düring 2006:2, 92, 112, 122; Hodder 2006:95, 100, 104, 107; Marciniak and Czerniak 2007:118; Hodder 2007:26; Düring 2011c:69-70, 117; Hodder 2012c:309; Stevanović 2012a:174, 201, 203; Stevanović 2013:100, 110, 112; Love 2013c:276; Hodder 2013a:20; Rosenstock 2014:239; Hodder 2014b:11; Hodder 2014c:18; Hodder 2014d:155, 162; Hodder 2014e:175; Hodder and Farid 2014:33	Çatalhöyük East, Aşıklı Höyük, Canhasan III, Canhasan I
#48	clustered settlements including many two-storied buildings	<i>community-second storey</i>	Düring 2006:280-281	Canhasan I

THEME 10: DIVIDE TO UNITE

#49	division of settlement into spatially/visually separated (by walls or open spaces) house groups [see also #34]	<i>community-neighbourhoods</i>	Redman 1978:208; Schachner 1999:62; Düring 2001:16; Gérard 2002a:107; Steadman 2004:527; Cutting 2005b:129; Düring and Marciniak 2005:181, 183, 183; Matthews 2005a:129; Hodder 2005e:127; Hodder 2006:58, 101, 107; Düring 2006:93, 111, 112, 112, 128, 231, 246, 247, 280, 301-303, 312, 312, 313, 314; Marciniak and Czerniak 2007:188; Düring 2007b:169, 170, 173, 175-176, 177; Marciniak 2008a:104; Yakar 2011b:140, 174; Düring 2011a:71; Düring 2011b:803; Düring 2011c:69-70, 117, 120, 129, 155, 164, 171, 228, 283; Stevanović 2012c:79-80; Düring 2013a:33, 34, 36, 38; Love 2013a:92; Hodder 2013a:2, 16; Hodder 2014b:8; Hodder 2014d:153, 162, 162-163; Hodder 2014e:182; Hodder and Farid 2014:29, 33; Hodder 2016:2	Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük East, Canhasan III, Canhasan I, Erbaba, Hacılar, Bademağacı, Kuruçay
#50	two or a few houses cluster around a circumscribed unroofed space [see also #34]	<i>community-courtyard clusters</i>	Schachner 1999:60, 60, 163; Steadman 2004:531, 533, 534, 536, 541	Bademağacı ENII4-3, Canhasan I Level 5, Kuruçay 12, LC Kuruçay 6
#51	lines of parallel houses facing one another across open space [see also #34]	<i>community-house rows</i>	Schoop 2005b:49	Hacılar II, Bademağacı

THEME 11: BUILDING THE HOUSE TOGETHER

#52	neighbouring houses were constructed at the same time	<i>community-built contemporary</i>	Cutting 2005b:82; Hodder 2007:27; Stevanović 2012c:78, 79; Hodder 2014d:162	Çatalhöyük East, Canhasan I
#53	houses are built on the same foundation raft	<i>community ties-shared foundation</i>	Hodder 2007:27; Stevanović 2012c:79; Hodder 2014d:162; Hodder and Farid 2014:29	Çatalhöyük East

#54	neighbouring houses share walls [see also #12]	<i>community ties- shared walls</i>	Schachner 1999:112; Cutting 2005b:99, 103, 130, 132, 132, 135; Matthews 2005a:133; Hodder 2005d:15; Hodder 2006:86, 92; Hodder 2007:27; Farid 2007:53; Stevanović 2012c:79, 79; Hodder 2013b:25; Hodder 2014b:6-7; Hodder 2014d:162; Hodder and Farid 2014:29	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar, LC Beycesultan
#55	houses are destroyed at the same time	<i>community ties- destroyed contemporary</i>	Hodder 2014d:162; Hodder and Farid 2014:29	Çatalhöyük East
#56	similarities in building construction techniques between different houses [see also #11]	<i>community ties- similar construction</i>	Cutting 2005b:95, 130; Love 2013a:93; Tung 2013:78, 80	Çatalhöyük East, Bademağacı, Hacılar
#57	similarities in building materials between different buildings [see also #10]	<i>community ties- similar materials</i>	Love 2013c:270; Love 2013a:90, 93; Tung 2013:67, 75, 78, 78-79, 79; Stevanović 2013:112; Hodder 2013a:16, 23; Hodder 2014b:6; Hodder 2014d:155, 156, 162; Hodder and Farid 2014:18, 33	Çatalhöyük East
#58	wall(s) within one residence are built with different bricks and mortar types	<i>community ties- patchwork wall</i>	Hodder and Farid 2014:18	Çatalhöyük East
#59	distinctive and idiosyncratic layout, furnishing or elaboration of buildings shared between neighbouring or successive houses	<i>community ties- similar idiosyncrasies</i>	Hodder 2013a:16; Hodder 2013b:25; Hodder 2014b:6; Hodder and Farid 2014:27, 33; Hodder 2014d:162; Hodder 2014e:181	Çatalhöyük East
#60	evidence for considerable effort put into house construction, for	<i>community ties- time and effort</i>	Cutting 2005b:82, 130, 130, 132, 132; Stevanović 2012a:202; Hodder and Farid 2014:16	Çatalhöyük East, Canhasan I, Hacılar VI,

	example in form of “substantive and sophisticated” architecture			Hacılar II
#61	use of heavy building materials, such as clay	<i>community ties-heavy house</i>	Stevanović 2012a:201; Stevanović 2013:112; Hodder 2013b:16	Çatalhöyük East
#62	use of many and very large pieces of wood in house construction	<i>community ties-large wood</i>	Stevanović 2012a:202; Stevanović 2013:112	Çatalhöyük East
#63	internal plastering	<i>community ties-plaster</i>	Stevanović 2012a:202	Çatalhöyük East
THEME 12: HOUSE STANDARDISATION				
#64	standardised layouts of contemporary buildings including furnishing [see also #38, #39]	<i>community ties-standard house</i>	French 1998:68; Hodder and Cessford 2004:32; Cutting 2005b:95, 127, 130, 135; Hodder 2005e:132; Hodder 2005d:29; Hodder 2005b:11; Hodder 2005c:184, 191; Matthews 2005b:396; Düring 2006:245; Hodder 2006:56, 100, 135, 144, 232; Hodder 2007:36-37; Stevanović 2012c:67, 67	Çatalhöyük East, Bademağacı, Hacılar VI, Aşıklı Höyük, Canhasan I
THEME 13: SHARING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SPACE				
#65	more than one ‘complete house’ present in a building	<i>community ties-combihouse</i>	Cutting 2005b:130; Düring and Marciniak 2005:179, 183; Düring 2006:214, 245, 297; Düring 2007b:164; Düring 2011c:98	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar II
#66	doors/crawlholes connecting houses	<i>community ties-connecting doors</i>	Hodder 2005d:15; Düring and Marciniak 2005:180; Düring 2006:214, 245; Hodder 2006:92; Hodder 2007:27; Düring	Çatalhöyük East

			2007b:164; Düring 2011c:98; Stevanović 2012c:80; Hodder 2013b:25; Hodder 2014b:8; Hodder 2014d:162	
#67	shared retaining wall protecting two houses from adjacent midden	<i>community ties-shared retaining wall</i>	Hodder 2014b:6-7; Hodder 2014d:162; Hodder and Farid 2014:29	Çatalhöyük East
#68	wattle-and-daub walls of a few buildings inside a house cluster	<i>community ties-wattle</i>	Düring 2011c:164	Hacılar
#69	some houses inside a village do not have the full set of features required to make a complete house [see also #1]	<i>community ties-incomplete house</i>	Steadman 2004:531, 537, 539, 546, 547	Aşıklı Höyük, Kuruçay Level 12, Canhasan I, Erbaba
#70	buildings are too small to serve as the (sole) residence of a household [see also #3]	<i>community ties-small house</i>	Steadman 2004:536-537; Düring 2006:111, 167, 256, 296; Düring and Marciniak 2005:173; Düring 2011c:64	Erbaba, Aşıklı Höyük
#71	houses are too large for a nuclear household [see also #3]	<i>community ties-too large house</i>	Düring 2011b:800; Düring 2011c:246	Canhasan I Level 1
#72	lack of cooking facilities in some houses [see also #4]	<i>community ties-hearthless house</i>	Schachner 1999:46; Steadman 2004:546; Cutting 2005b:103; Düring and Marciniak 2005:174; Düring 2006:92, 111, 296; Düring 2011c:64; Hodder 2013a:2; Hodder 2013b:2, 25; Hodder 2014c:17; Hodder 2014d:162; Hodder and Farid 2014:4, 29, 33	Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar I
#73	no house in the village has storage facilities [see also #5]	<i>community ties-no inhouse storage</i>	Hodder 2013a:6; Hodder 2014c:6; Hodder and Farid 2014:9	Aşıklı Höyük

#74	two or more households share storage facilities [see also #5]	<i>community ties- shared storage</i>	Düring 2006:214	Çatalhöyük East
#75	lack of storage facilities in some houses within a neighbourhood where other houses do have storage [see also #5]	<i>community ties- asymmetric storage</i>	Stevanović 2012c:79; Hodder and Farid 2014:29	Çatalhöyük East
#76	limited storage facilities within each house [see also #6]	<i>community ties- small storage</i>	Hodder and Pels 2010:178; Hodder 2014b:11; Hodder 2014d:151, 153; Hodder 2014e:174, 175, 182	Çatalhöyük East
#77	one or more houses have more storage and food processing installations than needed for just one household [see also #6]	<i>community ties- large storage</i>	Cessford 2007:541; Düring 2011c:171	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar
THEME 14: ON COMMON GROUND				
#78	sizeable open (unroofed) areas between buildings	<i>community ties- shared outside</i>	Mellaart 1970c:3, 5; Schachner 1999:48, 50, 93, 108; Steadman 2000b:178, 179; Acar 2001:16, 17; Steadman 2004:544; Cutting 2005b:130, 136; Cutting 2005a:167; Düring and Marciniak 2005:174, 174; Cutting 2006b:97; Düring 2006:77, 110, 111, 125, 234, 238, 243, 245, 247; Duru 2007:336; Umurtak 2007b:6; Yakar 2011b:179, 184; Düring 2011c:62; Duru 2012:16; Hodder 2012a:306; Bıcağcı et al. 2012:93; Stevanović 2012c:79; Özbaşaran and Duru 2015:46	'Aceramic' Hacılar, Hacılar VI, Hacılar II, Erbaba, Çatalhöyük East, Tepecik, Canhasan III, Aşıklı Höyük, Kuruçay

#79	building entrances opening directly onto unroofed areas	<i>community ties-direct door</i>	Cutting 2005b:99; Steadman 2000b:190, 190	Canhasan III, Kuruçay, Hacılar VI
#80	refuse disposal and activity areas ('middens') located between houses	<i>community ties-shared midden</i>	Eslick 1988:21; Schachner 1999:47, 50; Düring 2006:92, 296; Hodder 2006:103, 104; Farid 2007:52; Düring 2011c:62; Stevanović 2012a:175; Hodder 2013a:6; Hodder 2013b:6, 24; Hodder 2014c:6, 18; Hodder 2014d:150, 163, 165; Hodder and Farid 2014:29, 31, 33; Özbaşaran and Duru 2015:48	Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük East
#81	storage facilities located outside of residences in unroofed spaces	<i>community ties-outside storage</i>	Hodder 1987:54; Eslick 1988:22; Steadman 2004:533, 534; Cutting 2005b:95, 135, 136; Umurtak 2007b:7	'Aceramic' Hacılar, Hacılar II, Bademağacı ENII4-3
#82	cooking facilities (oven, hearth) located outside of residences in unroofed spaces	<i>community ties-outside oven</i>	Hodder 1987:54; Eslick 1988:21; Steadman 2004:534; Cutting 2005a:161; Cutting 2005b:46, 103, 135-136; Düring 2006:240; Hodder 2006:99, 182; Cessford 2007:541; Sagona and Zimansky 2009:88; Özbaşaran 2011:108; Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014c:18; Bogaard et al. 2014:133, 145, 146, 147, 147	'Aceramic' Hacılar, Hacılar VI, Hacılar II-I, Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük East
THEME 15: SYMBOLS OF COMMUNITY				
#83	symbolic elaboration of building interiors [see also #14]	<i>community ties-symbolic elaboration</i>	Redman 1978:186; Schoop 2005b:48; Hodder 2005b:9, 11, 11; Hodder 2006:57, 162; Özbaşaran 2011:114	Çatalhöyük East
#84	lack of symbolic elaboration of the	<i>community ties-no</i>	Hodder 1987:54-55; Hodder 2005a:13; Hodder 2006:58, 167-	Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük

	individual house (imagery, burials) [see also #14]	<i>symbolism</i>	168, 177	West, Hacilar
#85	symbolism shared between different (contemporary and non-contemporary) buildings, e.g. use of similar motifs for wall paintings [see also #16]	<i>community ties-shared symbolism</i>	Forest 1993:15; Hodder 2006:56; Hodder 2013a:25; Hodder 2014b:8, Fig.6, 17; Hodder 2014d:151, 153, Fig. 10.1, 160, 161, 167; Hodder 2014e:174, 182	Çatalhöyük East
#86	asymmetric synchronic distribution of symbolic elaboration between houses, whereby some buildings are particular intensely symbolically elaborated [see also #17]	<i>community ties-asymmetric elaboration</i>	Heinrich and Seidl 1969:118; Last 1998:371-372; Düring 2001:10, 11; Gérard 2002a:107; Düring and Marciniak 2005:178; Hodder and Cessford 2004:36; Hodder 2005e:127, 136, 136; Hodder 2005c:184, 189; Düring 2005:21, 21, 21, 22, 23, 24; Düring 2006:201, 225, 226, 231, 235, 246, 247, 297, <u>299-300</u> , 303, 305, 313, 317, 317; Hodder 2006:161-162; Düring 2007a:146, 148; Düring 2007b:168; Hodder and Pels 2010:178, 183, 183; Özbaşaran 2011:114; Yakar 2011b:139-140, 174; Düring 2011c:107, 115-116, 135; Baird 2012a:455-456; Hodder 2012a:309; Hodder 2013a:25; Hodder 2014b:16; Hodder and Farid 2014:33; Marciniak 2015a:90, 96; Hodder 2014d:156, 162; Hodder 2014e:182	Çatalhöyük East
#87	asymmetric synchronic distribution of sub-floor burials between buildings, whereby some buildings have a lot of burials and others few or none [see also #18]	<i>community ties-asymmetric burials</i>	Last 1998:375; Hodder 1999b:161; Düring 2001:11; Düring 2003:10, 10, 12, 13; Düring 2005:21; Baird 2005:71; Hodder 2005e:135-136, 136, 136; Hodder 2005c:184,189; Hodder 2005d:15, 29; Matthews 2005:141, 148; Düring and Marciniak 2005:175, 178, 181, 183; Hodder 2005a:19; Matthews 2005b:395; Düring 2006:201, 207, 210-211, 226, 231, 246, 247, 297, 299-300, 317; Hodder 2006:92, 161, 162; Cessford 2007:541, 542; Düring 2007a:148; Düring 2007b:168, 177; Marciniak and Czerniak 2007:118; Marciniak 2008a:96; Düring	Çatalhöyük East

			2008b:603, 607, 610, 612, 613; Düring 2009:34; Russell et al. 2009:121; Hodder and Pels 2010:178; Düring 2011c:110-111, 112, 115-116; Özbaşaran 2011:114; Yakar 2011b:139-140, 174, 175; Baird 2012a:455-456; Düring 2013a:32-33; Hodder 2013b:2, 24; Hodder 2013a:2; Düring 2014:131; Hodder 2014b:8-9; Hodder 2014c:3, 20; Hodder 2014d:151, 153, 156, 160, 161-162, 162, 163; Hodder 2014e:174, 181, 182; Hodder and Farid 2014:4, 29, 33; Marciniak 2015a:90; Hodder 2016:2, 2	
#88	building continuity [see also #23]	<i>community ties- building continuity</i>	Heinrich and Seidl 1969:118; Düring 2005:5, 21, 24; Cutting 2005b: 131, 131, 135; Hodder 2005c:191; Düring and Marciniak 2005:175, 179, 181, 181; Cutting 2006b:97; Düring 2006:92-93, 97, 228, 235, 246, 246, 298-299, 312, 313, 316, 317; Marciniak and Czerniak 2007:118; Düring 2007a:148; Düring 2007b:169; Düring 2009:31-32, 35; Hodder and Pels 2010:178; Düring 2011c:115-116, 129, 132; Düring 2013a:31; Düring 2014:132; Hodder and Farid 2014:33; Marciniak et al. 2015b:173	Çatalhöyük East, Aşıklı Höyük
Theme 16: CONSTRUCTING COMMUNITY SPACE				
#89	large building for congregation [see also #15]	<i>community ties- ritual building</i>	Cutting 2005b:46, 46; Asouti 2005a:79; Düring and Marciniak 2005:181; Düring 2005:23; Düring 2006:105, 106, 111, 112, 125, 235, 300, 304-305, 309, 312, 316; Hodder 2006:58; Düring 2011c:72-73; Özbaşaran 2011:108; Yakar 2011b:112; Hodder 2013a:6; Hodder 2014c:6; Özbaşaran and Duru 2015:50; Bachhuber 2015:114	Aşıklı Höyük, EBA Bademağacı
#90	building for production activities	<i>community ties-</i>	Hodder 1987:54; Eslick 1988:21; Cutting 2005b:130; Bıcağcı et al.	Tepecik 3, Hacılar II

		<i>workshop building</i>	2012:93	
#91	storage building	<i>community ties-storage building</i>	Hodder 1987:54; Eslick 1988:21, 30; Schachner 1999:48, 60, 60; Cutting 2005b:46, 130, 137; Bıcağcı et al. 2012:93; Bachhuber 2015:79	Aşıklı Höyük, Tepecik 3, Hacılar II, LC Kuruçay 6, EBA Bademağacı
#92	settlement enclosure walls	<i>community ties-enclosure wall</i>	Hodder 1987:55; Schachner 1999:48, 50; Acar 2001:14; Cutting 2005:103, 132, 136; Düring 2011cfort:79, 80; Duru 2007:336; Duru 2012:6	Aşıklı Höyük, Kuruçay 11, Hacılar II, Hacılar I, EBA Acemhöyük, EBA Bademağacı
#93	burials in unroofed spaces in the settlement [see also #18, #87, #28]	<i>community ties-outside burials</i>	Bıcağcı et al. 2012:93	Tepecik 3

APPENDIX 5: RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF SOCIAL COMPETITION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Text passages marked in grey refer to hypothetical statements.

no	indicator	node used in NVivo	stated by	based on evidence from
Social competition				
THEME 17: THE DEEP HOUSE				
#94	residences have more depth in the sense of: more internal partitioning	<i>competition-deep house</i>	Steadman 2000b:182, 188, 190, 190, 190-191; Cutting 2005b:29, 31, 122, 130	Hacılar II, Canhasan I Level 2b, Çatalhöyük East, Kuruçay
#95	doors to the outside are located in areas where they limit visual access to the house	<i>competition-offset entrance</i>	Steadman 2000b:190, 190; Cutting 2005b:130	Hacılar II
#96	neighbouring houses do not share party walls [see also #12]	<i>competition-nonshared walls</i>	Steadman 2000b:188, 190	Canhasan I
#97	existence of open space between neighbouring houses	<i>competition-nonclustered</i>	Steadman 2000b:188, 190; Cutting 2005b:31, 122; Cutting 2006b:99	Çatalhöyük East, Canhasan I

	[see also #33]			
#98	increasing average house size [see also #40]	<i>competition-larger houses</i>	Steadman 2000b:178, 182, 188; Cutting 2005b:29, 31, 122; Düring 2006:314, 317	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar, Canhasan I, Erbaba
#99	development of two-storied houses [see also #109]	<i>competition-multistorey</i>	Steadman 2000b:182, 185-186, 187, 188, 190, 190-191; Cutting 2005b:31; Düring 2006:280, 314, 317; Baird 2012a:452	Canhasan I, Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar, Erbaba, Kuruçay 7
#100	presence of several side rooms or internal partitions within the building [see also #42, #107]	<i>competition-multiroom</i>	Steadman 2000b:182, 190; Hodder 2014c:19	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar
THEME 18: SOCIAL DISPLAY				
#101	abandonment of clear (ritual: dirty/clean) subdivision of buildings (#64): floor space becomes more open and less structured	<i>competition-open floor</i>	Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014c:19	Çatalhöyük East, Çatalhöyük West
#102	wall paintings located on any interior wall (vs. previously restricted to burial corner)	<i>competition-art display</i>	Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014c:19	Çatalhöyük East
#103	shift of ovens into side rooms	<i>competition-side oven</i>	Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014c:19, Hodder 2014e:179	Çatalhöyük East
#104	hearth located in centre of residence	<i>competition-central hearth</i>	Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014e:179	Çatalhöyük East, Çatalhöyük West
#105	storage installations located in the living room	<i>competition-living room storage</i>	Asouti 2005a:88	Çatalhöyük East

no	indicator	node used in NVivo	stated by	based on evidence from
Social stratification				
THEME 19: THE ELITE RESIDENCE				
Theme 19.1: VISUAL DOMINANCE				
#106	one or a few residences are larger than others [see also #98]	<i>stratification- asymmetric size</i>	Mellaart 1964:50; Mellaart 1967:82, 225; Mellaart 1970c:34, 36; Eslick 1988:29-30, 30, 36, 37, 38; Yakar 1991:210; Steadman 2000b:182, 183-184, 184, 187, 191; Hodder 2005b:13; Cutting 2005a:158, 167; Cutting 2005b:33, 46, 127, 128, 131, 137; Cutting 2006b:97, 99; Düring 2006:213, 214, 278, 295; Hodder and Pels 2010:164, 173; Düring 2011b:805; Düring 2011c:244; Arbuckle 2012a:303, 310; Hodder 2013a:2, 18; Hodder 2013b:2, 26, 26; Czeszewska 2014:195; Hodder 2014b:5; Hodder 2014c:2; Hodder 2014d:156, 160; Hodder and Farid 2014:4, 10, 27; Yakar 2011b:113, 139, 176	Aşıklı Höyük, Canhasan III, Çatalhöyük East, Erbaba, Hacılar II, Hacılar I, Canhasan I Levels 2ab, MC Köşk Höyük, Güvercinkayası, Kuruçay 6, Kuruçay 4
#107	one or a few residences have more rooms than others [see also #100]	<i>stratification- multiroom</i>	Mellaart 1960:96; Mellaart 1970a:325; Mellaart 1970c:85; Eslick 1988:37; Duru 2008b:150; Sagona and Zimansky 2009:168; Hodder 2013b:27; Hodder 2014d:160	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar I, Kuruçay 4, EBA Bademağacı
#108	one or a few residences have a visually dominant location in the settlement	<i>stratification- dominant house</i>	Steadman 2000b:184; Cutting 2005b:131	Hacılar II

#109	one or a few residences have more than one storey [see also #99]	<i>stratification-multistorey</i>	Düring 2006:280	Canhasan I
Theme 19.2: BUILDING MATERIALS				
#110	one or a few residences have better building materials	<i>stratification-material differences</i>	Mellaart 1960:96; Mellaart 1970c:34; Steadman 2000b:184; Matthews 2005b:368; Düring 2006:190; Love2013a:81, 86, 94-95, 95; Love 2013c:264, 274; Stevanović 2013:98, 105; Tung 2013:67, 79, 80; Hodder 2013a:18; Hodder 2014d:159; Hodder and Farid 2014:27	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar II, Hacılar I
Theme 19.3: FURNISHING				
#111	one or a few residences have distinct furnishing present in and around the residence	<i>stratification-furnishing differences</i>	Mellaart 1967:225; Todd 1976:133; Cutting 2005b:32, 137	Çatalhöyük East
#112	houses have differently sized storage capacities	<i>stratification-asymmetric storage</i>	Eslick 1988:23, 29-30, 30, 36, 37, 38; Steadman 2000b:187; Cutting 2005a:167; Cutting 2005b:41; Hodder 2005d:26; Hodder 2006:183; Hodder and Pels 2010:173, 175, 178; Arbuckle 2012a:303, 304; Hodder 2013a:21, 24; Hodder 2013b:26; Hodder 2014b:5; Hodder 2014d:156, 160; Hodder and Farid 2014:27, 33, 34	Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük East, Canhasan I Levels 2ab, Güvercinkayası, Kuruçay 6, Kuruçay 4
#113	one house has more or larger cooking facilities	<i>stratification-more oven</i>	Eslick 1988:30, Steadman 2000b:184; Cutting 2005a:167; Hodder 2005a:14-15; Hodder 2006:182-183	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar II, Kuruçay 4
#114	one house house has more unroofed space	<i>stratification-more outside</i>	Mellaart 1960:96; Steadman 2000b:184; Hodder 2013a:21, 24; Hodder 2013b:27; Hodder 2014c:2; Hodder 2014d:160	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar II, Hacılar I

#115	house is located close to well	<i>stratification-well control</i>	Mellaart 1970c:36	Hacılar II
#116	distinct orientation, size, and height of platforms	<i>stratification-platform differences</i>	Yakar 2011b:176	Çatalhöyük East
Theme 19.4: MOBILE ITEMS				
#117	house has more artefacts	<i>stratification-many artefacts</i>	Hodder 2013a:18; Hodder 2013b:26; Hodder 2014b:5; Hodder 2014d:156; Hodder and Farid 2014:27	Çatalhöyük East
#118	some houses show more evidence of production activities e.g. in microdebris	<i>stratification-working house</i>	Hodder 2013a:18; Hodder 2014d:159	Çatalhöyük East
#119	particularly large amounts of prestige items used in the house or stored in the house	<i>stratification-prestige items</i>	Mellaart 1970c:38, 115, 149; Eslick 1988:23; Becks and Jakob 1996:68, 71; Hodder 1996b:361-362; Steadman 2000b:183-184; Hodder and Cessford 2004:30; Asouti 2005a:86; Hodder 2005e:127; Hodder 2005d:26; Hodder 2006:151-152, 182-183, 183; Arbuckle 2012a:304; Hodder 2013a:18; Hodder 2013b:26; Hodder 2014b:5; Hodder 2014d:156; Hodder and Farid 2014:27; Bachhuber 2015:79, 131-132	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar VI, Hacılar II, Güvercinkaya, EBA Bademağacı
#120	prestigious items deposited into the house fabric (e.g. foundation deposits)	<i>stratification-housefabric deposit</i>	Hodder and Cessford 2004:31; Hodder 2005a:13; Hodder 2005c:189; Hodder 2005d:26; Hodder 2006:170; Hodder 2013b:25, 26; Bogaard et al. 2014:121	Çatalhöyük East
#121	presence of high-status burials	<i>stratification-</i>	Mellaart 1964:94; Mellaart 1966b:182, 182, 183; Mellaart	Çatalhöyük East, Köşk Höyük

	in/under the house	<i>burial differences</i>	1967:82, 207; Mellaart 1975:102; Todd 1976:133; Mellaart 1979:27; Yakar 1991:291; Hodder 1996b:362; Mellaart 1998a:35, 36; Steadman 2000b:181; Öztan 2003:74; Hodder and Cessford 2004:30; Asouti 2005a:88; Hodder 2005c:188, 193; Hodder 2005d:26-27; Hodder 2005e:135-136; Düring 2006:309; Hodder 2006:179, 191, 224; Yakar 2011b:113, 175, 176; Stevanović 2012c:77; Hodder 2012a:304; Hodder 2013a:18; Hodder 2013b:26; Hodder 2014b:5; Hodder 2014d:156, 160; Hodder and Farid 2014:27	
Theme 19.5: RITUAL HOUSE ELABORATION				
#122	asymmetric synchronic distribution of symbolic elaboration between houses, whereby some buildings are particular intensely symbolically elaborated [see also #86]	<i>stratification-asymmetric elaboration</i>	Mellaart 1967:80, 82, 207; Yakar 1991:209, 210; Forest 1993:1, 33; Becks and Jakob 1996:68, 71; Hodder 1996b:361, 363-364, 365; Last 1998a:371; Mellaart 1998a:35-36, 36; Hodder and Cessford 2004:30-31, 36; Asouti 2005a:86; Cutting 2005a:158, 168; Cutting 2005b:128, 137; Düring 2005:20; Hodder 2005a:20-21; Hodder 2005c:188-189, 195, 195; Hodder 2005d:26; Hodder 2005e:135-136, 137, 137; Cutting 2006b:97, 98, 99; Düring 2006:191, 217, 220, 224, 299-300, 317; Hodder 2006:57, 151-152, 178-179, 182-183, 189, 204, 250; Düring 2007artic:133, 134, 136, 145, 146, 147; Düring 2007b:166; Hodder 2007:34-35; Hodder and Pels 2010:164-165, 173, 175, 178, 182-184; Düring 2011c:115-116; Hodder 2012a:304; Düring 2013a:30-31; Hodder 2013a:2, 18; Hodder 2013b:2, 2, 26, 26, 26; Love2013a:94; Tung 2013:67; Hodder 2014b:5; Hodder 2014c:2; Hodder 2014d:156, 160; Hodder and Farid 2014:4, 27, 33; Hodder 2016:2	Çatalhöyük East
#123	asymmetric synchronic	<i>stratification-</i>	Mellaart 1970c:36; Steadman 2000b:181; Cutting 2005a:167,	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar II

	distribution of sub-floor burials between buildings, whereby some buildings have a lot of burials and others few or none [see also #87]	<i>asymmetric burial</i>	168; Düring 2005:20; Düring and Marciniak 2005:178; Hodder 2005a:18-19; Hodder 2005c:188-189, 195, 195; Hodder 2005d:26; Hodder 2005e:135-136, 137, 137; Düring 2006:191, 217, 220, 224, 225, 231, 246, 246, 299-300, 301, 313, 313-314, 317; Hodder 2006:167, 178-179, 182-183; Düring 2007a:131, 136, 141, 141, 142, 143, 145, 148, 148; Düring 2007b:166; Hodder 2007:34-35; Düring 2008b:609; Düring 2009:34; Hodder and Pels 2010:164-165, 178, 182-184; Düring 2011c:115-116; Hodder 2012a:304; Düring 2013a:30-31; Düring 2013c:88; Love 2013a:94; Hodder 2013b:2, 26; Hodder 2014b:5; Hodder 2014d:156, 160; Hodder and Farid 2014:27, 33	
#124	building continuity [see also #88]	<i>stratification-building continuity</i>	Mellaart 1979:27; Becks and Jakob 1996:68, 71; Hodder 1996b:363, 366; Hodder and Cessford 2004:36; Düring 2005:20, 21, 22; Hodder 2005e:137; Hodder 2006:165-167; Cutting 2006b:97; Düring 2006:96, 97, 220, 224, 225-226, 228-229, 246, 247, 299-300, 301, 313, 317; Düring 2007a:133, 142, 145, 147, 148; Düring 2007b:169; Hodder 2007:34-35; Hodder 2014d:156, 160, 160; Düring 2014:133, 134	Çatalhöyük East
#125	long use lives of houses	<i>stratification-house longevity</i>	Hodder 2013a:18; Hodder 2014b:5; Hodder 2014d:156, 160; Hodder and Farid 2014:27	Çatalhöyük East
#126	stricter adherence to the 'standard house' layout (#64)	<i>stratification-strict house</i>	Hodder and Cessford 2004:31; Hodder 2005d:26; Hodder 2005c:189, 195	Çatalhöyük East
#127	decrease or abandonment of building continuity [see also #88, #124, #29]	<i>stratification-less building continuity</i>	Hodder 2014b:17; Düring 2006:247, 301, 317	Çatalhöyük East
#128	houseburning [see also #31]	<i>stratification-houseburning</i>	Cessford and Near 2005:175, 182; Russell et al. 2014:121	Çatalhöyük East

THEME 20: RULING THE SETTLEMENT

#129	standardised brick sizes	<i>stratification-standard bricks</i>	Mellaart 1979:27	Çatalhöyük East
#130	dense house clustering [see also #47]	<i>stratification-clustering</i>	Hodder 1996a:46, 46; Acar 2001:16; Hodder 2006:99	Çatalhöyük East
#131	less dense house clustering [see also #32]	<i>stratification-unclustering</i>	Eslick 1988:37, 39	Canhasan I Level 1, LC Kuruçay
#132	standardised house layouts [see also #64]	<i>stratification-standard house</i>	Hodder and Cessford 2004:36	Çatalhöyük East
#133	regular settlement layout	<i>stratification-regular settlement</i>	Mellaart 1970c:77; Eslick 1988:39; Duru 1996e:118, 138; Schachner 1999:47; Duru 2008b:9; Arbuckle 2012a:310	Hacılar I, MC Köşk Höyük, LC Kuruçay 6
#134	fortification walls [see also #163]	<i>stratification-fortifications</i>	Mellaart 1970c:77; Eslick 1988:39; Yakar 1991:158, 178; Duru 1996e:118; Acar 2001:17; Duru 2008b:7; Arbuckle 2012e:303, 310	Kuruçay 11, Hacılar II, Hacılar I, Güvercinkayası

THEME 21: THE PRE-CITADEL

#135	spatial separation of settlement space into residential space, and space that is their the elite residence and/or public congregation space	<i>stratification-segregated site</i>	Schachner 1999:46, 47, 109; Steadman 2000b:184; Cutting 2005b:33, 85, 131, 132; Hodder 1996a:46; Mellaart 1970c:34	Aşıklı Höyük, Hacılar II, Güvercinkayaşı
#136	existence of upper and lower towns within the same settlement	<i>stratification-upper town</i>	Arbuckle 2012a:304	Güvercinkayaşı
#137	wall enclosing a group of houses within the settlement	<i>stratification-insite walls</i>	Cutting 2005b:131; Umurtak 2011b:7; Arbuckle 2012a:304; Arbuckle 2014:217-218; Bachhuber 2015:107-108	Hacılar II, Güvercinkayaşı, EBA Bademağacı
#138	large buildings for communal ritual [see also #89]	<i>stratification-ritual building</i>	Hodder 1996a:46; Schachner 1999:46, 47, 51, 109; Acar 2001:17; Özbaşaran cited in Düring 2002:175; Steadman 2004:539; Asouti 2005a:79; Cutting 2005b:28, 33; Düring 2006:310; Duru 2008b:124; Erdoğan and Ulubey 2011:9; Düring 2011c:72-73	Aşıklı Höyük, Hacılar II, Çatalhöyük West, Kuruçay 6
#139	communal workshop building [see also #90]	<i>stratification-workshop building</i>	Acar 2001:17; Cutting 2005b:137, 137	Hacılar II
#140	communal storage building [see also #91]	<i>stratification-storage building</i>	Eslick 1988:23; Acar 2001:17; Cutting 2005b:46; Duru 2008:124; Arbuckle 2012a:310; Arbuckle 2014:217-218, 221; Bachhuber 2015:79, 130-131	Hacılar II, Güvercinkayaşı, Kuruçay 6, EBA Bademağacı
#141	elite residences located in the settlement centre surrounded by residences of dependent households	<i>stratification-house ring</i>	Duru 1996d:56, 56; Duru 1996e:16; Duru 2001e:45; Duru 2008:124, 127	Kuruçay 6

[see also #166]

APPENDIX 6: RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF MOBILITY

Text passages marked in grey refer to hypothetical statements.

no	indicator	node used in NVivo	stated by	based on evidence from
THEME 22: LIVING LIGHT				
#142	buildings made with light superstructures	<i>mobility-light construction</i>	Baird in Gérard 2002a:112; Gérard 2002a:106; Yakar 2011b:81; Özbaşaran 2011:114; Baird 2012b:200	Pınarbaşı A, Pınarbaşı B
#143	'low quality' of construction	<i>mobility-poor construction</i>	Düring 2011b:800, 800-801; Düring 2011c:246	Canhasan I Level 1
#144	frequent modification of the built structures	<i>mobility-modifications</i>	Düring 2011b:800, 800-801; Düring 2011c:246; Özbaşaran 2011:114	Pınarbaşı A, Pınarbaşı B, Canhasan I Level 1
#145	occupation at a site is evidenced by other material culture, e.g. pottery, but there is no architecture	<i>mobility-no architecture</i>	Duru 2008:122, Clare and Weninger 2014:17; Umurtak 2005c:66	LC Bademağacı
#146	buildings made with thin walls unable to carry the roof	<i>mobility-thin walls</i>	Düring 2011b:800-801; Düring 2011c:246; Yakar 2011b:283	Canhasan I Level 1

#147	buildings made with organic superstructure	<i>mobility-organic superstructure</i>	Özbaşaran 2011:114; Baird et al. 2011:386	Pınarbaşı B
#148	wattle-and-daub buildings	<i>mobility-wattle</i>	Schachner 1999:61; Yakar 2011b:81	Gelveri, Pınarbaşı A
#149	oval buildings	<i>mobility-oval house</i>	Acar 2001:12, 20; Özbaşaran 2011:107; Yakar 2011b:81	Pınarbaşı A, Pınarbaşı B, Aşıklı Höyük Levels 3-4
#150	buildings partially cut into the surrounding sediment	<i>mobility-semisubterranean</i>	Acar 2001:12; Baird in Gérard 2002s:112; Yakar 2011b:81	Pınarbaşı A, Pınarbaşı B
#151	presence of large storage containers	<i>mobility-large storage</i>	Düring 2011b:800-801, Düring 2011c:246-247	Canhasan I Level 1
THEME 23: SHORTING HOUSE HISTORIES				
#152	decrease of ritual elaboration of the house interior [see also #26]	<i>mobility-less elaboration</i>	Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014e:178	Çatalhöyük East
#153	decreasing building continuity [see also #29]	<i>mobility-decreased building continuity</i>	Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014e:178	Çatalhöyük East
#154	shorter use lives of buildings [see also #30]	<i>mobility-short house</i>	Hodder 2014b:15; Hodder 2014e:178	Çatalhöyük East

THEME 24: PASTORAL HOMES

#155	large houses [see also #40, #98]	<i>mobility-large house</i>	Hodder 2013a:21, 21, 25; Hodder 2013b:18, 20, 21, 24, 28; Hodder 2014b:14; Hodder 2014e:177	Çatalhöyük East
#156	houses with several subdivisions into different rooms or compartments [see also #42, #100]	<i>mobility-multiroom</i>	Hodder 2013a:21; Hodder 2013b:21	Çatalhöyük East
#157	open space exists between houses [see also #97]	<i>mobility-unclustered</i>	Hodder 2013a:21, 25; Hodder 2013b:21; Hodder 2014e:183	Çatalhöyük East
#158	increasing use of private unroofed spaces around the house for production activities [see also #4]	<i>mobility-yard</i>	Hodder 2013a:25; Hodder 2013b:24, 28; Hodder 2014e:183	Çatalhöyük East
#159	unroofed shared space is used more intensely as evidenced e.g. by more outside cooking facilities or primary debris from production activities [see also #80-#82]	<i>mobility-productive outside</i>	Hodder 2013b:24	Çatalhöyük East
#160	existence of large courtyards	<i>mobility-large courtyards</i>	Gérard 2002a:106	Aşıklı Höyük

THEME 25: RITUAL IN THE LANDSCAPE

#161	site has ritual building but no residential architecture	<i>mobility-lone ritual building</i>	Thissen 2002b:25	Musular
#162	concentration of ritual items in a seasonal settlement	<i>mobility-seasonal ritual</i>	Baird et al. 2011	Pınarbaşı B

APPENDIX 7: RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF WARFARE

Text passages marked in grey refer to hypothetical statements.

no	marker	node used in NVivo	stated by	based on evidence from
THEME 26: FORTIFYING THE SETTLEMENT				
THEME 26.1 Settlement perimeter fortifications				
#163	settlement is enclosed by a wall [see also #92, #134]	<i>warfare-enclosure wall</i>	Mellaart 1960:83, 84; Mellaart 1962b:46; Mellaart 1965b:104, 108, 110, 112; Mellaart 1966a:111; Mellink 1966b:119; Mellaart 1967:68-69; Alkım 1969:70, 115; Mellaart 1970a:314; Mellaart 1970c:10, 28, 86; Mellaart 1971a:699; French 1972:233-234; Todd 1976:25; Singh 1976:66; Mellaart 1978:17; Redman 1978:187, 212; Yakar 1985:38, 39, 121, 160, 163; Eslick 1988:14, 22, 24, 24, 29, 30, 30, 31, 35, 37; Yakar 1991:152, 158, 178, 296; Duru 1994c:100; Yakar 1994:45Duru 1996d:54, 56, 57; ; Duru 1996e:116, 119; Hodder 1996a:46; Joukowsky 1996:115, 116, 117, 120, 138, 157; French 1998:68; Duru 1999b:174, 184; Schachner 1999:162; Steadman 2000b:184-185, 188, 191; Acar 2001:14, 17; Duru 2001c:80; Duru 2001a:50; Duru 2001e:46; Cutting 2005b:96, 101; Hodder 2005d:16; Schoop	Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük East, Bademağacı ENII3, Kuruçay 11, Kuruçay 7, Hacılar III, Hacılar IIa, Hacılar IIb, Hacılar I, Bademağacı LN1-2, LC Güvercinkayası, Kuruçay 6, Kuruçay 4, EBA Karahöyük, EBA Bademağacı, EBA Beycesultan, EBA Göltepe, EBA Hacılar Büyük Höyük

			2005b:50; Umurtak 2005b:7; Düring 2006:104, 290; Hodder 2006:206; Duru 2007:333, 346-347, 353, 353-354; Hodder 2007:26; Öztan 2007:233; Clare et al. 2008:73, 75-76, Fig.5; Duru 2008: 32, 44, 130, 153, 154, 155; Rosenstock 2009:218-219; Rosenstock 2010a:24, 31; Düring 2011a:71, 72, 73, 76, 80; Schoop 2011b:162; Umurtak 2011b:2, 4, 7; Yakar 2011b:251; Arbuckle 2012a:304; Baird 2012a:448; Duru 2012:17, 18, 24, 24-25, 26; Öztan 2012:45; Rosenstock 2014:239; Bachhuber 2015:42, 55, 113, 127; DeCupere et al. 2015:4	
#164	settlement is enclosed by casemate walls	<i>warfare-casemate wall</i>	Duru 1996e:114; Düring 2006:102; Düring 2011a:71; Umurtak 2011b:5; Duru 2012:17; Duru 2013:9	Aşıklı Höyük, Bademağacı ENII3, Kuruçay 6, Hacılar Büyük Höyük
#165	clustered settlement layout [see also #47]	<i>warfare-clustering</i>	Mellaart 1963e:55-56; Mellaart 1964:40; Mellaart 1965b:82/84; Mellaart 1966a:172; Mellaart 1967:68-69; Alkim 1969:52; French 1972:232-233; Todd 1976:25; Mellaart 1975:101; Mellaart 1978:17; Redman 1978:212; Yakar 1991:205; Balkan-Atlı 1994:24; Duru 1996c:2; Joukowsky 1996:96; Acar 2001:14; Düring 2001:2; Hodder 2005d:15; Hodder 2006:95; Düring 2007b:160; Sagona and Zimansky 2009:78, 88; Rosenstock 2009:220; Rosenstock 2010a:24; Düring 2011a:70, 71; Rosenstock 2014:237, 239	Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük East, Canhasan III, Canhasan I
#166	(more or less) closed ring of houses and house walls at the settlement perimeter [see also #141]	<i>warfare-house ring</i>	Mellaart 1959:54; Mellaart 1960:92/94, 96; Mellaart 1965b:112; Mellaart 1970a:320; Mellaart 1970c:10, 82; Mellaart 1975:118; Mellaart 1978:25; Yakar 1985:64, 160; Eslick 1988:23; Düring 1996e:114; Duru 1996d:55, 56, 57; Duru 1996c:7; Joukowsky 1996:121; Duru 1999:174, 184; Steadman 2000b:180, 182; Duru 2001e:45; Cutting 2005b:80; Duru 2007:333; Clare et al. 2008:75, 76; Duru 2008:128, 130, 155, 156; Sagona and Zimansky 2009:134;	Hacılar VI, Hacılar II, Hacılar I, Canhasan I Level 2, Kuruçay 12, Kuruçay 6, EBA Bademağacı

			Rosenstock 2010a:23, 24; Düring 2011a:73; Düring 2011c:172; Umurtak 2011b:4; Yakar 2011b:293; Duru 2012:3, 24-25; Rosenstock 2014:239	
#167	edge of settlement marked by slope formed by stones ('glacis')	<i>warfare-stone slope</i>	Duru 2008:154; Düring 2011a:77, 81; Düring 2011a:281; Duru 2012:7; Bachhuber 2015:108	EBA Bademağacı and other EBA sites outside the study area
#168	ditch surrounding the settlement	<i>warfare-ditch</i>	Hodder 2006:206	
#169	enclosure wall with towers	<i>warfare-towered wall</i>	Mellaart 1970a:319; Mellaart 1970c:25; Yakar 1991:168; Duru 1994c:99; Duru 1996e:114; Duru 1996c:7; Duru 1996d:52, 53; Duru 1999b:175; Steadman 2000b:177, 183; Acar 2001:17; Duru 2001e:45; Umurtak 2000a:693; Cutting 2005b:103; Umurtak 2005b:7; Umurtak 2007b:5; Clare et al. 2008:75, 76; Duru 2008: 42, 43; Sagona and Zimansky 2009:99; Düring 2011a:72; Düring 2011c:171; Umurtak 2011b:2, 6, 7; Yakar 2011b:252; Duru 2012:5-6, 17, 24, 39; Thissen 2010:273; DeCupere et al. 2015:4	Kuruçay 11, Hacılar II, Bademağacı ENII3, Güvercinkayaşı
#170	closed house-ring forming a saw-toothed defensive perimeter	<i>warfare-saw tooth</i>	Düring 1996e:114; Rosenstock 2010a:24; Düring 2011a:75; Düring 2011c:227-228; Düring 2011b:803	Hacılar I, Kuruçay 6
THEME 26.2 Entrance protection				
#171	entrances into the settlement are well	<i>warfare-protected</i>	Eslick 1988:14, 24, 30; Düring 2011c:228	Kuruçay 11, Hacılar II

	defendable	<i>entrance</i>		
#172	only narrow and not many entrances into the settlement	<i>warfare-narrow entrance</i>	Mellaart 1959:54; Mellaart 1960:96; Mellaart 1967:69-70; Mellaart 1970a:319; Eslick 1988:22, 23, 26; Duru 1996e:116; Cutting 2003:16; Cutting 2005b:101; Rosenstock 2010a:24; Düring 2011a:71, 75, 76; Düring 2011b:803; Umurtak 2011b:6; Duru 2013:9; Rosenstock 2014:239	Çatalhöyük East Levels IV-III, Hacılar II, Hacılar I, Kuruçay 6
#173	structures added to settlement entrances to enhance defendability	<i>warfare-gate</i>	Mellaart 1967:69-70; Mellaart 1970c:29, 81; Düring 1996e:114-115; Joukowsky 1996:116; French 1998:68; Cutting 2003:16; Duru 2008:155, 156; Umurtak 2011b:4	Çatalhöyük East Levels IV-III, Hacılar II, Hacılar I, Kuruçay 6, EBA Bademağacı
#174	well located inside settlement	<i>warfare-inside well</i>	Mellaart 1967:69; Clare et al. 2008:76	Hacılar VI, Hacılar IIa, Hacılar IIb
THEME 27: FORTIFYING HOUSES				
#175	no house entrance on ground level	<i>warfare-rooftop entrance</i>	Mellaart 1960:96; Mellaart 1967:68; Redman 1978:212; Yakar 1991:158; Steadman 2000b:182	Çatalhöyük East, Hacılar I
#176	buildings with stone walls or stone foundations	<i>warfare-stone walls</i>	Cutting 2005b:103; Düring 2011a:71	Hacılar I
#177	buildings with thick walls	<i>warfare-thick walls</i>	Mellaart 1960:96; Mellaart 1970a:320; Mellaart 1970c:77; Mellaart 1978:25; Yakar 1985:160; Eslick 1988:23; Duru 1994c:100; Düring 1996e:114; Steadman 2000b:184; Cutting 2005b:101, 103, 119; Düring 2011c:172	Hacılar I, Kuruçay 12-7, Kuruçay 7, Kuruçay 6

THEME 28: THE RESULTS OF WARFARE

#178	large-scale (non-fire) destruction of contemporary buildings	<i>warfare-destruction</i>	Mellaart 1970c:37; Mellaart 1971a:681; Mellaart 1971b:407; Steadman 2000b:191; Schoop 2005a:168; Düring 2011c:287	Hacılar IIb, Kuruçay 7, Höyücek ShP, EBA Beycesultan, EBA II/III Konya plain
#179	destruction of buildings by fire	<i>warfare-fire destruction</i>	Mellaart 1959:54, 56; Mellaart 1960:96; Mellaart 1963d:210; Mellaart 1965b:112; Alkım 1969:71; Mellaart 1970a:320, 321, 323; Mellaart 1970c:16, 24, 75, 87; Mellaart 1971b:383; Mellaart 1978:24, 25; Joukowsky 1996:117, 117, 121, 125; Cessford and Near 2005:173, 174; Schoop 2005a:173; Clare et al. 2008:73-74, 75, Fig.5; Duru 2008:8; Düring 201c1:287; Hodder 2013b:28; Hodder 2014b:17; Hodder 2014d:166-167	Hacılar VI, Hacılar IV, Hacılar IIa, Hacılar IIb, Hacılar Ib, Höyücek ShP, Bademağacı ENII2, Bademağacı ENII3, EBA Beycesultan
#180	unburied skeletons found inside houses	<i>warfare-unburied bodies</i>	Mellaart 1959:54; Mellaart 1960:96; Mellaart 1965b:112; Mellaart 1970c:24; Cessford and Near 2005:174; Clare et al. 2008:Fig.5, 74-75	Hacılar IIa, Hacılar Ib, Bademağacı ENII3
#181	temporary site abandonment	<i>warfare-hiatus</i>	Clare et al. 2008:73, 74, 74; Duru 2008:8-9; Düring 2011c:287; Schoop 2011d:153	after Hacılar IIb, after Höyücek ShP, between EC and LC Lake District, EBA Beycesultan
#182	rapid change of (material) culture between occupation levels	<i>warfare-rapid culture change</i>	Mellaart 1970c:75, 120, 185; Mellaart 1971a:681, 692; Mellaart 1971b:383; Yakar 1991:178, 179; Joukowsky 1996:121-122; Steadman 2000b:191; Schoop 2002:422; Schoop 2005a:173-174; Clare et al. 2008:73, 74, 74; Duru	between Hacılar VI and V, between Hacılar II and I, between EC and LC Lake District, between Kuruçay 7 and 6, EBA II/III Konya plain

2008:9; Schoop 2011b:153; Duru 2013:4

APPENDIX 8: RESULTS OF EVALUATION: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF HOUSEHOLD AUTONOMY OR COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

House layout and furnishing	Theme 1 The complete house	<p>[#1 the house is 'complete' with all necessary features to support an autonomous household]</p> <p>[#2 all contemporary houses are 'complete']</p> <p>#4 all contemporary houses have their own hearth/oven</p> <p>#5 all contemporary houses have their own storage facilities</p> <p>#6 all contemporary houses have their own storage facilities of appropriate 'household' size</p>
	Theme 13 Sharing social and economic space	<p>#65 more than one 'complete' house present inside the house</p> <p>#66 connecting doors between two residences</p> <p>#67 shared retaining wall</p> <p>[#69 incomplete house]</p> <p>#72 hearthless house</p> <p>#74 shared in-house storage</p> <p>#75 storageless house</p> <p>#76 small storage (smaller than 'household-size')</p>

		#77 very large storage (larger than 'household-size')
	Theme 8 More productive space	#40 increasing average house size #42 multiple rooms in the house #43 abandonment of standard house #44 overall increase of storage space #46 increasing productive use of outdoor spaces around the house
	Theme 12 House standardisation	#64 standard house
Building materials and construction techniques	Theme 2 Constructing individualities	#10 differences in construction materials between contemporary houses #11 differences in construction techniques between contemporary houses #12 neighbouring buildings/houses do not share walls
	Theme 7 Building independently	#38 idiosyncratic layout #39 modifications
	Theme 11 Building the house together	[#52 built contemporary] #53 shared foundation #54 shared walls

		<p>#56 similar construction</p> <p>#57 similar materials</p> <p>#59 similar idiosyncrasies</p>
House-related ritual	Theme 3 Symbols of the household	<p>#16 idiosyncratic symbolism</p> <p>#17 symmetric distribution of symbolism</p>
	Theme 4 Leaving and continuing the house	#22 idiosyncratic abandonment/ foundation rituals
	Theme 5 Breaking with the past	<p>#26 decreasing/ abandonment of symbolic house elaboration</p> <p>#27 decreasing/ abandonment of asymmetric burial</p> <p>#28 decreasing/ abandonment of subfloor burials</p> <p>#29 decreasing/ abandonment of building continuity</p> <p>#30 shorter house lives</p> <p>#31 intentional house burning</p>
	Theme 15 Symbols of community	<p>#85 shared symbolism</p> <p>#86 asymmetric synchronic distribution of symbols</p> <p>#87 asymmetric synchronic in-house burial distribution</p> <p>#88 building continuity</p>

Settlement layout	Theme 9 Living close together	#47 clustering
	Theme 10 Divide to unite	#49 neighbourhoods #50 courtyard clusters #51 house rows
	Theme 6 Giving each other space	#32 clustering abandoned #34 sectoring abandoned
Unroofed space and non-residential buildings	Theme 14 On common ground	#80 refuse or primary debris in unroofed areas #81 storage in unroofed areas outside of residences #82 ovens or hearths in unroofed areas outside of residences
	Theme 16 Constructing community space	#89 congregation building #90 shared workshop building #91 shared storage building #92 settlement enclosure wall

APPENDIX 9: RESULTS OF EVALUATION: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF SOCIAL COMPETITION AND STRATIFICATION

Social competition		Theme 17 The deep house	[#94 deep houses] #97 nonclustered #98 larger houses #99 multistorey #100 multiroom
		Theme 18 Social display	#101 open floor #102 art display #103 side oven #104 central hearth #105 storage in living room
Social stratification	Theme 19 The elite residence	Theme 19.1 Visual dominance	#106 asymmetric size #107 multi-roomed building #108 dominant location #109 multistorey

		Theme 19.2 Building materials	#110 material differences
		Theme 19.3 Furnishing	#111 furnishing differences #112 asymmetric storage #113 more/larger ovens, especially if located in a semi-public location #114 more outside space #115 adjacent well
		Theme 19.4 Mobile items	#117 many artefacts #118 working house #119 prestige items #120 housefabric deposits #121 burials
		Theme 19.5 Ritual house elaboration	#122 asymmetric elaboration #123 asymmetric burial #124 building continuity #125 long uselife #126 strict house

			#127 less building continuity #128 houseburning
	Elite influence on settlement layout	Theme 20 Ruling the settlement	#133 regular settlement layout #134 fortification walls
		Theme 21 The pre-citadel	#135 segregated site #136 upper town #137 insite walls #138 ritual building #139 workshop building #140 storage building #141 house ring around a central complex

APPENDIX 10: RESULTS OF EVALUATION: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF MOBILITY

The campsite	Theme 22 Living light	[#142 light superstructure] [#143 low quality of construction] #144 frequent modifications #145 no architecture #146 thin walls #147 organic superstructure #148 large storage containers
	Theme 25 Ritual in the landscape	#161 ritual building without residential architecture #162 seasonal ritual
The base settlement	Theme 23 Shortening house histories	#152 less ritual house elaboration #153 decreasing building continuity #154 shorter house lives
	Theme 24 Pastoral homes	#155 large houses #156 multi-roomed houses

		<p>#157 non-clustered settlement layout</p> <p>#158 yards</p> <p>#159 increase of outdoor production</p> <p>#160 large courtyards</p>
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APPENDIX 11: RESULTS OF EVALUATION: ARCHITECTURAL INDICATORS OF WARFARE

Preparing for warfare	Theme 26 Fortifying the settlement	#163 enclosure wall
	Theme 26.1 Settlement perimeter fortifications	#164 casemate wall #165 clustering #166 house ring #167 stone slope #168 ditch #169 towered wall #170 saw tooth
	Theme 26.2 Entrance protection	[#171 protected entrances] #172 narrow entrance #173 gate #174 inside well
	Theme 27 Fortifying houses	#175 rooftop entrance #176 stone walls

		#177 thick walls
The results of warfare	Theme 28 The results of warfare	#178 destruction #179 fire destruction #180 unburied bodies #181 hiatus #182 rapid culture change

APPENDIX 12: COMPONENT 2: APPLICATION OF INDICATORS

Hacılar

Introducing Hacılar

Hacılar is a relatively small *höyük* located south of Lake Burdur in the Lake District. Throughout Chapters 6-9 and Appendix 1, Hacılar has been introduced as a site of major importance for Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic research in southcentral Anatolia, yet ridden with methodological problems arising from the fact that it was excavated in the late 1950s with premodern methods. In this analysis, issues with the Hacılar record will be explicitly addressed.

Chapter 2/Appendix 1 have stated that the stratigraphic depth of Hacılar was probably overestimated by Mellaart, and that the in total 20 different building levels recognised by Mellaart possibly only represent at most four different subsequent villages. This represents a major problem for this analysis, since it means in essence that architectural parts represented as chronologically different in fact functioned contemporarily—for example, Appendix 1 hypothesised that Hacılar II and I were one and the same village—which of course significantly changes the basis for this analysis. Until a more systematic and detailed reworking of the Hacılar stratigraphy, and re-assignment of buildings to levels, is done, however, it cannot be certain which buildings actually belong together, and therefore working with the stratigraphic sequence established by Mellaart (1970c) is the only available, although unsatisfying, option.

Hacılar ‘Aceramic’

Through a combination of limited excavation, stratigraphic ambiguities, suboptimal preservation and the nature of the architectural remains, it is difficult to analyse the ‘Aceramic’ level of Hacılar for this thesis: The Aceramic village was investigated during only five days at the end of the last excavation season (Mellaart 1970c:6), it had partially been destroyed through the building activities of upper levels (Mellaart 1970c:3), and at least in the investigated area, it seems to feature mainly

unroofed spaces that are difficult to interpret since their relation to the only fragmentarily preserved/excavated buildings remains vague. Facing limited time, Mellaart made the decision to focus excavations on the unbuilt area, where virgin soil could be reached faster, instead of investigating the adjacent buildings; a decision that unfortunately prevents an analysis of the nature chosen in this thesis which relies on interpreting unroofed space through its relation to houses: “The entire courtyard was excavated down to virgin soil, but lack of time prevented us from carrying the adjacent rooms and chambers down to this level” (Mellaart 1970c:3). The decision to not properly investigate stratigraphic relations between roofed and unroofed spaces, the rather poor preservation of remains that were never preserved higher than 25cm per level (Mellaart 1970c:3) and the speed of excavation also cast further doubt on the stratigraphy recognised by Mellaart, and it seems probable that the Aceramic VII-I sequence in fact represents only one architectural level including episodes of repairs and remodelling, and therefore that architectural fragments assigned to different levels in fact belong together (as discussed in Chapter 2/ Appendix 1). Specifically, the decision to treat the courtyard excavation as independent from that of surrounding structures makes it seem doubtful whether the buildings were in fact correctly assigned to a specific courtyard floor level. Mellaart (1970c:6) himself further believed that he had excavated only the edge of the Aceramic village, which might not be representative of the main part of this settlement.

Household autonomy and community integration

Nevertheless, I will summarise shortly the architectural remains of the Aceramic village and discuss architectural indicators that can be recognised. The lowermost two levels, Aceramic VI and VII “showed no architectural features except traces of decayed lime plaster on VII” (Mellaart 1970c:4). Level V consisted of one partially excavated building and a number of installations in the unroofed ‘courtyard’: ovens, hearth and bins of which one contained “the silica skeletons of numerous food plants or weeds” (Mellaart 1970c:5, Fig. 4, Pl.IIIb). In the absence of more buildings from this level, indicators that refer to buildings cannot be applied here since they all rely on a comparison of different contemporary buildings to each other. However, if the “large communal courtyard” recognised by Mellaart (1970c:3); Steadman (2004:534) also stresses the communal character of this space) did indeed represent unroofed space used by a number of different households, this

would indicate a degree of community integration (**Theme 14: #81, #82**). A similar statement can be made about Aceramic IV, which consisted of a courtyard with a number of ovens, hearths and postholes that could indicate light roofing buildings; and two thick parallel walls with unknown function (Mellaart 1970c:5, Fig.3). A regular usage of outdoor space can also be recognised in Level II which “lacked significant features” such as hearth, ovens or bins, but featured a courtyard floor prepared with pebbles and mud plaster, on which “splintered animal bones” were found indicating production and/or consumption activities (**#80**) (Mellaart 1970c:4-5). Judging from the plan, the uppermost two ‘Aceramic’ Levels II-I appear different, lacking courtyard features and instead showing fragments of floors and walls that might represent several rooms or houses (Mellaart 1961b:71; 1970c:4, Fig.2). Further, Aceramic II and I were disturbed by the foundations of the following Levels IX-VI (Mellaart 1970c:4).

In conclusion, only unroofed space could be investigated from the Aceramic levels V-III, and the existence of such space is indicative of suprahousehold integration (**#80, #81, #82**). There is possibly a change of architecture and social relations between Aceramic III-II with a denser build-up of houses, but the poor preservation of Levels II and I prevents an understanding of this development. However, an actual analysis of the social organisation of Aceramic Hacilar is not possible.

Social competition and stratification, mobility and warfare

The lack of houses or a clearer idea of the settlement layout also prevents an investigation into architectural indicators of social competition, social status differences and of warfare. The Hacilar ‘Aceramic’ example thus clearly demonstrates that southcentral Anatolian architecture struggles with a social interpretation of unroofed spaces unless their connection with buildings is known. Mellaart’s (1970c:3) description of the Aceramic levels as a “courtyard [with] adjacent rooms” shows that he expected a number of buildings to exist outside the unroofed area; however, that need not necessarily have been the case. A lack of buildings other than the thin-walled (**#146**; Mellaart 1970c:4) buildings in Levels V and II could indicate a short-lived or seasonal habitation (**#145**); however, I point this out simple for the sake of exploring all options: the state of preservation/excavation also does not allow to actually postulate that Aceramic Hacilar was a campsite.

Hacılar VI

Introducing Hacılar VI

figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 27 Hacılar VI: reconstruction of settlement layout by Mellaart (1970c:Fig.9).

Settlement layout and development

Of Level VI, 11 large buildings² and several courtyard areas were at least partially excavated, and all are referred to by Mellaart (1970c:17-21, also Cutting 2005b:97, 129, Steadman 2000b:179) as houses. Mellaart (1970c:10, 22) estimated that this was a large village of which he excavated only a part. The village was burned completely and therefore very well preserved (Mellaart 1970c:10). From having excavated two separate house clusters separated by unroofed space (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.7-8), Mellaart (1970c:10-11) reconstructs the existence of a large central courtyard. Further, he (Mellaart 1970c:10) hypothesised that since Hacılar II and I as well as the older Çatalhöyük had defence walls or defence systems, Hacılar VI as

² but see below discussion of whether Q.3, Q.6 and Q.7 constituted buildings/houses. Also, the illustration captions (Table 32) mention a Structure Q.8 that is not on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.7).

well could not have been defenceless (similarly Umurtak 2011b:4), instead probably featuring a ring of houses marking the outer border and securing entrance into the village. Combining these two hypotheses, he drew a reconstructed village constituted by outer ring of houses, with five gate-like gaps, surrounding a courtyard space in whose centre another cluster of houses was located (Mellaart 1970c:21-22, Fig.9). Since only the edges of this potential central courtyard were excavated, and only a small percentage of the buildings that would have made up the village, this plan remains conjecture (Cutting 2005b:97). What can securely be said is that the Level VI settlement consisted of several houses that partially abut each other, and partially have unroofed space between them. All buildings were interpreted as dwellings, even if some might also have been centres of certain varieties of craft production (Mellaart 1970c:21).

Chapter 2/Appendix 1 established that Levels IX-VI probably represent only one occupational level (best represented by the Level VI plan), of which Levels IX-VII represent subphases. For this analysis, this reconstruction works well, since the architectural remains assigned by Mellaart to Level IX-VIII are too fragmented for analysis, consisting only of wall and floor fragments found in soundings that presumably belonged to buildings whose plans however could not be reconstructed (Mellaart 1970c:9-10, Fig.6, Pl.4b); and Level VII is described (Mellaart 1970c:9) as a lower floor level between the Level VI walls, therefore essentially being part of Level VI. The height differences noted by Mellaart in his version of the Level VI village (notice the remarks 'up' on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.7) further make it seem likely that several subphases were combined in this plan, and Mellaart himself reconstructed that some building (Q.3, Q.6, Q.7, Mellaart 1970c:19) were constructed later than others, without however citing conclusive evidence other than their different nature. Without more clarity as to the relative timing of these modification and subphases, though, which might indicate important changes in household relations, the Level VI village will be treated as a unit.

Building formation processes: upper stories and roomfills

Mellaart (1970c:16) reconstructed all Level VI houses with upper stories (accepted by Cutting 2005b:97; Eslick 1988:18; Schachner 1999:138; Steadman 2000b:184), an issue which has influence on much of the below discussion. Apart from the many wooden posts found in each building which are interpreted as supports for this upper storey, the main evidence comes from what was recognised by Mellaart

(1970c:16-17) as two upper storeys collapsed *in situ* into P.1 and Q.5 during the fire that destroyed Level VI. There are a number of issues with this reconstruction. Most importantly, the description (Mellaart 1970c:17) remains vague as to how exactly this collapse looked like when found during excavation, and no photos of it were published either. The second storey is described as “built of wood, lath and plaster” (Mellaart 1970c:16), but it remains unclear whether the collapse of such materials was found in the roomfill³ of the lower storeys, for example charred wood⁴. The only evidence that is clearly mentioned is the supposed furnishing of this upper storey found in the fill of the lower rooms: “in house P.1 part of an upper floor, with hearth of the usual raised type, pottery and objects had collapsed into the room just behind the doorway, covering the collection of pottery and stone bowls that lay *in situ* on the lower floor. In house Q.5, the upper floor had collapsed into the room discharging deposits of carbonised grain and legumes and numerous statuettes, many of unbaked clay. In other rooms pottery occurred in two superimposed levels, the lower *in situ* on the floor, the higher having collapsed with the upper storey” (Mellaart 1970c:17, also 1961b:43).

Excavations at Çatalhöyük West have more recently documented buildings with complex multi-phased post-abandonment infilling histories (Biehl et al. 2012b:91-96; see also discussions of Çatalhöyük West and Canhasan below). After such newer results, the existence of several layers of sediment and artefact deposition inside Neolithic/ Chalcolithic southcentral Anatolian houses cannot anymore be seen as secure evidence for upper storeys. In absence of a clear indication of collapsed architectural material from such upper storeys, there is no good evidence for the existence of upper storeys in Hacilar VI. Further, the many posts noted by the excavators might as well have supported a heavy roof, not a second storey, and the stairs outside P.1 that Mellaart (1961b:43. 1970c:17) saw leading from the courtyard onto a balcony and then the upper storey might instead have provided access to the roof top. The supposed collapse (pottery, hearth, plant food) found inside the fills of the lower rooms might then originate from such a roof activity area, not a proper upper storey with walls and ceiling, as suggested by Düring (2011c:164). In conclusion, Hacilar VI houses were more likely not double-storied. If one were to accept their existence, however, much of the below analysis would be affected by the fact that half of the house is essentially missing from the

³ The term ‘roomfill’ or ‘fill’ will be used here as a term (void of interpretation) to refer to all materials found inside buildings, e.g. in the area enclosed by walls.

⁴ The samples of charred architectural wood chosen for radiocarbon dating of Level VI did not come from such upper storey debris, but instead from a hearth fire and a post burned *in situ* in a lower storey (Mellaart 1970c:93). Possibly this can be seen as indication that no such debris of the charred upper storey was found.

architectural record including for example storage or cooking installations.

Mellaart's observation of several layers of artefacts/debris found inside Level VI houses indicates that caution is required when attributing artefacts to houses. Faced with a similar situation at Çatalhöyük West, the team concluded that materials found in the roomfills were not necessarily representative of the original use of the house, since they were clearly deposited after the abandonment of the house, and possibly deposited during several subsequent episodes (Biehl et al. 2012b:91-96). Since no further information is published on e.g. the vertical height difference between these "two superimposed levels [of artefacts], the lower in situ on the floor" and another one higher up (Mellaart 1970c:17) in Hacilar VI houses, it cannot be decided what stratigraphical/ chronological connection the upper 'level' had to the house floor and house itself, but the mere fact that Mellaart's expedient excavation style⁵ was able to distinguish these two 'levels' might suggest a noticeable vertical distance of the higher 'level' from the floor. This in turn indicates that finds from the higher 'level' were not part of the original use of the house. For the artefacts that are reported by building (Table 32)—the publications do not record the finds location of all artefacts—there is no information about which of the two 'levels' of deposition they belonged to, it cannot be reconstructed what was actually found on the house floors, so that any inference on architecture derived from mobile items found inside houses must be seen with doubt.

Düring (2011c:165) further pointed out the possibility that houses at Hacilar VI were intentionally ritually burned; this or any other type of planned abandonment process would indicate that the inventory of these houses as found in the excavation is not indicative of the original use status of the house: during a planned abandonment, items can be both removed (food and other items intended for further use), or intentionally placed (ritual offerings) (see Çatalhöyük East house abandonment: Matthews 2005a; Russell et al. 2009, 2014). Therefore, both the few items found on the floor (such as grain, Table 32), and the seeming scarcity of other items in primary position on floors and in installations need not represent the house during its use as a habitation.

⁵ See Hodder (2016:3) and Balter (2005:26) with remarks on the speed of Mellaart's excavation at Çatalhöyük. The majority of Hacilar VI itself was excavated in ca. 25 days that must also have included the removal of at least 9 burials as well as smaller parts of the less well preserved Levels III-V and VII-IX (Mellaart 1961b:39-40) (the entire season lasted ca. 30 work days, of which 5 were dedicated to 'Aceramic' Hacilar, Mellaart 1961b:39, 1970c:6). Further, the season was conducted under suboptimal circumstances represented by "a number of difficulties such as shortage of staff, workmen and time" (Mellaart 1961b:39).

Household autonomy and community integration

House layouts

Mellaart (1970c:11) found that “No two houses are exactly alike”: all buildings have important similarities—most are rectangular, with oven/hearth located opposite the door on one of the longer sides of the house—every house has slightly different shape, size, and internal layout (#38; see Eslick 1988:Tab.2 for rooms sizes). For example, House P.2 and Q.2 resemble each other in consisting each of one room, with the oven/hearth located opposite the entrance and a screened-off compartment in the area left of the entrance; but P.2 had niches that Q.2 did not have, and Q.2 had an additional doorway in the back door next to the oven that was not attested in P.2. P.2 and P.1 also resemble each other, but their internal furnishing is arranged very differently (Mellaart 1970c:17, Fig.7).

Other than floor renewal (Mellaart 1970c:11), no modifications to individual houses are noted in the publication (#39), apart from the case of P.2 which was repaired after a fire damaged parts of it (Mellaart 1970c:11). It is possible that the fast pace of the excavation did not allow for a not systematically observation and reporting for building subphases.

House furnishing

Among the houses of which more than a fragment is excavated, every house features an integrated hearth-oven installation (#4) often located opposite the house entrance (and Q.2 had one oven and two hearths, Mellaart 1970c:14, 17-19, Fig.7); or alternatively, Mellaart (1970c:Fig.7) divided houses according to the presence of a heart. For example, the three oven-hearths found among other installations and wattle-and-daub walls around Q.4 are interpreted as the nuclei of three houses (Q.3, Q.6, Q.7). Even when doubting whether Q.3, Q.6 and Q.7 were really individual houses, the fact remains that every house had at least one oven-hearth.

Food storage at Hacilar 6 remains elusive. In every house, a small area was screened off with wattle-and-daub walls, and these compartments are reconstructed by Mellaart as storage spaces, if not necessarily food storage spaces: “Most of the

possessions of the inhabitants, farming implements, tools, weapon and articles of personal adornment, were found in the screened-off part of the house. This seems to have served the same purpose as the storage room with which each house at Çatal Hüyük is provided" (Mellaart 1970c:14, Pl.12). More storage spaces, but not necessarily for food storage, were found in several buildings in form of niches in the walls, sometimes with subdivision, called "wall-cupboards" by Mellaart. Their function remains unclear since most were found empty, although one contained figurines (1970c:15-16); a function for food storage seems to be excluded by Mellaart (1961b:43) who notes that "None of these storage spaces contained even the smallest grain of wheat or any other agricultural product".

More direct evidence of food storage was found in form of large plastered bins described as "grain bins" (Mellaart 1970c:15) and this reconstruction is supported by the fact that charred grain and pulses were actually found in them: "Great deposits of wheat were found in each house, either stored in bins or lying in heaps on the floor (probably in sacks)" (Mellaart 1961b:45, also 1970c:8, see also Umurtak 2007b:2,5 who accepts the Hacilar VI bins as plant storage facilities). By contrast, smaller bins/boxes were not interpreted as storage installations, but as "Fire boxes for glowing embers" (1970c:14), however without specification of the evidence for this function. Other houses had no grain bins, but "grain was found in quantity spilled on the floor, probably out of sacks (houses Q.5 and P.1, 2, 3)" (Table 32; 1970c:15, also see above quote from the 1961 report;). The fire destruction of Level VI thus seems to have preserved evidence for storage in perishable containers and bins that otherwise most probably would not have been preserved, since the excavation style of the 1950s of course was not conducive to the recovery of microremains of stored food in the plaster of floors or bins that could verify which of these potential storage installations did in fact contain food items.

With some doubt remaining about the correct reconstruction of the function of above named features, it can be stated that most houses had one or the other of the two kinds of plant food storage identified by Mellaart (bins or sacks/spilled grain): Houses Q.2, Q.6, Q.7, Q.4, Q.3 had 'grain bins', and Q.1, Q.2, Q.5 and P.2, 3 had spilled grain on the floor (Table 32; Mellaart 1970c:15, 19,). That no such evidence for storage was found in the other houses might be due to incomplete excavation and/or destruction by later architecture (House P.4, E.1, E.2, F; Mellaart 1970c:17-20, Figs.7-8). Reconstructed from the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.7), each building that had bins seems to have owned substantial bin space (either a large bin, or several small/medium bins) and there is no significant difference in the relative size/number of grain bins between buildings. In sum, the evidence is rather

in favour of plant food storage facilities being privately owned by each household in roughly equal amount (#5, #6). The storage of other food items cannot be reconstructed.

Building materials and construction techniques

Within a shared repertoire of building materials and techniques, a certain variety of materials and techniques was present (#10, #11): Most houses were constructed with stone foundations and mudbrick walls, but houses Q.3, Q.6 and Q.7 are reconstructed as having had light walls similar to those otherwise used for partition walls in house interiors (Mellaart 1970c:19). House E.2 featured bricks with different size and shape from those of the other mudbrick buildings, between which brick sizes also varied (Mellaart 1970c:11, 19). Since a more detailed documentation of different building materials (e.g. colour differences of mudbricks, mortars or plasters) was either not conducted or not published, it however seems impossible to decide based on such anecdotal information, how socially meaningful both the overall similarity, but also the differences in detail between houses were in terms of household autonomy. As reconstructed by Mellaart (1970c:11, Fig. 7, also Cutting 2005b:97), all walls building share party walls (#54) except for the wall between P.2 and P.1.

House-related ritual

No building continuity (#88) or symbolic elaboration of the house interior with immobile items (#85, #86) was recorded, for example no wall paintings (Mellaart 1970c:20). Mellaart however interpreted a number of mobile items as ritual: stone and clay slabs with incised features, human figurines as well as “ritual vessels” (Mellaart 1970c:21) which later are specified as pots whose shapes imitate animals (Mellaart 1970c:107). Whether or not these items were of ritual character is not for this thesis to discuss. As mentioned before (Building formation processes), for a majority of the artefacts found inside buildings (Table 32) it cannot anymore be reconstructed whether they were found on the floor or in installations; it must therefore be doubted whether they form the original inventory of the houses. Assuming that they were, there are differences as to the nature and number of figurines and incised slabs between houses, but these are difficult to interpret. Mellaart (1970c:21) himself also observed this: although “Traces of cult were found

in nearly every room”, Q.5 was particularly rich in figurines; he suggests it might have been the place where the figurines were produced for the entire community, rather than a ritually elaborate building. In light of the poor stratigraphic control over roomfill formation, I hesitate to interpret the distribution of any artefacts as related to the original use of the houses, for example to suggest asymmetric ritual (#86) or idiosyncratic ritual expression (#16). Düring (2011c:165) suggested the possibility of ritual house burning at Hacilar VI, and the seeming scarcity of original inventory does render this likely; however, as concluded by Düring: “Until burned buildings from sites in the Lake District are investigated with arson techniques in order to determine whether they were set on fire or burned by accident, which of these scenarios is accurate must remain an open issue”.

Some buildings were excavated to below their floors (to excavate the ‘Aceramic’, about half of Trench Q was excavated below Level VI, compare Mellaart 1970c:Figs.4, 7, 38), but neither subfloor burials nor building continuity was attested (#88). It appears from the publications that only three burials in total were found in Level 6: “one in house Q.6 and two in house Q.2. Perhaps they were victims of the fire, the evidence for which was encountered in clearing the well, and were quickly buried without much ceremony in the ruins” (Mellaart 1970c:20). From this description it appears that the three interments were found inside the burned fill of Q.6 and Q.2. There are therefore chronologically later than the use of these houses, and accordingly probably not representative of the Level VI burial customs as is also indicated by Mellaart’s later remark that “not a single burial was found in Hacilar IX, VIII, VII or VI” (Mellaart 1970c:88). The three burials therefore do not culturally/ stratigraphically belong to Level VI.

Settlement layout

The excavated buildings stand close together (#47), but the limited size of excavations does not allow a reconstruction of sectoring (#49-#51; cf. Düring 2011c:164 who reconstructs “spatially defined house clusters” inhabited by kin groups) check. The excavated houses seem to form two rows, and Mellaart (1970c:Fig.9) reconstructs Hacilar 6 as a ring of houses surrounding a courtyard, in the middle of which another house cluster is located. However, this reconstruction of Level 6 is, as stated in the introduction, highly conjectural. From the actually excavated buildings, no spatial patterning is apparent.

Unroofed space

Unfortunately, not much has been excavated of the large open courtyard spaces between houses that Mellaart (1970c:Figs.8-9) believes to have existed in the settlement, and the excavated parts are only cursorily described. It is mentioned that “for rubbish disposal, pits were dug in open spaces and courtyard, and it is only in these that animal bones were found” (Mellaart 1970c:15). Such rubbish pits containing animal bones could represent remains of production activities carried out in the courtyard (#80). Mellaart (1970c:22) himself envisaged the Hacilar 6 central courtyards as busy spaces for storage and production activities; however this is based on inferences from other sites and levels rather than evidence, and he does not actually seem to have found storage installations ascribed to communal use.

A particularly intriguing feature of the Hacilar VI settlement are cooking and storage installations found in unroofed compartment attached to houses (#46): Arrangements of bins, hearths, ovens, grinding equipment, benches and platforms, screened off by wooden or wattle-and-daub walls as indicated by postholes, or thin clay walls, were found left of the entrance to P.2 as well as left and right of the entrances to Q.2 and Q.4. A few postholes can be distinguished outside the entrance to P.1, but no facilities seem to have been found there (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.10 seems to reconstruct this as a stable); P.4 is described as the kitchen’ of an unexcavated building (Mellaart 1970c:18). Although only three or four such outdoor ‘kitchens’ were found, Mellaart (also Steadman 2000b:179) represents them as a standard feature of Hacilar 6 houses. Mellaart (1970c:15-16) reconstructs these as privately owned kitchens belonging to the house and household to which they are attached; with one odd exception: the ‘kitchen’ (named Q.1) in front of the Q.4 entrance is reconstructed by him as belonging partially to Q.4 (western compartment) but partially (eastern compartment) to the adjacent house Q.3 because a doorway was recognised between Q.1 and Q.3. Given the complex architecture stratigraphy that is apparent from the Q.3 description (Mellaart 1970c:19, Fig.7), with floor level differences and an array of thin screen walls found in this building, it is however not unlikely that this connection was incorrectly reconstructed. Adding below discussed possibility that Q.3 was not a house, it is possible that instead the entirety of Q.1 might have belonged to Q.4.

It could be debated whether these compounds should be called ‘yards’: with thin walls and a light roof (Mellaart 1970c:15), and located outside the house proper, these spaces cannot have offered too much privacy and can therefore be described

as having the half-private, half-public character that was defined as characteristic of yards (#46) even if they might have had roofs. A further matter of discussion is whether Mellaart (and Steadman 2000b:179) was correct in seeing these as privately owned by a household; the location of these 'kitchen'-compounds just outside the entrance to private residences does indeed make this seem likely, but it must be cautioned that the location of trench borders (see Mellaart 1970c:Fig.7) affords only a partial impression of the relative location of compounds and houses (for example, it remains unclear what the Q.2 kitchen abuts: courtyard as in Mellaart's (1970c:Fig.9) reconstruction or possibly another house, which might contradict the reconstruction as household-specific space. Overall, however, the evidence seems in favour of reconstructing household-owned outdoor production compounds.

The features and walls reconstructed as houses Q.3, Q.6 and Q.7 by Mellaart (1970c:Fig.7) could alternatively also represent walled 'outdoor' production areas rather than residences. Mellaart does not explicitly discuss why these are interpreted as houses rather than as outdoor production compounds similar to the 'kitchens' from which Q.3 and Q.6-7 are not too different, featuring organic screen walls, thin clay walls, and containing a similar array of installations and artefacts. Possibly the find of a bench/platform and a large number of figurines (Mellaart 1970c:19) led to a preference for the identification as 'house'. Further, no wall was found between Q.3 and Q.7, only posts from which Mellaart (1970c:19) reconstructs a "south wall made of reeds and matting" so that the distinction of both seems questionable. In any case, an alternative interpretation of Q.3, Q.6 and Q.7 as outdoor areas does not clarify how they were used—communally or not.

Although this interpretation is tentative, open space inside the Hacilar VI settlement might thus have been subdivided into some communal ('courtyards') and some household-owned ('kitchen') areas. The 'kitchen' compartments, which in Mellaart's reconstruction were important daily activity areas, would have offered some protection from outside views, but still also facilitated a degree of social control inside the village. In the overall context of Level VI, they are therefore maybe best described as having a stronger community-making effect than (#81, #82) that of asserting household autonomy.

Non-residential buildings

No non-residential structures were identified by Mellaart. Q.5 was particularly large

and contained many figurines, “but one would hesitate to call it a shrine [#89]”; instead, all buildings were reconstructed by the excavators as dwellings (Mellaart 1970c:21). Q.5 might have been “a production centre for the manufacture of such religious objects”, however is also explicitly describes as a residence (Mellaart 1970c:21), not a workshop building (#90). No enclosure wall (#92) was found (Mellaart 1970c:10), although Mellaart considered that a wall might have existed, but not preserved (Mellaart 1961b:45; discussed below, Warfare). Overall, no constructed community-space seems to have existed.

Conclusions

In conclusion, Hacilar VI can be described as a village in which relatively autonomous households were integrated into at least informal suprahousehold networks. Household autonomy is strongly indicated by the fact that every house had its own cooking and storage facilities (#4, #5, #6), including the outdoor ‘kitchens’. Further, houses have idiosyncratic layouts and sizes (#38) and building materials/techniques (#10, #11). At the same time, suprahousehold integration is indicated by the dense clustering of buildings (#47) of which some (P.1+P.3, Q.2+Q.4) also shared walls (#54) and therefore must have been built at the same time. Outdoor space seems to have been important to the village makeup; unfortunately, excavation did not reveal much of the unroofed spaces space that based on the limited available evidence might have been used for production activities conducted in this at least partially public forum (#80). The lightly constructed private production compounds located in the courtyard outside houses probably also constituted half-private, half-public space that allowed villagers to at least auditively witness their neighbour’s activities carried out behind the relatively thin organic walls, thus introducing a degree of social control and informal socialising (#81, #82). On the other hand, signs of more formal and/or ritually entangled super-household integration were not found, such as the sharing of burial location or symbolic items (#86, #87) or the construction of communally used non-residential buildings (#80-#92). Based on the available evidence, communal integration can therefore be described as probably relying on informal interaction during activities carried out in courtyards, and around contemporary house construction. The poor understanding of the Aceramic village prevents an interpretation of the development of social organisation between ‘Aceramic’ and Level VI.

building	artefacts
P.1	<p>1 limestone slab with anthropomorphic decoration (statuette 458) 7 fragments of stone bowls 10 stone beads / pendants 2 pieces of mother of pearl /shell jewellery</p> <p>3 antler sickles 4 worked bone objects</p> <p>1 “baked gaming board and pieces” 1 fragment of shaped clay, possibly bull’s head 6 anthropomorphic figurines (statuette 455, 456, 483, 484, 568, 587) 1 fragment of animal figurine (statuette 444): “among the debris of house P.I were found fragments of a bull’s head modelled in clay” 1970c:177</p> <p>19 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 monochrome jar with relief decoration 2 sherds with animal relief decoration (Mellaart 1970c:107, 151-152, 159-163, 172-173, 175-177; Pls.117d, 122b, 161, 163, 171, Figs.50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57)</p>
P.2	<p>2 limestone slabs with anthropomorphic decoration (statuette 449, 458) 2 fragments of stone bowls</p> <p>1 antler sickle</p> <p>4 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 monochrome jar with bucranium-shaped handle</p> <p>deposit of charred grain and peas on floor behind partition wall (Mellaart 1970c: 151-152, 161, 176, 196; Pl.162, Figs.54, 55, 56)</p>
P.3	<p>1 anthropomorphic figurine (statuette 485)</p> <p>1 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 monochrome jar with bucranium-shaped handle</p> <p>2 deposits of charred grain and charred bitter vetch respectively, on the floor against the north wall (Mellaart 1970c:172, 196; Pl.141a, Figs.55, 56)</p>
Trench P	<p>1 stone pendant</p> <p>1 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 monochrome ceramic ‘table’</p> <p>1 clay seal (Mellaart 1970c:160, 164; Figs.50, 60)</p>
Q.1	<p>1 stone button from “kitchen of Q.VI.4” 1 fragment of a stone bowl 2 small unidentified stone objects, possibly jewellery</p> <p>1 antler sickle from “kitchen of Q.VI.4” 3 worked bone objects from “kitchen of Q.VI.4”</p>

13 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels
1 monochrome jar with animal-shaped relief decoration

1 small deposit of charred wheat and barley on the floor [Mellaart (1970c:15) states that P.1 had charred botanic remains, but Halbaek (in Mellaart 1970c:196) does not mention P.1, but instead Q.1] (Mellaart 1970c: 151-152, 159-163, 196; Figs.50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56)

Q.2

1 polished stone macehead
1 fragment of a stone bowl

2 antler sickles
2 worked bone objects

first deposit of clay objects
10 figurines (animal and human)
5 fragments of 'clay bars'
2 clay 'tables'
[the figures and plates list 4 fragments of anthropomorphic figurines; 1 fragments of animal figurines (statuette 494); 8 fragments of "clay bars"; the text 1970c:175 lists "A cache of about ten figurines, five broken or fragmentary bars of unbaked clay (fig. 234) and two tables or offering trays lay in a niche in the north wall of house Q.VI.A, and west of the main doorway"

second deposit of clay objects: 10 human figurines (statuettes 488, 490, 491, 492a, 492b, 493, 494, 532, 589, 590)

8 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels
1 monochrome jar with animal-shaped relief decoration
1 complete ceramic vessel with painted decoration

1 large deposit of pea in a plaster bin against the eastern end of the north wall
1 small deposits of barley in a bin against the western end of the north wall

(Mellaart 1970c:151-152, 161, 163, 175, 196; Pls.117f, 159, 171, Figs.50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 59)

Q.3

2 fragments of stone bowls
7 stone beads / pendants / buttons
1 shell bead

1 antler sickle
2 worked bone objects

1 incised clay plaque
11 anthropomorphic figurines (statuettes 524, 531, 535, 538a, 538b, 538c, 539, 544, 565, 573, 575)

14 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels
2 ceramic vessels in animal form
3 complete ceramic vessels with painted decoration
(Mellaart 1970c:107, 151-152, 159-161, 163, 172-173, 175-176; Pls.118a, 127, 144, 145, 148, Figs.50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59)

<p>Q.4</p>	<p>1 carved bone object 1 stone bead/ pendant 1 bone bead</p> <p>1 antler sickle 3 worked bone objects</p> <p>5 anthropomorphic figurines (statuettes 486, 489, 505, 506, 507)</p> <p>1 limestone slab with anthropomorphic decoration (statuette 459)</p> <p>17 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 monochrome jar with animal-shaped relief decoration 2 complete ceramic vessels with painted decoration</p> <p>1 small deposits of lentils in grain bin in northeast corner</p> <p>(Mellaart 1970c:160-163, 172-176, 196; Pls.122a, 125, 138, 149-150, 163, Figs.50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59)</p>
<p>Q.5</p>	<p>8 fragments of stone bowls</p> <p>2 pieces of mother of pearl jewellery</p> <p>6 worked bone objects</p> <p>27 anthropomorphic figurines (statuettes 509, 512, 513, 514, 515, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 525, 528, 529, 566, 569, 570, 571, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 583, 584, 588)</p> <p>15 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 monochrome jar with animal-shaped relief decoration 1 monochrome jar with relief decoration showing human hands 2 ceramic vessels in animal form 7 complete ceramic vessels with painted decoration</p> <p>3 large deposits of wheat in centre and south of the house; the remark “fallen from an upper storey” indicates that these were not found on the floor</p> <p>(Mellaart 1970c:107, 151-152, 160, 162, 171-175, 196; Pls.126, 128, 129-130, 131-132, 133, 134, 135, 136-137, 139, 140, 141b, 142-143, 146-147, 151, 152-154, 155-157a, 157b-158, Figs.50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59)</p>
<p>Q.6</p>	<p>10 chert cores and one limestone ‘pounder’</p> <p>1 limestone slab with anthropomorphic decoration (statuette 500)</p> <p>1 antler sickle</p> <p>4 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 ceramic vessel in shape of a human head</p> <p>(Mellaart 1970c:161, 176; Pls.115a, 163, Figs.50, 52, 54, 57)</p> <p>also: 1 humanoid red burnished drinking cup and 1 worked bone object, from burial [therefore not part of building Q.6]</p>

	(Mellaart 1970c:107-108, 163; Pl.118b)
Q.7	1 complete ceramic vessel with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.59)
Q.8	1 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 sherd with relief decoration 1 ceramic vessel in animal form (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.54, 57)
Trench Q	2 (nearly) completely preserved monochrome ceramic vessels 1 ceramic vessel with animal relief decoration 1 monochrome ceramic 'table' (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.50, 57, 60)
Trench A	1 black limestone bead 1 mother of pearl pendant (Mellaart 1970c:159-160)
Trench R	1 ceramic vessel with animal relief decoration 1 monochrome ceramic 'table' (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.57, 60)

Table 32 Hacilar VI: Reconstructed building inventories.

Social competition and stratification

Social competition

Hacilar VI does not have architectural features that would indicate attempts at decreasing social control between households (**Theme 17**; cf. Steadman 2000b:190): most houses have only one main room, and I have above (Building formation processes) argued that there is no evidence for upper stories. The buildings also stand relatively close together, and the existing unroofed space between houses has above (Unroofed space) been characterised as facilitating, not decreasing (**#97**), social control. It would be possible to recognise aspects of social display in the house architecture: all houses seem to have large, open rooms (**#101**), centrally located cooking installations (**#104**), and given the existence of bins in these rooms, it is likely that food was also stored within the large living rooms (**#105**). Without any contextual knowledge on food practices at the site, however (for example, a study of animal bones to identify remains of possible multi-

household commensal events, e.g. Arbuckle 2012a for Köşk Höyük), these architectural features need not indicate competitive display.

Elite residences

No residence stands out in any way that would allow reconstructing status differences: none is significantly larger than any other (#106, #107, #109), or has different furnishing (#111), larger storage capacities (#112) or a larger 'kitchen' (#114). Differences in building materials (#110) are only between the mudbrick buildings and the wattle-and-daub houses Q.3, Q.6 and Q.7; and these differences should probably not be overinterpreted given that these daub structures might not actually be residences (above, Unroofed space). And since few of the artefacts (Table 32) seem to have been part of the original house inventories, their distribution also cannot be interpreted in social terms (#117, #118, #119, #122).

Elite influence on settlement layout

Since only a small part of the site was excavated, there is no sufficient information on settlement layout to postulate any elite-regulation of (#133, #135, #137) and a potential enclosure wall also was not found (#134). There are no buildings other than residences (#138-#140). Mellaart reconstructs a ring-shape of the settlement, but this also cannot be confirmed, and a potential 'central complex' in the centre (#141) also was not found. In conclusion, at Hacilar VI, there are no indicators for social competition, differences in social status, or any central influence on the arrangements of settlement space.

Mobility

Hacilar VI does not have the architectural signature of a campsite: there is nothing to indicate that at least the mudbrick structures were not inhabited year-round. An interpretation as pastoral base settlement would be awkward in light of the lack of a comprehensively studied faunal assemblage from Hacilar VI (the faunal report in Mellaart 1970c:245-247 is not more than a list of identified species); other than the possibly relatively large courtyard (#160), there also seems to be no particular

architectural provision for the management of animals or their products. No mobile aspect of the Hacilar VI community can therefore be recognised.

Warfare

Preparing for warfare

Upon discovery, Mellaart first suggested there might originally have been an enclosure wall (**#163**) that did not preserve: “If the settlement was originally fortified, which we consider likely, the walls would have fallen a prey to the later construction of the fortress” (Mellaart 1961b:45), but he does not repeat this in later publications (e.g. Mellaart 1965b:113, 1970c). As Clare et al. (2008:75, also Umurtak 2011b:4) point out, a potential fortification wall would not have been found, since the edge of the settlement was not excavated. Based on comparisons with the fortified (in his reconstruction) villages of Hacilar II, I and Çatalhöyük, Mellaart does however conclude that “the odds are that Hacilar VI also had some sort of defence, probably, as at Çatal Hüyük, in the form of blank doorless outer walls in the houses on the periphery of the site” (Mellaart 1970c:10, also Clare et al. 2008:75). The house-ring layout (**#166**) of Level IV reconstructed by him (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.9) was already rejected here as conjectural (see above, Settlement layout) and can therefore not be accepted as an indicator for a preparation of warfare. There is a well (**#174**) inside Hacilar VI that was by Clare et al. (2008:76) tentatively connected with a threat of warfare because it reduced the necessity to leave the settlement to obtain water; as already pointed out in Chapter 9, a well can—if at all—only be interpreted as an additional indicator for warfare preparations if there already are other indicators; which is not the case in Hacilar VI.

The results of warfare

Mellaart himself did not identify any traces of warfare in connection with Hacilar VI. The fire that destroyed (and preserved) all excavated buildings is seen by Mellaart as the result of an accident, “not the result of hostilities” (Mellaart 1970c:10, 16; 1965:113). Clare et al. (2008:74), however, interpret this fire (**#179**) as the result of warfare because it is followed by rapid culture change (**#182**): “the much earlier conflagration at the end of Hacilar VI [**#179**], although not followed by a temporal hiatus [**#181**], is characterised by a development in ceramic traditions, it marking the generally acknowledged transition from the predominantly monochrome Late

Neolithic to the Early Chalcolithic, during which the ratio of painted decoration in the ceramic assemblage rapidly increased [#182]”. This argument can be relatively easily rejected by pointing out that the percentage of painted pottery in the total assemblage increased from “10% or less” to 20% between Levels VI and V as part of a gradual process whereby more and more of the assemblage became painted throughout the LN-EC levels (Mellaart 1970c:99-100; also notice that these numbers should be regarded with caution because a significantly less area has been excavated from levels over that Level VI). In short, this increase is not quite the dramatic change Clare et al. make it out to be. They also do not follow their own argument to the end: do they suggest that population replacement took place between Levels VI and V, or how else should a change in pottery be the result of warfare? Since there is otherwise a strong continuity of pottery typology between Levels VI and V (Mellaart 1970c:100; Schoop 2005b:156), a population replacement cannot even be postulated if subscribing to the equation of pots and people.

Hacılar II

figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 28 Hacılar II: isometric reconstruction (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.21).

Introducing Hacılar II

Stratigraphical subdivision

Recent re-evaluations of Level II subphasing

Following the substantial Level VI village, Levels V-III show only limited remains that give no impression of the architecture and society of these levels. Level V is represented by “courtyard floors, pottery, small objects and so forth, [but] what is missing is any trace of architecture”, a fact that Mellaart (1970c:23, Fig.15) explains by reconstructing that the Level V buildings must have moved south or east of the location of the Level VI village, where it later “fell a prey to the large-scale levelling and reshaping of the old mound prior to the construction of the Hacılar I fortress”. Rosenstock (2010a) has recently doubted that such a levelling took place in Level I (see Chapter 2/Appendix 1), but the fact remains that no architecture is preserved or excavated from Level V. The case is similar with Levels IV and III, which also in

Mellaart's (1970c:23-24, Fig.15) reconstruction could be mainly found outside the excavated area, and were partially destroyed by the 'Level I cut'. Only fragments of architecture from Levels IV-III were uncovered by Mellaart (1970c:24, Figs.16-18), only enough to recognise that the villages consisted of mudbrick houses, destroyed by fire, with unroofed areas between them that contained cooking installations. As discussed in Chapter 2/Appendix 1, recent re-analyses of the Hacilar stratigraphy (Reingruber 2008:429; Rosenstock 2010a; Thissen 2010) have suggested viewing the scanty Level V-III remains as part of the Level II village, as modifications and older versions of a village best represented by the built environment documented by Mellaart as Level II. As with Level VI, this analysis will accordingly focus on Level II, which was very well preserved through fire destruction.

More problematic are recent suggestions that the Level II plan itself (Mellaart 1970:Fig.20) might represent a composite of stratigraphically and chronologically different building units; i.e. the village appearance would have differed from what is shown in this plan. Schachner (1999:139, Fig.71) stated that the eastern part of Level II did in fact belong with one of the older Levels V-III, not with Level II. Similarly, Düring (2011c:170) suggests that Mellaart's 'Level IIa' is a composite of two stratigraphically and chronologically different parts, of which the western part is younger than the eastern part. Düring seems to suggest that 'Level II' represented three different phases, of which IIa/eastern quarter is the oldest, succeeded by IIa/western quarter, and finally a level labelled IIb by Mellaart (see IIb discussion in next paragraph).

Influence of excavation strategy on stratigraphy

A look at the excavation techniques renders support to these suggestions that the stratigraphy of Level II might have been incorrectly assembled by Mellaart. First, different areas of Hacilar 2 were excavated over the entire four seasons, which would have complicated recognising stratigraphical connections, and it is noteworthy that the three main areas (central, west and east) were actually excavated in different years: The central part, and therefore the connection between eastern and western areas, was excavated in a sounding in the first season 1957 (Mellaart 1958a:Fig.3, 1960:83), while the majority of the eastern and western quarters were uncovered in 1959 (Mellaart 1960:Fig.3). Further, the problematic (see below, 'Settlement layout') southern and eastern borders of the settlement were not excavated during the main season in 1959: The thick Level IIb wall in the east court was found in a small sounding in 1958 (Mellaart 1959:52, Fig.2, 1960:83);

and the remainder of southern and eastern Level II (as represented in Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) must have been excavated in 1960 while researching the levels below, although that is not explicitly mentioned in the 1960 report (Mellaart 1961b). Comparing the plan and reconstruction of Level II published at the end of the 1959 season (Mellaart 1960:Figs.3,5) to the final version in 1970 (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.20, 22), it seems that during that last season in 1960 more excavated was done along the eastern and southern borders, which however still remain the most poorly defined.

Additionally, not all areas of Level II were excavated to the same level: in most buildings of Trench N, excavations did not reach the lowermost floor (Mellaart 1970c:38), and the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) also shows that within the trench at large, excavation produces several different levels with different heights below the site surface; this can partially be verified with excavation photos. The plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) notes lines of excavation a) within the west court; b) between Trench A and P as well as within the P.6 area; and c) along the entire southern trench border.

- a) The eastern part of the west court, between N.0 and R, shows a rectangle surrounded by an excavation border (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) and a photo (left edge of Mellaart 1970c:Pl.27a) showing this areas reveals that this court area was never excavated below the site surface. And in the same area, the supposed southeastern edge of N.0 also remained unexcavated (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20, Pl.27a), thus essentially only leaving a very narrow connection between Trench A and N. A similar observation can be made for Trenches R and B (see also detail plans Mellaart 1970c:51, 55).
- b) Mellaart (1970c:Fig.20) shows an excavation border running north-south along nearly the entire length of the A/B-P connection, along which the west wall of P.6 was only partially excavated. This excavation border seems congruent with the long courtyard wall of sublevel IIb (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.25), which overlaid IIa in this particular area. It remains unclear whether this thick wall was ever removed to actually investigate directly the connections between A and P in sublevel IIa. The only photo available from this connection area (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.33a) shows the IIb wall still standing. Also note that a photo (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.34a) seems to show P.2 and P.5, looking west into P.4 – and a clear excavation edge and unexcavated areas behind P.4 corresponding to the excavation edge shown on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20).

- c) Mellaart (1970c:Fig.20) shows two different lines of excavation in the south; the Level II remains extend past one line labelled 'line of section' to what seems to have been the actual trench border; directly south of building B.1, there even are three consecutive lines of excavation. The most likely explanation of this observation is that past the 'line of section' the rest of the trench was not excavated down to the same level as the main trench. This can be verified with an excavation photos (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.31, showing Q.2-4 and southern trench border⁶) seems to show indeed that the 'line of section' from the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) represents an excavation border south of which excavations did not reach as deep.

If the various excavation lines on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) are correctly interpreted as representing different excavation levels, this would have complicated stratigraphical control, since working on different excavation levels, during different seasons, is not beneficial to deciphering complex stratigraphies (Rosenstock 2010a:27). Specifically, the reconstruction of buildings in B and P along the southern trench border is conjectural; and importantly, this also questions the degree to which Mellaart was able to determine the southern border of the Level II village (see below, settlement layout). And finally, central to the present discussion: the trench did not only narrow significantly in the centre (Trenches A, B and R) as compared to the western and eastern parts (Trench Q/N and Trench P), but also there apparently were excavation borders and level differences separating the central trenches from the eastern and the western trench and these three parts were also, as already mentioned, excavated in a different season. This further fuels doubts as to a correct interpretation of the stratigraphical connections between central and west, and between central and east; and eventually about the issue of whether the Hacilar II shown in drawings (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.20-22) ever existed as such.

A re-evaluation of subphasing suggested by Mellaart / suggestion of a more organic settlement development

Mellaart himself recognised a different type of subphasing in Level II: The original Level II village (subphase IIa) was partially destroyed by a fire, after which it was

⁶ Note that the north arrow on this plate seems to be rather oriented northwest. See Rosenstock (2010a:27) for other errors with north arrow orientation on the Hacilar photographs.

repaired/ restructured and continued as subphase IIb. In phase IIb, the western part continued nearly in its original form (IIa), but the central and eastern parts were substantially restructured. A re-examination, however, casts doubt on different aspects of this reconstruction. First, there is an ambiguous temporal relationship of the IIa fire in the eastern settlement part, and possible repairs in the western quarter. Mellaart (1970c:31, similarly 1960:99) states that “in the eastern quarter there is abundant evidence for two phases of construction (IIA the original and IIB the later), with a complete rebuilding after a disastrous fire had razed this part of the village as well as workshop B and room B”. However, “the western half of the village escaped the fire” (Mellaart 1970c:115; interestingly this is not mentioned in the discussion of architecture and stratigraphy, but in the pottery chapter), but a repair Level IIb was also noted for this western part. It could be suggested that Mellaart envisaged a (contemporary) repair/restructuring event that encompassed the entire village, even if only the eastern and central up to and including building R were actually severely damaged by the fire. The already mentioned possibility that the eastern/ central and western parts of Level II (a) were actually not the same village is only strengthened by the observation that the fire destruction did not reach the western part. In any way, the custom of dividing stratigraphy into building levels encompassing the entire village, instead of reporting phasing by individual building, might here have led to the repair/ restructuring of some buildings in Level II being represented as an event affecting the entire village, and thus an incorrect impression of the development of Level II/western quarter, whose repair(s) did not necessarily coincide with the rebuilding of the eastern part. With this in mind, it is worth having a closer look at the different repair and modification events that took place in the western quarter.

Mellaart describes the repair/restructuring of the western quarter between IIa and IIb as follows: “The entire western part of the settlement stood throughout this period [all of Level II including both subphases] except house R, which belongs to phase IIA only, and was burnt and not rebuilt. The only other modification was the construction of another granary [building N.8] on top of the old one in level IIB” (Mellaart 1970c:30). This indicates that only two buildings were actually changed after 2a; for the other Area N and Q buildings, absolutely no changes to walls or internal furnishing are visible in the between the IIa plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) and the IIb plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.25). This actually includes the supposedly rebuilt building N.8, which if this rebuilding actually took place must have been re-erected as an identical copy of the IIa version. That the upper version of N.8 is described in the season report as “poorly preserved” (Mellaart 1960:98) provides further reason to doubt this reconstruction. Except for N.8, which seems to have

had two phases of wall on top of each other if interpreting Mellaart's above cited sentence correctly, it is not explicitly mentioned how two phases of use (IIa and IIb) were recognised in the first place. Mellaart (1970c:31) does however mention in passing that "house Q.5-7 had an ashpit and small hearth in the anteroom and a large rectangular hearth in the centre of the main room on a later IIB floor". This indicates that at least some rooms in the western quarter had two floor levels, but whether this represents two floors directly on top of each other, or two floors with rubble in between remains unclear; and also which rooms actually had two floors (IIa and IIb) is not mentioned, the book and report only explicitly name Q.5-7 (Mellaart 1960:99). The interior of Q.5-7, however, looks exactly the same in the IIa plan and the IIb plan, strengthening the suspicion that the house interiors in these plans might be a summary of both Level IIa feature and IIb features. But the radiocarbon lists seem to mention evidence that the IIb restructuring also incorporated the renewal of the building shell (walls and roof): Sample P-316 represents "Charcoal from a roof beam, Area N, Room 4, of the settlement. Sample may date construction of the second phase of Level II (IIb) (Ralph and Stuckenrath 1962:146)".

It thus remains unclear whether IIb in the western quarter represents only a floor renewal; or a more comprehensive modification of buildings. To make things worse, Mellaart mentions later when discussing pottery distribution that "the north-west quarter was, with the exception of the granary and the west court, not excavated below the IIB floor level" (Mellaart 1970c:38). This statement must refer to Trench N, and while it clarifies that apparently at least some of the rooms in N, including N.8, had two floor levels (IIa and IIb), it confirms first, that the interior furnishing shown on the Level IIa plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) can never actually have been seen by the excavators; and further that the house interiors of Q and N buildings as shown in plans (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.20, 25) must show a combination of IIa and IIb features. And second, it indicates that some Area N houses were never fully excavated and their internal phasing not fully explored.

This confusion makes it difficult to obtain any certainty as to modifications and subphases in the houses in Trenches N and Q; what does become clear, however, is that probably we are rather dealing with a series of independent changes to individual buildings of the western quarter instead of one central event of repair contemporary with the IIb restructuring in the western and central parts. Most buildings might not have featured any modifications (that Mellaart recognised), but the walls of N.8 were renewed, as was the floor of Q.5-7. It can be added that that contrary to Mellaart's notion, building Q.2-4 might already have been abandoned at

the time it was destroyed by a fire (see 'Building formation processes'), adding a possible fourth case of a building that had its independent use life within what has been summarised as "Level II". The lack of clarity as to subphases in the western quarter is regrettable since an understanding of the relative timing of such modification can indicate important, yet small-scale changes in the social village fabric; and a more severe problem is that the interior house furnishing might be incorrectly represented if all subphases are represented together in the plans (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20, 25). For example, when asking whether all contemporary houses had hearths or storage equipment (**#4, #5, #6**), it is a problem if hearths from different phases are represented as contemporary. Similarly, the artefacts found in the western quarter are not distinguished by subphase (Tables 36-37).

The central quarter as well was only partially affected by the IIa fire and subsequent architectural change. This fire seems to only have affected building B, which burned and was not reused in IIb; again it is not explicitly stated that A.1 and A.2 did not burn after IIa, but it is also not stated that they were burned, and no changes in IIb are mentioned (Mellaart 1970c:30-31). However, these two buildings showed signs of internal phasing independent from the IIa/IIb change: Mellaart(1958:132, also 1970c:31) notes that "The floor of the A II.I house had been renewed not less than four times and an earlier hearth was associated with the lower two floors. Fragments of a flat roof, made of mud on a bedding of reeds, found in the debris of this house, showed four successive coats of mud, equalling a thickness of 0. 15 m., and prove conclusively that this house had been inhabited for some considerable length of time." Further, a screen wall made from posts and organic material might have been removed from the house. A lack of such modifications in A.2 is interestingly interpreted by Mellaart (1958:132, 1970c:31) as a sign that this building might have been built after B and A.1 and used for a shorter period of time; this could indicate that modifications to houses over the duration of their use lives was otherwise relatively common at Hacilar II, or maybe all Hacilar levels, even if they are not systematically reported by Mellaart.

By contrast, the eastern part of Level II could indeed have two clearly distinguished subphases IIa and IIb. It was significantly restructured after the IIa fire: In phase IIb, the previous busy cluster of roofed and unroofed areas (houses and courtyards) with many features such as bins, hearths, ovens and posts was replaced by a large open courtyard, separated from the central part by means of a substantial wall. The 'shrine' (P.1-3) in the eastern quarter was not in use any more, but instead a house was built over it (Mellaart 1970c:31, Fig.25). The area around the shrine had already been modified within Level IIa by closing the doorway in its north wall ("north-east

gate”) with a post-and-wattle structure (Mellaart 1970c:35). Modifications and subphasing in the “warren” of houses and courtyards in the eastern quarter were not reported by Mellaart, who however generally does not spend much text on describing this living area, remarking that “it would be repetitive and unrewarding to describe each of these kitchens [i.e. unroofed areas, courtyards] or the rooms to which they belonged in detail” (Mellaart 1970c:34-35).

In conclusion, while the scenario that the eastern and western/central parts of the settlement developed differently is theoretically of course possible, it might strengthen suspicions that ‘Level II’ does in fact represent two or three stratigraphically and chronologically distinct compounds that never functioned together as a village—which would of course significantly alter a study of village space such as this one. At the same time, there were more small-scale individual modifications to individual houses than the subdivision into two levels indicates. And not least, if discounting the ‘level I cut’ (some parts of) Level II and Level I might actually represent one and the same village (see Chapter 2/Appendix 1 as well as above section of settlement layout). In other words, studying the Hacilar II represented in (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22) as a village seems entirely arbitrary. Despite all these doubts, the statement made in the introduction also applies here: Until a systematic review of the Hacilar stratigraphy is done and a comprehensive new stratigraphy of the site presented, which might or might not be possible based on the available Hacilar documentation, Mellaart’s version of the Level II stratigraphy is the most complete representation of Hacilar’s development and must therefore be used here.

Settlement layout

Extent of settlement

Of Level II, Mellaart excavated architecture in a large, roughly rectangular area (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) that he believed to represent the entirety of the village: “Hacilar II offers a unique example of a completely excavated site of the second half of the sixth millennium BC” (Mellaart 1970c:25). He bases this notion on three pieces of evidence. First, Mellaart (1970c:25, Figs.21-22) recognised an enclosure wall around Hacilar II, which will in the second part of this section be discussed and discounted by me; this wall must have confirmed his impression that he had

reached the ends of the village, but this argument also falters if the wall is discounted. Third, Mellaart (1970c:34) recognised a certain symmetry and clear logic to the way the layout of the Level II village was designed, specifically the location of gates and public buildings. Once many elements of his reconstruction including the enclosure wall, gates, and the function of some buildings as public facilities is doubted (as discussed here in the following), this argument also becomes invalid.

And third and most importantly, he cites the fact that “soundings in areas F, N, C, H, and K, so the south, west, north and east have yielded no further traces of Hacilar II” occupation (Mellaart 1970c:25). This argument that is easily discounted by stating that more recent works (summarised in Chapter 2/Appendix 1) have raised severe doubts on Mellaart’s Hacilar stratigraphy in general; further, it must be asked how Mellaart would have recognised structures as belonging to Level II if they would have been uncovered in separate soundings without direct stratigraphical/physical connection to the main trench shown on the plan (Mellaart 1907-c:Fig.20). Further, recognising the edge of the settlement would have been complicated in the east by the fact that the area was very disturbed, which Mellaart (1970c:28) attributes to the Level I cut, and in the south by the fact that excavations here seems to have worked on different levels (see above, ‘Internal stratigraphy’). Not only this aspect of the excavation strategy was suboptimal for verifying village borders, but also an excavation style whereby excavation stops exactly at the expected limit of the settlement, as Mellaart did with Hacilar II (see Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) is not conducive to verifying whether really no further structures were found beyond that line.

Casting additional doubt on this argument, finds assigned to Level II are listed in the final publication for excavation areas outside the supposed borders of the Levels II village: Level II pottery is listed for Trench L (Mellaart 1970c:48, Figs.95, 98, 99) might be just inside the village borders⁷ determined by Mellaart (for trench locations see Mellaart 1970c:Fig.1, 15, 1960:Fig.1), but also for Trench C (Mellaart 1970c:48, Fig.90, 98) and F (a stone bowl fragment, Mellaart 1970c:152) which are

⁷ Trench L was a thin connection trench between Trench M, where the southeast corner of the Level II village was excavated, and the large Trench E (Mellaart 1960:85). It can also be seen on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20), and remains found there are still somewhat within the limits of the Level II village shown in reconstructions (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.21-22). However, this area is described by Mellaart (1970c:28) as very disturbed by Level I remains, and Trench L is beyond the border of the ‘Level I cut’ as shown in the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) where no or only very disturbed Level II architecture was found, making the description “from L.II floor, a closed deposit” (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.95) questionable.

well outside and in above citation explicitly listed as not containing Hacilar II material⁸. And in fact, the preliminary report does describe a Level II building in Trench C: “the small room found in house C II, with its numerous clay bins and storage vessels stacked to the brim with carbonised wheat, barley, vetch and lentils” (Mellaart 1958a:133). This building, not shown on any plans, must later have been re-assigned to another level. Level II finds also seem to have been made in Trench D in 1957, since Mellaart argues for his identification of the “potter’s quarter” in Trench A-B by stating that that “its quality surpasses anything found so far in the two other trenches, where broken and mended pottery as well as more obviously domestic vessels were much more in evidence”. The two other trenches shown in the 1957 site plan are C and D (Mellaart 1958a:Fig.1). In no publication does Mellaart address either the discrepancy within the 1970 book between his notion of the Level II borders and the stratigraphical/ typological of pottery from areas seemingly outside the village to Level II; or outlines reasons why he later re-assigned the Level II remains from Trenches C and D excavated in 1957 to another level. It is likely that the above described house from Trench C was re-assigned to Level III given that plans (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.15, 18) show only Level III remains in Trench C.

A number of previous studies also concluded that the excavated part of Hacilar II did not represent the entirety of the village (“The full extent of the settlement was never established” Cutting 2005b:96), and made different suggestions as to how the rest of the settlement might have looked like. After re-evaluating the evidence of subphasing and an enclosure wall in Level II, Düring prefers a reconstruction of

⁸ There further is Level II material from a Trench O (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.78, 81) whose location cannot be securely determined, but which more likely was also found at a significant distance from the main trench: The plan (Mellaart 1960:Fig.1) seems to show a different location for Trench O (north of Trench E) as compared to Mellaart 1970c:Fig.15; east of Trench A, north of P). The Trench O shown within (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.15) would actually be located within the area of the Level II village shown in the architectural plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20), in the area of the ‘shrine’. This would fit a text passage from the pottery chapter where Mellaart (1970c:115) notes Trench O as being one of the trenches where the eastern settlement of Level II was excavated. The shrine, however, is in plans of the book (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20 and figure captions) as well as the season report (Mellaart 1960:Fig.3) is consistently numbered as building P.1+3, although it is noteworthy that this building is not referred to by its numbers in either text, possibly hinting to some issue with room numbering. Nevertheless, the congruence of the numbering on the 1960 and 1970 plans makes it more likely that the pottery is from the Trench O shown in the 1960 report of the 1959 season, which is when most of Level II was excavated; in what case the find location is at a significant distance from the main area where Level II was investigated. It seems that either Mellaart changed the trench numbering some time between the 1960 report and the 1970 book (when is unclear; the report of the last season 1960, Mellaart 1961b, does not have a plan of trench locations), or that the label ‘O’ in 1970:Fig.15 is an error. If the location of Trench O as indicated in plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.15) is the correct one, then there was a problem with trench and room numbering in the area of the Level II shrine, which is not unlikely given the conflicting information on finds locations for P.1 and P.3 documented in Tables 36-37.

Hacılar as a collection of neighbourhoods, included yet unexcavated ones: “The level 2A/B remains have been interpreted by Mellaart as representing the complete Hacılar settlement. However, it [is] equally possible that there were multiple contemporary walled compounds, and the level 2B plan represents two such compounds: one in the west and one in the east. If this interpretation holds water, each compound would have housed a group of families pooling their resources, and would thus represent a transformation of the earlier house clusters of the monochrome horizon in the Lake District” (Düring 2011c:171, similarly 2011a:73). Umurtak’s (2011b) re-evaluation of the Hacılar II evidence suggests that the excavated, walled area extra-mural houses “could have been a nucleus centre where the more privileged people lived? It can be assumed that the people involved in farming, animal rearing and pottery making would have lived outside of this defence wall in an area around 300-400 m in diameter” (see Cutting 2005b:96 who seems to cite a personal communication by Mellaart with a similar reconstruction). It can be concluded that the area excavated of Hacılar II most probably does not represent the entire village; but it is of substantial size and therefore suitable for a reconstruction of social organisation.

The settlement wall

The Hacılar II enclosure wall has already previously been pointed out as a conjectural reconstructed of precarious evidence. A closer look at the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) reveals that this wall in its entire width was actually only uncovered for a length of just over 20m in the northwest corner of the trench, as well as two shorter (ca. 6m and ca. 4m) segments along the eastern and southern trench border; in some areas, the perimeter wall is not actually free-standing, but also used as a house wall (Rosenstock 2010a:24). Nowhere does the trench extend very far beyond this wall, so that it cannot be known what was on the other side. This makes it at least possible that the wall might actually have belonged to buildings or courtyards, with the village continuing on the other side of the supposed enclosure wall. This is especially true for the other parts along the western and northeaster trench border where the inner edge of this wall (or a wall) was uncovered, but not the other edge. In the west, what was reconstructed as enclosure wall also seems to have resembled mudbrick collapse more than an actual standing wall: “on the western side of the settlement the wall was badly denuded, having fallen outwards during the destruction of the settlement” (Mellaart 1970c:25, also 1960:97).

No enclosing wall at all was found along roughly half of the supposed edge of the Hacılar II village, a fact that Mellaart explains for the eastern part with the Level I

cut that removed the eastern enclosure wall, but left rubble: “the considerable mass of burnt Hacilar II bricks found alongside the line of the level I cutting can only be interpreted as being the remain of an enclosure wall, and they are completely different from the sort of debris left behind by the remains of domestic kitchens made of posts, wattle and daub, and these extended further east. The evidence seemed conclusive to the excavators” (Mellaart 1970c:34). This argument is problematic not only because of the already outlined doubts as to the ‘level I cut’, but also because of the conjectural statement that the brick type can only have come from an enclosure wall. Mellaart (1970c:28, Fig.28, also 1960:97) claims to have seen the southeast corner of the Hacilar II enclosure wall in the section of the trench in which Room 6 of Level II was excavated; but since this wall fragment had no connection with any other Level II remains, there is no certainty of its stratigraphical position, let alone its being part of the Level II enclosure wall. Along most of the southern trench border the enclosure wall could not be attested which is explained by erosion (“denudation”, Mellaart 1970c:25). The enclosure wall was further not attested north of the northern court (excavated in 1957 within the sondage Trench A), explained by Mellaart with many disturbances: “Here modern disturbances (stone robbing) as well as earlier (Hellenistic) ones had left only masses of burnt bricks, all that remained of the former enclosure wall” (Mellaart 1960:97).

Even if accepting the presence of an enclosure wall, this did not necessarily represent the edge of the settlement given the above discussion as to the extent of Hacilar II; for example. Düring (2011a:73, 2011c:171) accepts the Hacilar II enclosure wall, but sees it as the boundary of a walled neighbourhood. And even if the enclosure wall is accepted in principle, Mellaart’s reconstruction of a wall system with several towers and monumentalising gates (Mellaart 1970c:25) seems a particularly grand reading of the preserved wall fragments; particularly, a denomination of the two small buttresses abutting the outer edge of the wall left and right of the northwest ‘gate’ that each measured about 1m by 1.5m as ‘towers’ should be questioned. Further, the reconstruction of “salients at the corners” cannot be verified at all, because none of the four corners of the walled enclosure was preserved/ excavated.

Reconstructing buildings

As a precondition for the below analysis, it must be reconstructed which rooms together formed buildings and houses, a not uncomplicated matter in the case of Hacilar II. Mellaart himself treated this issue only superficially in his final book publication; his take on the question of how the walls and installations excavated of Level II formed buildings, houses and courtyards must be extracted through detective work from the text, and most importantly from the reconstruction drawings (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.21-22). Altogether, Mellaart seems to reconstruct 19 separate buildings at Hacilar II (Table 33) without however discussing this decision; for example, it remains unclear why some of the areas in the eastern settlement part are reconstructed as houses with roofs, and others as unroofed courtyards although they resemble each other, both types of spaces featuring thin walls, bins and cooking installations. There further are discrepancies between the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) and reconstruction (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.21-22) in the way that some reconstructed walls were not actually securely attested by excavation (see 'Stratigraphical subdivision'). He himself noted that in Trench P, "more often than not the actual association of any one enclosure [area enclosed by mudbrick or screen walls] with its neighbour is controversial".

Schachner (1999:138, Fig.71) slightly varies from Mellaart's assignment of rooms to buildings by reconstructing six houses in the western part of the settlement, and a further 11 in the central and eastern parts (Table 33) that are not included in his analysis, presumably because of difficulties distinguishing individual buildings from each other (Schachner 1999:138, footnote 360 remarks that the eastern settlement did not have reconstructable house plans); also note that Schachner (1999:139) believes this eastern part to belong with Levels V-III, not Level II. Cutting (2005b:98-101) only deals with complete buildings, of which she recognises seven at Hacilar II, however not stating clearly where these are located since her plan (Cutting 2005b:Figs.8.7, 8.8) only states room numbers, not building numbers or borders. It must also be noted that no doorway is shown between N.4-5 (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20), questioning how these two rooms would have functioned as a building.

In absence of a better suggestion, we must follow Mellaart's reconstruction of roofed and unroofed spaces, and buildings at Hacilar II. In conclusion, (the excavated part of) Hacilar II consisted of either 17 or 19 buildings with irregularly placed, sized and equipped courtyards in between (this reconstruction is roughly congruent with Cutting 2005b:100, Fig.8.8).

An additional issue with reconstructing buildings and unroofed areas in Hacilar II is that, as already mentioned when discussing settlement layout, some areas listed in the figures as having contained Level II artefacts (pottery) are not shown on any of the Level II plans or reconstructions, and also not discussed in the text. Level II finds are reported from Trenches C, O and L, and at least those from O and L seem to have been associated with architecture. The finds from Trench L are in the caption (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.95) described as “very end of Hacilar IIB, from L.II floor, a closed deposit”, although Trench L was located in the very disturbed (by the ‘level 1 cut’ according to Mellaart (1970c:28, Fig.20) southeastern corner of the village, so that the classification as closed deposit might be incorrect. And the fact that the findspot of Trench O pottery is in figure captions (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.78, 81) labelled as “O.II.I” in a manner similar to rooms/buildings makes it seem like this refers to a building/room, and possibly that there was more than one Level II room found in Trench O. These architectural remains cannot be researched since seemingly their connection to the main excavation trench was unclear; but my suggestion that these refer to architecture strengthens the impression outlined above (Settlement layout) that the village of Level II extended past the extent reconstructed by Mellaart.

room number	building units reconstructed by Mellaart	Schachner 1999:Fig.71
N.8	“granary N.8” (Mellaart 1970c:28)	House 1
N.6	“house N.6” (Mellaart 1970c:28)/ “room N.3” (Mellaart 1970c:29) / “house N.6-3” (Mellaart 1960:97)	House 2
N.3		
N.4	“house N.4-5” (Mellaart 1960:97, 1970c:28)	House 3
N.5		
N.2	“passage N.2” (Mellaart 1970c:28)	--
N.1	“house N.1-7” (Mellaart 1960:9)	House 4
N.7		
N.0	“house N.0” (Mellaart 1970c:29), possibly including a second, smaller room south of N.0 as seems indicated in drawings (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.20-22)	--
West court		
A.3	part of the ‘western court’ (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.21-22)	--

Q.1	“small court” of shrine Q.2-4 (Mellaart 1970c:29)	anteroom of House 5
Q.2	“shrine Q.2-4” (Mellaart 1970c:29)	House 5
Q.3		
Q.4		
Q.5	“house Q.5-7” (Mellaart 1970c:29)	House 6
Q.6		
Q.7		
Q.8	walled courtyard next to house R (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	--
--- no Q.9 mentioned ---		
Q.10	corridor that forms part of the gatehouse building (Mellaart 1970c:25, Fig.22)	--
south court	possibly for keeping animals overnight, because it lacked facilities (Mellaart 1970c:28)	--
R	This room/building is not numbered in Fig.20, but described in the text (Mellaart 1970c:28, 29) as “house R”	house
B.1	“house B” / “workshop B” is part of the potters’ quarter (Mellaart 1970c:30)	house
unnumbered	room west of B.1, included in house B (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	--
A.1	“house A.1” (Mellaart 1970c:30) / “workshop A.1” (Mellaart 1970c:35) is part of the potters’ quarter	house
A.2	“house A.2” is part of the potters’ quarter (Mellaart 1970c:30)	house
A.4	partially roofed and belonging to A.2, partially belonging to the small courtyard between ‘potters’ quarter’ and ‘eastern quarter’ (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.21-22)	included with A.2?
unnumbered	passage between house B and house R (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	
north court		
P.1	“north-eastern shrine” (Mellaart 1970c:35, Figs:21-23)	house
P.3		house
P.4	courtyard (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	house
unnumbered	courtyard with well (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	
P.2	courtyard (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	house
P.5	courtyard (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	--
unnumbered	roofed building partially excavated east of courts P.2 and P.5;	house

	northern room (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	
unnumbered	roofed building partially excavated east of courts P.2 and P.5; southern room (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	---
P.6	roofed building (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	house
unnumbered	two roofed buildings with an intermediate courtyard south of P.6 (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	---
unnumbered	roofed building south of P.5 (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	house
unnumbered	courtyard in southeast corner; Mellaart (1970c:Fig.22) seems to indicate a roof	
unnumbered	roofed building in southwest corner (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22)	

Table 33 Hacilar II: building units.

Please note that Schachner (1999:Fig.71) assigns the letter "H" for house to a number of areas in the central and eastern part of the settlement without specifying in the figure or in the text where exactly the borders between individual buildings are located.

Building formation processes: second stories and roomfills

As in Level VI, Mellaart (also Cutting 2005b:130) reconstructs some Level II houses (Q.2-4, Q.5-7 and N.1-7, Mellaart 1960:97, 1970c:Fig.22) with upper stories because they had thick walls and "an upper storey is evident from the superimposed deposits of pottery and remains of mudbrick walling, the one in situ on the floor, the other 3-4 feet higher up, and again covered by mudbrick" (Mellaart 1970c:28, 1960:97). Düring (2011c:171) accepts this reasoning, and sees additional evidence in the fact that some ground level rooms were quite small and might not represent living quarters. Given the general level of mistrust in Mellaart's stratigraphical control over the Hacilar settlements (Chapter 2/ Appendix 1, and also see previous discussion of Hacilar in this section), however, it should be questioned to what his excavation style (and speed⁹) was suited to understanding what would have been stratigraphically very complex deposits inside the houses. A number of observations speak against the above describe collapse pattern. First, the 0.9-1.2m (3-4ft)

⁹ After the central part ('potters' quarters') was excavated in the 1957 sounding, most of Hacilar II was excavated in the 1959 season which lasted ca. 25 work days (Mellaart 1960:83), which meant that on average only a little more than one workday needed to suffice for each of the 18 roofed rooms (Table 33) excavated in 1959 (Mellaart 1960:Fig.3). In reality, excavation must have moved even faster than this, since these 25 days also included the investigation of the substantial Hacilar II courtyards, as well as further work on the Level I architecture and a small sounding to levels below Level II (Mellaart 1960:83-84).

indicated by Mellaart as the level of the collapsed upper floor is a considerable distance from the (ground level) floor, and there would need to be a better explanation of how this archaeological signature is interpreted as the result of a rapid, catastrophic collapsing process; it seems difficult to imagine a rapid collapsing process whereby one vertical meter of debris accumulated before the upper floor down. As mentioned above, the more recent excavations at Çatalhöyük West encountered complex roomfills, made up from several levels of deposition as described for Hacilar II and VI; but at Çatalhöyük, these were reconstructed in terms of intentional infilling and middening (Biehl et al. 2012b:91-96). The Hacilar II roomfills are not described in any greater detail in the reports or book, but based on available information seem to have been not dissimilar to Çatalhöyük West roomfills.

Second, the schematic section drawing (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.39) shows that the “pottery and debris of upper floors” found inside N.4 and N.5 represent a relatively thin deposit located at the same height as the tops of Level II walls exactly at the interface of Levels II with the denuded, unstratified topsoil. The same section drawing shows that in the courtyard just on the other side of the N.5 wall, Level I directly overlays Level II debris, and here the interface of both is actually lower than inside the rooms, and Level I sediment is shown abutting Level II walls. This suggests even the possibility that (some) of the Level II ‘upper storey debris’ layers stratigraphically belong elsewhere, with Level I or maybe some yet different stratigraphical level.

Apart from these general issues with formation processes, there is further reason to believe that exactly in the three cases reconstructed by Mellaart as buildings with second story (Q.2-4, Q.5-7 and N.1-7) there are issues with the evidence. The relevant observations do not actually come from the Level II architecture chapter, but from the section of the 1970 book where Mellaart discusses the distribution of Level II-I pottery, which is one of the most informative sections as regarding formation processes (also see Redman 1972:947-948 commenting favourably on this section). Mellaart’s statement that “The north-western quarter was, with the exception of the granary [N.8] and the west court, not excavated below the IIb floor level” (Mellaart 1970c:1970c:38) can only refer to Trench N; it thus turns out that N.1-7 were not actually excavated down to the IIa floor level, but instead excavation stopped at the level determined by Mellaart as the Level IIb floor. Phase IIa of the building(s) N.1-7 in was therefore never actually seen by the excavators; i.e. reconstructing it/them with a second storey (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22) relies entirely on the excavator’s assumption that the building shell (walls, ceiling) itself did not

change in these buildings between Level IIa and Level IIb (see longer discussion of subphasing below). Here it should be remarked that the text does not actually say in which buildings such collapsed upper stories were found; it can only be inferred that the buildings reconstructed with upper stories (Mellaart 1960:97, 1970c:Fig.22) featured such a 'collapse' level. One example, Q.2-4, is later described as not containing pottery in primary deposits, but only "dumped" material (Mellaart 1970c:38)—so this building cannot have contained the clear layering of lower storey artefacts-collapse-upper storey artefact-collapse that Mellaart described. And another supposedly double-storied building, Q.5-7, is not even mentioned in the section about pottery distribution, which raises doubts as to the stratigraphical integrity of its infill. These observations combined make an upper storey for Hacilar 2 more unlikely than likely. Since the question of second stories cannot anymore be decided, though, the possibility of Q.2-4, Q.5-7 and N.1-7 as two-storied houses will be included in the analysis below. It also needs to be mentioned that the upper story of N.1-7 seemingly was not envisaged as a living area by Mellaart: "I imagine that a sort of gatehouse tower extended over these structures, commanding a wide view over the fields and orchards which undoubtedly surrounded the settlement" (Mellaart 1960:97).

Returning to the issue of house formation processes more generally, the above discussion of roomfills as regarding evidence for second stories has noted that probably not all deposits and artefacts found inside houses and recognised by Mellaart as belonging to the house were actually part of the buildings' appearance and function prior to abandonment. Based on the discussion above, I believe that some of the deposits found higher up inside rooms, at a not any more determinable distance from the floor, have nothing to do with the original use of the buildings, but instead with post-abandonment depositional processes. Mellaart himself seems to have recognised this, although he interestingly does not state it while discussing architecture, phasing and building function, but later when discussing pottery distribution—seemingly not recognising that these observations must contradict some of his architectural reconstructions: He noted (Mellaart 1970c:38) that "the main deposits from the IIA shrine [Q.2-4] are illustrated in figs. 85-9, but, since all the material was dumped and hence not *in situ*, the position of the pots could not be located on a plan. By contrast, the pottery from house B.IIA, the shrine P.IIA.1,3 and the adjacent domestic enclosures P.IIA.2 (and 2a) and P.IIA.4 could be plotted in position (pp. 51 and 52)". This remark indicates that different Hacilar II buildings underwent different formation processes, but that at least some, including one of major interest for Mellaart's reconstruction of Level II society (the Q.2-4 'shrine'), did not actually contain primary deposits. It seems odd that Mellaart did not see a

misfit between his observation that the 'shrine' Q.2-4 contained "dumped" material and his belief that the Hacilar II settlement burned by accident after 2b while all buildings including Q.2-4 were in use; or between a recognition that artefacts in Q.2-4 were not in primary position and his conviction that they still could be used to determine the building function.

As a final statement on formation histories, I would also like to point out that different areas of the settlement, and different subphases, likely had different formation histories. For example, Mellaart himself recognised that the fire destruction after II a would have preserved the eastern part better than the western part of the settlement: "much of [the pottery from Level II a] is derived from deposits in houses and courtyards sealed by a disastrous fire that destroyed the eastern half of the settlement (areas P, O, R, and B, figs.78-83). The western half of the village escaped the fire and in these areas (N and Q) there are no hermetically sealed deposits of Hacilar IIA pots, but only sherds in courtyards or beyond the walls (area N) or covered by the later IIB floor of the buildings of area Q (figs.85-9)" (Mellaart 1970c:115). And because of the different taphonomic processes in both settlement halves, notably also some pit digging that might have mixed pre-Level II material into the assemblage, Mellaart himself (nearly) saw the necessity of considering the impact of these formation histories on the finds assemblage: "I have, in order to satisfy over-critical colleagues, kept the pottery from these two areas [eastern and western part] separate in publication" (Mellaart 1970c:115). These statements come from the pottery chapter; it is an interesting feature of the book that nearly all of Mellaart's few comments on building formation processes come from either the pottery chapter (Mellaart 1970c:99-142) or the section discussing pottery distribution within Levels II and I (Mellaart 1970c:38-56). Apparently Mellaart did not see this information as part of the architectural story, and also did not see the contradictions between building formation histories and some of his architecture reconstructions that I have pointed out here throughout the discussion.

Building functions

no.	building function	reasons for identification
N.8	granary	grain bins, grain scatter on floor (Mellaart 1970c:29)
Q.2-4	south-west shrine	raised location, figurines, clay seals, stone bowls, fine pottery including 'ritual' vessels (Mellaart 1970c:29-30)

A.1	potters workshop (Mellaart 1970c:30)	lack of (some) domestic features; abundance of pottery-making tools and materials
A.2	potters workshop (Mellaart 1970c:30)	
B	potters workshop (later abandoned in phase 2B; Mellaart 1970c:30)	
P1+3	north-east shrine (Mellaart 1970c:35)	niche with stele; columns, monumental door; building size; control of well access; burials

Table 34 Hacilar II: special purpose buildings after Mellaart (1970c:28-36).

The discussion of roomfills leads into a re-evaluation of building functions. Of the 16 or 18 buildings of Hacilar II, Mellaart describes most as residences with a number of exceptions of non-residential, special purpose buildings (Table 34). More recent re-evaluations of Hacilar II have instead classified most of these buildings as residences.

The ‘granary’ (N.8)

The ‘granary’ N.8 was “so called after the widespread scatter of grain found on its floor” as well as the existence of three or four large grain bins. Further, the building contained posts, a shallow ledge or bench on the east wall, and “several sloping depressions in the floor as well as a number of brick or mud kerbs, the significance of which is unknown” (Mellaart 1970c:29). It is not mentioned how the supposed grain bins were recognised as such, since no find of grain inside the bins is reported. Their physical appearance is also not described in detail, but judging from the statement that N.8 “contained the sunk lower parts of a number of grain bins” it could be suspected that these represented plastered depressions. Further, Mellaart himself makes conflicting statements about one of these bins, which is designated ‘grain bin’ in the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20), but reconstructed as a domed oven in the reconstruction drawing (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22) and also in the text which describes “two large oval ovens, the northernmost screened from the portico of room N.3 by a low brick wall” (Mellaart 1970c:29, also 1970c:98). The latter oven is thus clearly identified as the supposed ‘grain bin’ in front of N.8. At least one of the bins would also be awkwardly placed, essentially blocking the entrance to N.8 which seems an odd location that impairs the use of both bin and granary; this could

indicate that either the function of this 'grain bin', or its stratigraphical position as belonging to N.8 were determined incorrectly. Finally, the chapter on plant remains by Halbaek (in Mellaart 1970c:189-244) does not make any mention of grain from N.8; the only plant materials analysed from Level II are from Q.1 and from the well (Mellaart 1970c:196). All these observations cast doubt on the correctness of the identification as 'granary'.

On the other hand, the fact remains that N.8 appears different from the surrounding buildings in that it has only one room, and the above mentioned unusual installations to found in other buildings; this by itself however cannot exclude a function as residence. When comparing N.8 against its neighbours, it must also be kept in mind that "the north-west quarter was, with the exception of the granary [N.8] and the west court, not excavated below the IIA floor level" (Mellaart 1970c:38). As stated previously ('Stratigraphical subdivision'), this raises the question as how Mellaart knew what installations N.0-7 had in phase IIa: the features shown in the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) cannot actually have been excavated if the floor level was not reached; they most probably represent the features found in phase IIb. Similarly, the internal furnishing shown for N.8 on the IIa and IIb plans (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20, 25) is identical even though the building was supposedly rebuilt in IIb on top of the IIa granary; this leaves doubts as to the correct stratigraphical attribution of these features to the building and its subphases.

The 'south-west shrine' (Q.2-4)

Mellaart (1970c:29-30) does not actually state how and why Q.2-4, with 'anteroom' Q.1, were identified as a shrine, but from his description of the building it appears that the main reason for this identification was the mobile inventory, although other features of the building are also mentioned: Q.2-4 "occupied the highest part of the settlement, which was not quite level" Mellaart 1970c:29) had therefore had a prominent position. Further, in one of its room a white plaster floor with indiscernible red decoration was found, and a niche contained a stone slab (Mellaart 1970c:30) that is in another part of the text (Mellaart 1970c:35) interpreted as a religious stele (see discussion of this issue below, P.1+3). Moreover, Mellaart (1970c:30) also mentions that "this building [Q.2-4] has a number of features in common with the north-east shrine [P.1+3]", which would have been more support for his interpretation. Some caution against reconstructions of Q.2-4 is suggested by the excavation photos of Q.2-4 (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.31, 32) which

reveal that this building was very poorly preserved, with walls hardly preserved above floor level (also noted by Mellaart 1970c:29).

Artefacts found inside Q.2-4 included “a painted figurine, almost complete, but headless, fragments of others, a clay seal with incised design, stone bowls, beads, and other objects”, and also “in and all around this building was found a vast amount of finely painted pottery, mostly decorated in the so-called fantastic style and including a number of vessels that would seem to have been of ritual use, such as a kernos or ring vase, a fragment of a cup in the form of a human head, and bowls decorated with schematised pictures of the mother goddess attended by animals” (Mellaart 1970c:29-30). That it seems to have been mostly these objects that made Q.2-4 a ‘shrine’ in Mellaart’s eyes weakens the identification for a number of reasons. First, the identification of the vessels bearing imagery as ‘ritual’ should be reviewed in comparison with material excavated afterwards from contemporary sites, although this is not a topic for this architectural analysis. Second, the above re-evaluation of Hacilar 2 roomfills indicates that Mellaart’s excavation style did not provide enough resolution to be certain that all he found inside the building actually belonged to the phase of its use, especially since not all these objects were found inside the building, but some also “around”. And third, it seems worth asking whether this assortment of finds was really so different from the other buildings.

In order to gain a clearer impression as to the latter two objections, I attempted to reconstruct inventories of finds by building. Apart from a section of the book that tabulates types of painted pottery by room (Mellaart 1970c:38-56), Mellaart does not systematically report the number and type of finds by buildings. A reconstruction of what was found in each buildings (Tables 36-37) needs to rely on a collation of information spread throughout the 1970 book publication, with the figures and associated captions constituting an importance source, and needs to necessarily remain biased and incomplete because only special finds (complete or nearly complete vessels, figurines and small finds) are mentioned with location. The aforementioned tables of painted pottery by Level II building with associated plans of where in the building these vessels were found (Mellaart 1970c:51-56) constitute a source of major importance for the reconstruction of building functions and formation processes, however discrepancies between this section and the list of vessels provided by the figure captions in Volume II of the 1970 publication raise further doubts as to the accuracy of Mellaart’s excavation documentation. These issues are stated in Table 36-37, and will be discussed throughout the following paragraphs insofar as they relate to the matters at hand.

As to the amount of finds in Q.1-4, Tables 36-37 reveal that seemingly the majority of the painted pottery vessels that prompted Mellaart to regard this building as special were not actually found inside the rooms, but outside: for both subphases (IIa) together, the figures only list 12 painted vessels inside Q.1-4, but 83 vessels for Trench Q in general (IIa). This includes some of the finds especially mentioned by Mellaart in the context of the 'shrine', for example the ring vase (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.89.13). The "fragment of a cup in the form of a human head" was indeed found in room Q.3 (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.89.16), but the illustration also shows the rather generous manner in which this fragment was reconstructed as a human head. By contrast, the seemingly "poorer" (Mellaart 1970c:34) houses and courtyards in Trench P had a much larger number of painted vessels probably from primary deposits (see below). No monochrome vessels are reported from Q.1-4, but Mellaart (1970c:38) himself remarks that "the monochrome pots, on the other hand, are evenly distributed throughout the settlements of Hacilar IIa, IIb", therefore these cannot constitute a reason to single out any building as special.

As for figurines, they appear relatively evenly distributed throughout the IIa buildings; the only complete human figurine from Level II was found in the granary N.8 in subphase IIb. It cannot anymore be reconstructed how the "clay seal[s] with incised design, stone bowls, beads, and other objects" that Mellaart cites as evidence for a special function of Q.1-4 were distributed throughout the settlement, so that this argument might be valid. However, it has already been mentioned that there generally should be scepticisms as to the degree of Mellaart's stratigraphical control over the Level II house fills; and Q.2-4 specifically is described as not having contained pottery material from primary deposits: "The main deposits from the IIA shrine are illustrated in figs.85-9, but, since all the material was dumped and hence not *in situ*, the position of the pots could not be located on a plan" Mellaart 1970c:38). This raises doubts also as to where exactly in the building the figurines and other small finds were found; since in other parts of the book finds from the floor are explicitly mentioned as being from floors (e.g. Mellaart 1970c:15, 17), maybe the Q.2-4 artefacts were not from the floor. This makes it more likely that they were found somewhere in the fill. In Level IIa, this shrine contained no stone vessels (the only four stone vessel fragments from IIa were in House B), and in IIb seven fragments, but they might be from roomfill (compare Mellaart 1970c:150 against 1970c:Figs.163, 164).

The 'north-east shrine' (P.1+P.3)

The building made up from rooms P.1 and P.3 was interpreted by Mellaart as another 'shrine', and in fact the major village shrine of subphase IIa, which was however not rebuilt after the fire destruction, when Q.2-4 became the main—or only—shrine (Mellaart 1970c:30). Mellaart's reasons for interpreting P.1+P.3 as a 'shrine', or a public building in the first place, are partially explicating and partially implicit in the text. He argues that "Its position, controlling the access to the only well, its size and its graves suggest a public building of major importance. In the period concerned the idea of any authority other than a religious one can hardly be considered, and the building was therefore probably the main village shrine and the seat of the local authority, responsible for the welfare, both religious and economic of the small society of Hacilar II" (Mellaart 1970c:36). This statement establishes P.1+3 as a public building foremost, and a shrine and residence of a religious elite only by excluding other options (such as e.g. the residence of a non-religious ruler) that Mellaart deemed to not fit into the historic context.

The large size (P.1 "measured ca. 8 x 6 m, the largest single room in the settlement" Mellaart 1970c:36), control of the well, and the fact that the only burials of Level II were found inside the building are thus named explicitly as indicators of a special function of P.1+3; others are implicitly. Mellaart (1970c:35) mentions a "monumental door, preceded by two steps, formed from plastered-over wooden logs" that led through "an open colonnade with three columns" from P.1 into the adjacent courtyard, which also contained the aforementioned well. The religious furnishing or mobilier of the building was found in the small side room P.3 that contained "the lower part of a limestone slab, some 24 cm wide and 6 cm thick, still standing *in situ* in the niche [P.3 on Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20]; its upper part had disappeared". This slab, as well as the one from Q.2-4, is reconstructed to have originally been something akin to the 'steles' with incised faces found in Level VI (Mellaart 1970c:Pls.117-118); but the two examples from level II did not actually carry faces or any other incision. Two clay-lined depressions in front of the 'stele' in combination with ceramic vessels are described as having had some religious function related to the stele, and two wooden posts were found flanking the entrance to this niche (Mellaart 1970c:35-36). The large main room P.1 contained domestic furnishing similar to that of the houses (hearth, oven, storage space), but also a total of 16 'columns' (thick wooden posts) including the three already mentioned as forming the 'monumental' eastern entrance: "With its sixteen columns, which may have been carved and painted, this building must have been the most impressive in the settlement" (Mellaart 1970c:36). In the northeast corner

of this room, which would have formed a separate “alcove”, an area of limited size surrounded by the back wall of side room P.3 and the eastern wall of the building, Mellaart reconstructs a platform and another niche. Further, he claims that room-dividing walls with ‘slits’ found both in this and the other shrine (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) were part of an installation of sliding doors that could separate one area of the building from the other (Mellaart 1970c:36).

Of these architectural features, a few can probably be discounted upon closer examination, and therefore not be used to argue for a special (and religious) function of the building. In size, P.1+3 does not stand out substantially from other buildings that Mellaart understands as houses (e.g. Q.5-7, P.6, A.1), and its many internal features also subdivide the interior substantially, so that a monumental impression of the interior cannot be argued. The monumental gate is conjecture, similar entrances made up from posts are reconstructed less grand by Mellaart (e.g. several other post hole alignments in Trench P were reconstructed as walls with entrances, compare Mellaart 1970c:Figs.20, 22). Proximity to the well does not need to be equated with control over the well. The stone slab in P.3 was broken and it remains unclear whether it actually was a stele; potentially it was the foot of an installation of a very different, non-religious nature (note that Mellaart does not indicate the length of the fragment, or provide a photo of it). The existence of ‘sliding doors’ is indicated by nothing but the narrow gap between two partition walls; and that the posts were impressively decorated also guesswork. There still was a comparatively large number of large posts, but given that post, also ‘column’-like in the house interior, were a relatively regular feature in the eastern quarter (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20), they might not have been that special as an architectural feature. In terms of mobile inventory, P.1+3 did contain quite a number of vessels, and seemingly many from primary deposits, maybe on the floor, because they are noted on the distribution plan (Mellaart 1970c:52). There are however general problems with the finds inventory in Area P (Table 36-37) that shed at least some doubt on this inventory list of P.1+3. Even discounting all these features, though, P.1+3 can still be described as having features that other buildings did not have: four entrances; a large platform/alcove; and the only three subfloor burials found in Level II. Still, interpretations other than ‘shrine’ seem possible from the discussion here; to establish in what capacity (religious? Elite residence? Communal meeting place?) P.1+3 might have been special, and what it meant for the village community, will be a matter for this analysis.

The centre: the potters' quarter

The centre of the Level IIa settlement, a group of three buildings (buildings B, A.1, A.2) that was surrounded by courtyards on all sides was by Mellaart's reconstruction (Mellaart 1958a:133, 1970c:30-31) a group of non-residential "potters' workshop", of which B was burned in the fire after IIa, and only A.1 and A.2 remained in use in IIb. The reasons for this reconstruction were a perceived lack of some important domestic features, paired with the presence of large amounts of raw materials and tools for pottery making: the buildings "lacked the normal domestic appurtenances of a private house. They had, of course, the normal pattern of hearths, screens, internal buttresses and posts (pl. XXVIb), but there were no saddle-querns for the preparation of food, no storage bins for grain, no platforms for sleeping, no remains of food, and no ovens – features never missing in ordinary houses. Instead, there were querns and mortars covered with red and yellow ochre (six in A.2 and at least four in A.1 and in B), lumps of the same material, a clay bin filled with clay, paint cups, palettes, modelling tools, clay ladles, and, most striking of all, numbers of unused vessels, stacked and brightly shining – jars in room A.1, oval cups in A.2 and, in the earlier workshop B, mainly bowls. The contrast with the domestic quarters to the east could hardly have been more dramatic" (Mellaart 1970c:30-31). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to re-evaluate the pottery and tool assemblage and to verify whether it does represent evidence for pottery making; and this question is also only peripherally related to the household autonomy question. The many reservations already recorded here against Mellaart's control over excavation complex roomfill formation histories does however generally suggest a level of caution against reconstructing a workshop from the above described assemblage; although the pottery distribution maps show a number of vessels *in situ* in the buildings of A and B (Mellaart 1970c:51, 55).

Much more central to the present discussion is Mellaart's notion that these buildings do not represent 'real' houses; this argument seems to have two parts: first, that the buildings; and second, that there was something a standard house, or a standard house furnishing at Hacilar II; and second, that the buildings in A and B did not contain this specific set of furnishing. Both parts of the argument can be rejected. As the discussion of **Theme 1** in Chapter 6 showed, a definition of what makes a 'complete' residential house in the Anatolian Neolithic and Chalcolithic is far from straightforward, but a cooking installation (hearth and/or oven) and food storage were identified as two crucial components of a household residence. A.1-2 and B had hearths; an oven was found attached to outside of the northwest corner of A.1, but is reconstructed by Mellaart as part of N.0 (Mellaart 1970c:31), which is

at least questionable given that the location of trench borders here (top soil overlaid the southeast half of N.0) prevented attesting a direct connection between that oven and N.0. Mellaart himself mentions storage installations in B (Mellaart 1970c:31), and the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) shows two more box- or bin-like features in A.2 and A.1; but even without such storage installations, the possibility of food storage in perishable containers could not be excluded. And finally, building B was only partially excavated (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) so it cannot be said with certainty what features were 'missing' from this building.

Moreover, Mellaart's notions, expressed in the above quote, that there was a "dramatic" difference between the buildings in A-B and the other houses of Hacilar II, or that there was such a thing as an "ordinary" Level II house, can be countered by reminding that only four buildings in Level II had platforms or benches (Q.4, R, N.6, N.4); that bins are reported only from six buildings (N.6, N.8, Q.1, P1, P.5, south of P.5; Mellaart 1970c:28-29), and remains of food only from one (Q.1, Table 36). All of these are items listed by Mellaart in the argument of why B, A.1 and A.2 were not normal houses.

Finally, I would like to point out that independently from a discussion of the function/use of buildings B, A.1 and A.2 based on their internal features, the reconstruction walls and roofs in this central area is quite conjectural. Comparing the reconstruction (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22) with the excavation plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20), it becomes apparent that not all walls drawn in the reconstruction were actually seen in the trench since many bits and connections around the edges of this central quarter remained unexcavated. As already mentioned above (Internal stratigraphy), there were further a few different excavation levels within the trench, and the central quarter is especially affected by the unfortunate location of some of these excavation borders: it seems that the north wall of A.1 against the "north court" as well as the entire southern half of B including a wall and door facing the "south court" were not, or not clearly, seen during excavation; and the northeast corner of building B and connection with Trench R can be seen as doubtful as much as the connection to P.4 and P.6.

Other opinions on the Hacilar II building functions

Eslick (1988:20-21) and Schachner (1999:48, 139) prefer an interpretation of the two Hacilar II shrines as being foremost residences with a possible religious side function, citing the presence in the 'shrines' of the same domestic furniture that all

houses also had. Steadman (2000b:184) seems to describe all buildings in Trench P as houses, including P.1+3 (i.e. not a shrine), and interprets Q.1-4 as the residence of an elite household instead of a shrine, an interpretation shared by Cutting (2005b:130-131). Umurtak (2011b:4) seems to accept Q.2-4 as a shrine, but not P.1+3, arguing that it is unlikely that a small settlement needed to cult buildings and that this building did not resemble the Höyücek shrine. Schachner (1999:48) accepts the potters' quarter and granary, as do Cutting (2005b:101, 130), Eslick (1988:19-20) and Steadman (2000b:184). Düring (2011c:171) accepts a reconstruction of N.8 as a communal storage building, but does not seem to accept the 'shrines' given his comment on Lake District LN/EC 'shrines' in general, stating that these are often burned buildings which might simply be better preserved than others, not of special function (Düring 2011c:165). In conclusion, my impression that the 'shrines' were probably foremost residential is shared in most other architectural analyses. On the other hand, most other researchers seem to accept N.8 and A.1, A.2 and B as non-residential buildings.

Conclusions

The discussion of building functions can be summed up to say that there is no clear evidence to show that any building was not a residence; although some could have had additional (ritual, productive) functions that other houses did not have. To determine those additional functions will partially be a matter for the following discussion, which will work from the assumption that all 19 buildings were houses (cf. Schachner, Steadman).

Mellaart numbering	furnishing
N.8	3 grain bins several depressions in the floor "a number of brick or mud kerbs, the significance of which is unknown"
N.3	--
N.6	platform a "bench on which stood three circular storage bins of unbaked clay"
N.4	2 platforms/benches oven bin(?) (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20 cf. Fig.21)
N.5	platform
N.2	platform
N.1	---

N.7	oven
N.0	---
N west court	two large ovens in front of N.8
A.3	oven, reconstructed as part of N.0
west of Q.2 wall	“an area paved with pebbles and covered with a roof supported by two posts”
Q.1	grain bin
Q.2	---
Q.3	hearth oven
Q.4	hearth oven niche floor with denuded red-on-white decoration
Q.5	“ashpit and a small hearth”
Q.6	bins(?) (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20 cf. Fig.21)
Q.7	“a large rectangular hearth in the centre [...] on a later IIB floor”
Q.8	---
R	platform hearth bin?
south court	“battered mud floors”
A.1	gypsum plaster floor hearth bin: “Only in house A II/1, in which the only quern of normal corn-grinding type was found, was there any provision for the storage of grain, in the form of an unbaked clay bin, hardened by the fire, but empty” (Mellaart 1958:133)
A.2	gypsum plaster floor hearth bin – possibly the “clay bin filled with clay” mentioned by Mellaart (1970c:30) “mass of fine painted cups, all of the same shape [...] were found in house A II/2, none of which showed any sign of wear, let alone mending” (Mellaart 1958:133)
B	hearth “its buttresses were well preserved, with rounded corners, and in front of the niches formed by the buttresses there were clay kerbs; traces of wooden floors show that the niches must have been used for storage”
A.1-B generally	The preliminary report (Mellaart 1958:133) describes the inventory on A-B buildings as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “potstands were found grouped around the hearths” • “both painted and monochrome wares as well as ground and polished stone axes, bowls and palettes were plentiful. Clay ladles, bone awls and

	<p>spoons, stone beads, and simple flint, chert and obsidian knife blades were found in profusion”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “querns of all sizes and shapes were found in profusion in all three houses, together with their rubbers or pounders [and ochre in them]. Some have a hole going through them, others are fixed in the floor by means of clay plaster” • further many clay figurines
parts of A.4/A.1, P.4	<p>platform hearth oven ‘table’ grinding installations</p> <p>floor of beaten earth</p>
north court	--
P.1	<p>2 hearths oven a “fireplace” built into the west wall a clay “fire box” platform “further traces of hearths and bins, badly ruined, occurred along the south wall, between the two doorways”</p>
P.3	<p>lower part of an upstanding lime stone slab two oval, clay lined depressions in the floor fragments of painted plaster</p>
court east of P.1	<p>well and possibly a wooden construction for drawing water hearth bin</p>
P.2	<p>hearth oven</p>
east of P.2	hearth
east of P.2	---
P.5 north	<p>2 hearths oven 2 bins</p>
P.6	<p>hearth oven</p>
unnumbered	<p>hearth bin(?) (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.20, 21)</p>
unnumbered	bins(?) (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.20, 21)
P.5 south	<p>hearth bin</p>
unnumbered	hearth(?) (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.20, 21)

Table 35 Hacilar II: internal features of buildings mentioned by Mellaart (1970c:28-26, Fig.20, 25, and 1958:131-133).

Household autonomy and community integration

In light of the many doubts as to which Hacilar II houses actually functioned together as a village (see ‘Stratigraphical subdivision’), I have chosen to analyse the IIa plan as one possible version of the village. No separate analysis is provided for Level IIb, which in Mellaart’s reconstruction represented a contraction of Level IIa and therefore an analysis of IIa includes most that could be said about IIb. All information used here is based on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) or Tables 36-37 unless stated otherwise.

House layouts

Not two Hacilar II buildings are alike in terms of size, number of rooms, internal layouting and furnishing (#38, Cutting 2005b:130). The section ‘Stratigraphical subdivision’ has found evidence for idiosyncratic house use lives (#39) at least in the western and central parts of the settlement (Q, N), a principle that could maybe be suspected also for the eastern part, a stratigraphical “warren” (Mellaart 1970c:34) that is not described by Mellaart in enough detail to understand modifications.

House furnishing

Hearths: From nearly every house, a hearth and/or oven is reported (#4; Table 35, although see above for issues with recognising which rooms functioned together as buildings, ‘Reconstructing buildings’), with a few possible exceptions for which it, however, is also not possible to state with certainty that they did not have cooking installations (#72): The oven of N.0 might not actually be part of this building (see ‘Stratigraphical subdivision’); however, only a small part of N.0 is excavated, so that it cannot be decided whether or not it had a hearth or oven. N.8 might have an outdoor oven next to its entrance, but this oven was also described as a grain bin (see above, ‘Building functions’). N.5 has no cooking installation, but might have formed a house together with N.4, which had an oven (‘Reconstructing buildings’). No cooking installation was attested in N.3+6, but the lowermost floor of this building was also not actually excavated (‘Stratigraphical subdivision’). In conclusion, no fully excavated building did not have either a hearth or oven.

Storage: Bins are reported from all buildings (**#5, #6**) with the exception of N.1+7 and P.6; further, four buildings which were only incompletely excavated at the trench borders (house B, and the unnumbered buildings listed in Table 33) did not have bins, but that might be due to the incomplete state of their excavation. This leaves two buildings (N.1+7 and P.6) without bins, although the many doubts as to a correct reconstruction of buildings also do not allow to state with certainty that these houses actually had no storage (**#75**); for example, there is a bin directly next to P.6's north wall in the adjacent courtyard to room P.4 which might have belonged to the P.6 household. Further, not all bins might have been used for food storage (see the "clay bin filled with clay" in either A.1 or A.2 on Mellaart 1970c:30), and not all food be stored in bins: Contrary to Level 6, not many buildings had deposits of charred botanic food remains, but charred plant foods were found in Q.1 on the floor around a quern and in a bin. In all houses, perishable containers could have been used for storage. As far as can be said based on the inconclusive storage evidence, three houses might have had more storage space, or at least more bin storage space (**#77**): N.6 had three bins, and N.8 at least three. The house in the southeast trench border (numbered, Table 33) had a particularly large bin. It is not possible to accurately determine bin space per household in Trench P, because a number of courtyards had bins and it is unknown how these were used.

Note that it is generally impossible to make statements about the distribution of features within the eastern settlement (Trench P) part with certainty because Mellaart does not describe this area in detail, which means that it remains unclear what some of the features shown on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) really were, and also he himself was not always sure which features and areas belonged to which house: "It would be repetitive and unrewarding to describe each of these kitchens [courtyards] or the rooms to which they belonged in details and more often than not the actual association of any one enclosure with its neighbours is controversial" (Mellaart 1970c:34-35). Additionally, the reconstruction of which areas were roofed and which not, and which functioned together in houses (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.21, 22) is conjectural.

Building materials and construction techniques

No information is provided about details of the Level II building materials and construction techniques. Mellaart (1970c:31) notes that "Hacılar II bricks measured 40 x 22 x 10 cm, both in IIA and IIB", thus implying brick standardisation which might however be doubted given the general lack of attention to details in the documentation and reporting of Hacılar II (see e.g. 'Stratigraphical subdivision').

There is a certain overall variety in the choice of materials and wall thicknesses: Hacilar II house walls made either from posts and organic materials or mudbrick and have different thicknesses. But nothing can be said about the details of shared building traditions such as mudbrick recipes or brick laying techniques.

All buildings share parts walls (**#54**, Cutting 2005b:99), although the thickness of some (e.g. between N.8 and N.3+6) could indicate that they rather represent two parallel walls, but that the narrow gap between them was either not documented during excavation or not noted on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20). There might be a shared courtyard wall (**#67**): a small wall feature between the N.8 / N.3 entrance areas.

House-related ritual

If following Mellaart's interpretation of red-painted floors and lime stone slabs as ritual, then P.1 and Q.4 shared similar ritual features (**#85**), but an interpretation of this observation is impossible given the generally poor data basis for understanding ritual organisation at Hacilar II. Apart from two possibly red-painted floors in P.3 and Q.4 (Table 35), all items recognised by Mellaart as ritual were mobile inventory, subject to the many previously recorded reservations regarding roomfill formation processes. Even if considering the distribution of this inventory, the distribution pattern is different than reconstructed by Mellaart. Mellaart saw ritual activity and inventory clustered in the two shrines Q.1-4 and P.1+3, but a re-evaluation of the inventory distribution (Table 36-37) shows that of the few Level II figurines, three were found in Q.1-3, four in Areas A-B (a fact that Mellaart explains with figurines having been produced there, Mellaart 1970c:120) and one in N.1. It remains unclear which other objects groups had ritual function. Within the generally poor framework of understanding of the Hacilar II settlement that the data allow, it seems impossible to interpret the differential distribution of figurine fragments (**#86**) in social terms.

Building P.1+3 was the only one to contain burials (**#87**). Of the six burials found in the Building, one was found in the roomfill close to the hearth and is described by Mellaart as "a victim of the fire which destroyed the building at the end of phase IIA"; it therefore might not be related to the original social meaning of the building. But another five burials were found under the floor, in three different burial pits of which two contained two skeletons each, an adult and a child (Mellaart 1970c:36). This pattern might however be distorted by the fact that not all Level II buildings

were excavated to below floor level (compare size of Level II trench, Mellaart 1970c:Fig.7, against Level II trench, Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20)—some Trench N buildings were not even excavated to floor level (Mellaart 1970c:38). Since most buildings were not excavated below floor level, there is also no information on building continuity (#88; also see ‘Stratigraphical subdivision’ for a discussion of the poor stratigraphical resolution within Level II as well as the underlying Levels V-III). Only one possible case is recorded: N.8 is described as having two phases of walls on top of each other without changes to the layout in between construction phases (Mellaart 1970c:30). Düring (2011c:165) has suggested the general possibility that burnt Lake District buildings were intentionally set on fire (#31). The fact that if accepting my argument (‘Roomfills’) that most building had none of their original inventory left might indeed indicate planned abandonment; but whether this was ritual cannot be decided based on the available evidence. Overall, the unequal excavation of the buildings prevents an interpretation of the traces of house-related ritual for the community-autonomy question.

Settlement layout

The buildings of Hacilar II stand relatively close to each other (#47), and are subdivided into groups by intervening open spaces. To what degree this had social significance (#49-#51) is not entirely clear, and such interpretations are significantly hampered by the poor stratigraphical resolution at the site and the issue of dividing individual buildings from each other. For example, it would be possible to argue that central, western and northern areas represented functionally or socially different groups because of the different character (size, room numbers, layout, furnishing) of their houses (as Mellaart 1970c:28; Steadman 2000b:183; Umurtak 2011b:2), but they might instead be chronologically different (see ‘Stratigraphical subdivision’).

Unroofed space

Mellaart’s excavation strategy did not include a dedicated investigation of outdoor spaces and their archaeological deposits. Only a few mentions are made of finds from the courtyards (#80, Tables 36-37), and Mellaart himself envisaged them as busily used areas: For example, he mentions pottery fragments in the south court and reconstructs a use for animal penning because of the “battered mud floors” (Mellaart 1970c:28, 31). The courtyards in the eastern and central excavation areas contained many cooking and storage installations (#81, #82); slightly less are found in the western part, but here as well, two ovens (outside N.8), a grain bin (Q.1) and

a pebble floor (west of Q.4 wall) were attested. The impression that some of the courtyard areas shown in the drawing (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.22) are comparatively empty (e.g. centre of the west court; north court; south court) might be due to incomplete excavation: the large south, west and north courts remained incompletely excavated area-wise (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20), and whether excavations always reached the (or a) actual courtyard floor is also not certain (for example, no floor is mentioned for the north court).

Non-residential buildings

I have above (Building functions) rejected all identifications of special-purpose buildings as inconclusively evidenced. Mellaart himself envisaged the 'potters' quarter' (A.1, A.2, B) and 'granary' (N.8) as non-residential (#90, #91). 'Shrine' P.1+3 is described by Mellaart as being a shrine and a residence, thus not actually a non-residential ritual buildings (#89). And Q.1-4 is described as similar to P.1+3 and also contained domestic furnishing; therefore it probably was also envisaged as a residence-shrine.

There are doubts about the existence of an enclosure wall around Hacilar II since this wall is only attested on parts of its length, and might not actually constitute the village border (see above, Settlement layout). For the purpose of this analysis, however, it might be sufficient to record that even a relatively short wall either along parts of the settlement border or separating different areas within the settlement could constitute a communal building project, independently from its function (#92). However, the very incomplete state of excavation of the supposed Level II enclosure wall does not exclude the possibility that it in fact represents house walls, and therefore not a communal building project.

Conclusions

At Hacilar II, indicators for community integration are stronger than those for household autonomy. Household autonomy is indicated by the fact that all houses have hearths (#4) and idiosyncratic layouts (#38) and use histories (#39); most had storage facilities (#5). On the other hand, it is possible that not all houses had equal amount of storage capacity (#75, #77). Houses stand close together (#47); neighbouring houses also shared party walls (#54), and N.8 and N.3+6 might have shared a courtyard wall feature (#76). The unroofed in the village was used intensively for daily production activities (#80, #81, #82), although a better understanding of these spaces is prevented by the only partial investigations of the larger 'courtyards' and the remaining doubt as to which spaces in the eastern

quarter were roofed (houses) or unroofed (courtyards). The limited amount of items with ritual importance found in Hacilar 2 houses might be distributed according to patterns of shared ritual (**#85**) or asymmetric ritual elaboration (**#86, #87**), or possibly household-based ritual idiosyncrasy (**#16**), but without clarity as to the nature of the social and ritual use of these items, this cannot be interpreted in terms of either household autonomy or cross-household ties. This analysis doubts the existence of special non-residential storage, workshop or ritual buildings (**#89, #90, #91**) and also sees the evidence for a settlement enclosure wall (**#92**) as problematic, but has pointed out that even a short wall feature might be communally built. Altogether, indicators of communal integration seem to outweigh those for household autonomy quite clearly, attesting to a strong degree of communal integration with only slight household autonomy.

The stratigraphical issues at Hacilar make it possible to compare Level II against Level VI, but prevent an understanding of the intervening development in Levels V-III. Compared to Level VI, Hacilar II's architecture seems to indicate stronger communal integration and less household autonomy. This general observation might also be confirmed by the interesting fact that compared to Level VI, we seem to rather see a reduction of internal house space and less privatised outdoor space (cf. **#40, #46**): the Hacilar VI 'kitchens' can with relative certainty be seen as privately owned spaces (see above), while at Hacilar II it is difficult to assign unroofed spaces and facilities to individual houses (even noted by Mellaart 1970c:35), possibly indicating that a clear household-compartmentalisation of unroofed space was not of importance. Compared to Level VI, internal house size shrank noticeably in Level II (see Cutting 2005b:98, Tab.8.4 for median house sizes at Hacilar). However, this refers to ground levels only; both or either Level VI and Level II houses could have had second stories, although it has been argued here that there is no evidence for it.

Social competition and stratification

Social competition

It is difficult to argue for an increase of architecturally created privacy between Hacilar VI and II (cf. Steadman 2000b:190): overall, (the ground levels of) Level II houses are smaller than Level VI houses (cf. **#98**). If counting the Hacilar VI kitchens as a room, both Level VI and II (western part) are made up from two-roomed

houses (cf. #100) with the exception of Q.5-7, which had three rooms. In the eastern part, houses might only have had one room each, and they are so close together (cf. #97) that a high degree of social control would have been possible. Neither Level VI or II has clear evidence of upper stories (#99). It is also not apparent that the Hacilar II houses were made to facilitate competitive hospitality, although some houses (A.2, B, Q.4, R) had centrally located hearths (#104), and others (N.8, P.1+3) a fairly open floor plan (#101). Storage facilities were nearly always located in either courtyards or rooms with hearths (#105), but whether this represents the deliberate competitive display of household property cannot be interpreted as long as there is so little overall knowledge on food-related practices at Hacilar.

Elite residences

Mellaart reconstructed two kinds of hierarchical differences at Hacilar II: first, a difference more generally in socioeconomic status between the residents of the western and of the eastern quarters, and interpretation shared by Cutting (2005b:131, 137) and Steadman (2000b:183-184). Mellaart (1970c:34) based this notion mainly on the differential use of building materials (#110)—wattle-and-daub vs. mudbrick. Steadman adds that the eastern houses were a little smaller (#106, cf. Mellaart 1970c:34), with less rooms (#107) and without second stories (#109) and a less elaborate ceramic assemblage (#117, #119). Mellaart does tentatively remarks on a possible more elaborate decoration of western vessels: “At a casual glance it may look as if the sherds from the western half (figs. 84-9) were even richer in decoration than those from the eastern quarters and this may derive from the fact that most of the richer houses, including a shrine, were situated in area Q” (Mellaart 1970c:115); but remarks several times on the amount of vessels from the east Mellaart 1970c:34, 38. His ‘casual glance’ should maybe not be seen as the most secure evidence for differences in pottery inventory between east and west. Both Steadman and Mellaart also associate the generally less “well organized” (Steadman 2000b:184) layout (Mellaart 1970c:34: “warren”) of the eastern quarter with lower socioeconomic status. I would agree that differences in building material and house layout can indicate status differences, but do not accept a characterisation of wattle-and-daub as “lesser quality materials and [...] not as sturdy” (Steadman 2000b:184). There would need to be a more elaborate argument for why daub should constitute a lower-status material (see also Chapter 8 for a longer discussion on the durability of wattle-and-daub). There are quite a number

of mudbrick walls in the east; maybe the daub structures were functionally different (not residences), not socioeconomically. Overall, the differences in status between east and western parts of Hacilar II cannot be substantiated.

Second, the two 'shrines' Q.2-4 and P.1+3 are described as the residences of particularly powerful households. Mellaart describes this particularly intently for P.1+3, but concluded that Q.2-4 was generally similar to the former (Mellaart 1970c:30). In his reconstruction, the special status of these houses and their residents is derived from a number of different architectural features: "Taking everything into consideration, it is extremely unlikely that this elaborately constructed edifice [P.1+3] was just another private house. Its position, controlling the access to the only well [#115], its size [#106] and its graves [#121] suggest a public building of major importance. In the period concerned the idea of any authority other than a religious one can hardly be considered, and the building was therefore probably the main village shrine and the seat of the local authority, responsible for the welfare, both religious and economic of the small society of Hacilar II" (Mellaart 1970c:36). He also mentions in particular the mobile items found in these buildings as evidence for their special and ritual status (#119, Mellaart 1970c:29-30); and describes the internal furnishing (#111) of P.1+3 as special, especially the 'monumental entrance' and 'columns' found inside (Mellaart 1970c:35).

A number of other researchers found, similar to me (see above, Building function), that the evidence for Q.2-4 and/or P.1+3 having been religious buildings is thin; but still consider Q.2-4 residence of a more powerful household. Cutting (2005b:130-131) reconstructs both Q.2-4 and Q.5-7 as houses of people who played a central role in the 'chiefdom' of Hacilar II, citing their size (#106) and dominant location close to the granary and outdoor ovens (similar to #112, #113, #114). Steadman (2000b:184) makes a similar argument: "One house in the southwest corner, the highest area of the mound [#108], is notable due to its larger size (three rooms) [#106, #107], the presence of a bread oven [#113], clay seals, a painted figure [#119], and a courtyard with a raised platform [#114] (Mellaart 1970c:29). The excavator's inclination is to identify this structure as a shrine, but it can just as easily have been the residence of a personage of some importance in the Hacilar community".

Drawing on what has already been discussed throughout this section, most of this evidence can be described as ambiguous at best: the artefacts ascribed to Q.2-4 was probably not part of its original furnishing (see above, building function); the

inventory of P.1+3 does not seem to be particularly rich when compared to other houses (cf. #117, #119), and further there seem to be issues with the excavations recordings of where which vessel was from in the building (Table 36-37). The monumental nature of the entrance and wooden posts of P.1+3 (#111) is conjectural, and the number of posts not outstanding compared to surrounding houses (cf. #110, #111). The number of burials cannot be used as an argument because most Level II houses were not excavated below floor level (cf. #121, see above, House-related ritual).

It remains that P.1+3 and Q.2-4 are slightly larger (**#106**) than some other buildings, but not all other buildings (compare N.8, Q.5-7); and that they and Q.5-7 have more internal subdivisions, probably subdividing functionally different parts of the houses (**#107**). Q.2-4 has two hearths, and P1+3 two hearths, and oven and another 'fireplace (Table 35; **#111**, **#113**). P.1+3 is located directly next to the adjacent well courtyard (**#115**), and Q.2-4 to the ovens, they would therefore have been located near areas frequently also used by other households, opening opportunities for social display. P.1+3 gives of the impression of being well equipped to house commensal events for a larger number of people: it has several entrances, a multitude of cooking installations, and a platform. There is therefore some evidence to reconstruct a socioeconomically powerful position for P.1+3 and its residents, and maybe also for Q.2-4 and even Q.3-7 or N.8. I could therefore conclude that in ways different than those envisaged by Mellaart, and for other reasons that those cited by him, Steadman and Cutting, there is evidence for the existence of socioeconomic status differences at Hacilar II, evolving around higher productivity indicated by house size and furnishing, and in the case of P.1+3 also by an element of social display.

Elite influence on settlement layout

If some households with higher socioeconomic status were present at Hacilar II, this does not seem to have translated into a structuring of settlement space. I have above argued that the segregation into a poor east and a richer west (**#135**; Mellaart 1970c:34; Steadman 2000b:183-184) is not apparent from the evidence. The identified possibly more powerful households (P.1+3 and Q.2-4) are located at opposite ends of the small house cluster. I have also rejected evidence for workshop or storage buildings (**#139**, **#140**) and in any case the non-residential buildings identified by Mellaart and the possible elite residences are distributed

across the settlement space and do not comprise a 'central complex'. The enclosure wall (**#134**) remains as a possible display of elite influence; and it is also important to remember the above mentioned suggestions that the excavated part of Hacilar II was surrounded by a larger settlement area. Düring (2011a:73; 2011c:171) seems to suggest an interpretation as a walled neighbourhood compound within a non-stratified society. Umurtak and Cutting have both independently suggested that "the well-defended Hacilar II settlement could have been a nucleus centre where the more privileged people lived [**#137**]" (Umurtak 2011b:7); Cutting actually uses the word 'citadel' in this context (Cutting 2005b:131, maybe citing a personal communication from Mellaart). Alas, without further excavations this needs to remain a hypothesis. No elite influence on settlement layout can then be recognised at Hacilar II.

Conclusion

Some Hacilar II households (living in P1+3, Q.2-4, maybe in Q.5-7, N.8) might have had a higher socioeconomic status than others; and this higher status might have been created and maintained by higher productivity (**#106, #107, #113**) and social display (**#113, #115, #101**).

Mobility

Similar to Hacilar VI, there are no indications that Hacilar II was a campsite, and possible architectural indicators for a pastoral element (**#160, #158**) are difficult to research in absence of a faunal study.

Warfare

Preparing for warfare

I have argued above (Settlement layout) that the enclosure wall (**#163**) of Hacilar II is poorly evidenced. In particular, the defensive nature of this wall was probably overestimated by Mellaart and others (e.g. Clare et al. 2008:75; Eslick 1988:22; Umurtak 2011b:4). Mellaart (1970c:25) reconstructs the wall with several towers (**#169**) and gates (**#173**) of which at least that in Trench N is reconstructed with

further defensive features: a guard room (N.4) from which the narrow passage (#172) between buildings could be blocked if needed, and something akin to a parapet walk: the second storey over N.1-7 is described as a platform that could be accessed from the 'guard room' (Mellaart 1970c:29). The southern 'gate' as well is reconstructed as featuring access to the top of the wall (Mellaart 1970c:25). A denomination of the two small buttresses, each measuring about 1m by 1.5m, that abutting the outer edge of the wall left and right of the northwest 'gate' (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20, 22) as 'towers' (Mellaart 1970c:25) should be questioned: not even Mellaart seems to reconstruct them with a tower-like function, for example as platforms from which to battle enemies. Further, the reconstruction of "salients at the corners" (Mellaart 1970c:25) cannot be verified at all, because none of the four corners of the walled enclosure was preserved/ excavated. Even if not accepting the enclosure wall (#163), gates (#173) and towers (#169), though, the excavated part of Hacilar II did form a relatively gapless enclosure (#166) with only narrow entrances (#172). A defensive function of this arrangement cannot be excluded, although the fact that the excavated house group might have been surrounded by more houses (see above, Settlement layout) does question the defensive aspect to a degree (see Düring 2011a:73; 2011c:171 with an interpretation as a walled neighbourhood compound). Clare et al. (2008:76) again point out the well (#174) of Hacilar II as an arrangement possibly inspired by the wish to not have to leave the settlement to get water, but just as in Hacilar VI, there might have been any number of other reasons for the community to want a well inside the settlement.

The results of warfare

Hacilar II was twice at least partially destroyed by fire (after IIa, after IIb). Mellaart (1965b:117; 1970c:30, 75) ascribed the IIa destruction to accident, but the destruction of IIb (#179) to a hostile attack of people from somewhere east of the Lake District. His impression that this was a hostile destruction is based on the find of one skeleton in the roomfill in P.1 (#180; Mellaart 1970c:36, 37); and the following rapid culture change (#182) he observed for pottery styles (Mellaart 1970c:145-148). Clare et al. (2008:74-75, Fig.5) interpret both Hacilar II fires as potentially hostile destructions; they correctly point out (Clare et al. 2008:Fig.5) that the skeleton found in P.1 stratigraphically belongs to Hacilar IIa: this building was not in use any more in IIb, in Mellaart's (1970c:30, 37, Fig.25) own reconstruction. It can therefore hardly be used as evidence for the hostile destruction of Level IIb. I would, as an argument *contra* both the Mellaart and the Clare et al. version of

events, point out that one single skeleton is not particularly strong as evidence for a hostile attack; and that at other sites, skeletons in roomfill have been interpreted as intentional burials (Çatalhöyük West, Köşk Höyük, see below). The skeleton was found “in crouching position” (Mellaart 1970c:36), in other words: in a position similar to the other burials found under the floor of the same house (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.43, Pl.37).

A discussion of similarities and differences between Hacilar II and I pottery is well beyond the scope of this thesis; but Mellaart also observed differences in the architecture of both periods: “The new people were not content to build their houses on top of the burnt ruins; the area would certainly have been too small to accommodate their numbers and the burnt stumps of walls would not have furnished secure foundations for the sort of architecture they were used to, which was for more massive than any thing ever previously seen at Hacilar” (Mellaart 1970c:75). Mellaart’s reconstructions of both Hacilar II and I are questioned here significantly; if not accepting aspects of his interpretation, for example Hacilar I as a ring-shaped fortress with 4m thick walls (see below), and if reconstructing both levels as mostly a cluster of houses, then the architectural difference between both might be less strong. Also, Level I might have been built 100 years after Level II in my chronology (Appendix 1), and 150 years in Mellaart’s chronology (Mellaart 1970c:94), and certain changes to architecture over this time frame might not require an explanation through external factors. Based on Schoop’s pottery chronology, Clare et al. (2008:73, 74, Fig.4) actually reject the argument of a ‘Hacilar I invasion’ that changed local pottery styles; instead, they reconstruct a hiatus between Levels II and I, and then interpret this hiatus as evidence for a hostile destruction of Hacilar II (#181). Apart from Schoop (2005b:Fig.4.9), who reconstructs particularly many hiatus at Lake District sites in an attempt to bring pottery sequences from all sites into a coherent development, no other researcher has postulated a hiatus between Hacilar II and I (see Appendix 1), so that this argument can be rejected here. In conclusion, no secure evidence for a hostile attack on Hacilar II was found.

building	Artefacts
N.1	1 head of human figurine (Mellaart 1970c:45, 53, Fig.238)
N.3	1 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.84)
N.4	1 worked bone object [unclear whether 2a or 2b]

	2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:163; Figs.85, 89)
N.5	2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration 1 clay seal [unclear whether 2a or 2b] (Mellaart 1970c:164; Figs.78, 84)
N.7	1 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.85)
N, west court	1 mother of pearl bead/pendant [unclear whether 2a or 2b] 5 worked bone objects [unclear whether 2a or 2b] 3 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:160, 163; Fig.80)
Trench N	27 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.78, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89)
Q.1	1 fragment of human figurine 1 deposits of cereals and lentils on the floor “spread on and around querns” 1 large deposit of barley in grain bin (Mellaart 1970c:196; Fig.244)
Q.2	1 fragment of animal figurine 1 limestone palette 1 worked bone object [unclear whether 2a or 2b] 2 clay seals [unclear whether 2a or 2b] (Mellaart 1970c:29, 163-164; Fig.174, Pl.171g)
Q.3	1 fragment of standing female figurine 5 ceramic vessels with painted decoration 1 fragments of a dark burnished clay plaque [unclear whether 2a or 2b] (Mellaart 1970c:164; Figs.84, 88, 89, 240)
Q.4	2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration 1 slab of stone lying flat in the niche (Mellaart 1970c:30, Fig.84)
	1 mother of pearl bead/pendant [from “Q.II. Shrine”, unclear which room or whether 2a or 2b] (Mellaart 1970c:160)
	Not that the description of the Q.2 inventory as “a small chamber in which were found a painted figure, almost complete, but headless, fragments of others, a clay seal with incised design, stone bowls, beads and other objects” (Mellaart 1970c:29) seems to rather describe finds from all rooms in Q.-4.
Q.7	2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration

	(Mellaart 1970c:Figs.85, 89)
Trench Q	83 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89)
R: building R or entire trench	1 mother of pearl bead/pendant [from House R, unclear whether 2a or 2b] 1 fragment of human figurine 1 fragment of animal figurine (Mellaart 1970c:47, 54, 160; Fig.244) [as for pottery, it remains unclear whether "R.II" refers to the building, or the trench in general]
B: building B.1	1 fragment of human figurine 1 "clay mould" and 5 pestles at least 2 monochrome ceramic vessels (2 displayed in figures, 4 displayed on distribution plan (Mellaart 1970c:51) 10 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (10 displayed in figures, 10 displayed on inventory and distribution plan (Mellaart 1970c:41, 51) 4 fragments of stone vessels "found on the floor of a burnt house (BIIA)"; 1 more fragment listed p.152 without context ochre clumps, "paint cups, palettes, modelling tools, clay lades" and many unused ceramic bowls (Mellaart 1970c: 30-31, 41, 51, 150, 152; Figs.75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 244, Pl.116c) [the plate and figure captions do not specify whether "B.II" refers to the building B.1, or the trench in general, but the distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:51 shows that at least the ceramic vessels were found inside B.1]
A.1	2 fragments of human figurine 1 greenstone pestle "polished stone axes" deposited in two postholes 1 ceramic vessels with painted decoration A.1 and B [together?] had four "querns and mortars covered with red and yellow ochre" ochre clumps, "paint cups, palettes, modelling tools, clay lades" and many unused ceramic jars (Mellaart 1970c:30-31; Fig.78) [assuming that "A.III" is an error meaning "A.II.I"], Figs.174, 238, 244
A.2	1 fragment of standing female figurine blue apatite beads [unclear whether 2a or 2b] six "querns and mortars covered with red and yellow ochre" ochre clumps, "paint cups, palettes, modelling tools, clay lades" and many unused oval ceramic cups either A.1 or A.2 also had a "clay bin filled with clay" (Mellaart 1970c: 30-31, 159; Fig.240)
A.3	1 polished bone bead/pendant [unclear whether 2a or 2b]

	2 fragments of human figurine (Mellaart 1970c:160; Pl.244)
south court	“pottery was rare in the south court and all of it was fragmentary” Mellaart 1970c:31)
P.1 (part of ‘shrine’)	11 monochrome ceramic vessels (11 displayed in figures, none displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:52) 25 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (25 displayed in figures, 4 displayed on inventory and distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:42, 52) (Mellaart 1970c:42, 52; Figs.75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 89)
P.3 (part of ‘shrine’)	5 monochrome ceramic vessels (5 displayed in figures, 5 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:52) 6 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (6 displayed in figures, 23 displayed on inventory and distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:42, 52) 1 fragment of a stone slab standing upright <i>in situ</i> (Mellaart 1970c:36, 42, 52; Figs.75, 76, 78, 81, 82, 83, 85, 90, 91)
	N.B.: There is a discrepancy between the number of vessels for P.1 and P.3 stated on the distribution map 1970c:52, and that counted based on the figure caption. On the distribution map (Mellaart 1970c:52), P.1 and P.3 seem to have been treated as a unit as indicated by the consecutive numbering of painted vessels. They together have 27 vessels on the distribution map, which is roughly congruent with the 31 painted vessels listed in the figures. There however remains uncertainty as to why apparently many painted vessels listed as P.1 in the figures were actually found in P.3 according to the distribution map. Also note that vessel no.19 displayed as inventory of P.1+3 on (Mellaart 1970c:42) is not on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:52)
P.2 (courtyard)	15 monochrome ceramic vessels (15 displayed in figures, 2 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:52) 20 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (20 displayed in figures, 17 displayed on inventory and distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:43, 52) (Mellaart 1970c:43, 52; Figs.75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 90, 91)
P.5 (courtyard)	1 ceramic vessel with painted decoration (1 displayed in figures, 3 displayed on inventory and distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:52) (Mellaart 1970c: 43, 52, Fig.79)
	N.B.: Note that the P.5 displayed on the plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20) is instead labelled P.2a on the inventory and distribution map (Mellaart 1970c:44, 52), which also numbers all painted vessels from both rooms consecutively 1-20. If treating P.2 and P.5 as a unit, 21 painted vessels are listed in the figures and 20 displayed on the map.
P.4 (courtyard)	1 grooved polishing stone 1 macehead

	<p>at least 4 monochrome ceramic vessels (4 displayed in figures, 9 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:52)</p> <p>at least 16 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (17 displayed in figures, 16 displayed on inventory 1970c:44, 18 displayed on distribution plan, Mellaart 1970c:44, 52) (Mellaart 1970c:44, 52; Figs.75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 91, 172, 173)</p>
	N.B.: Note that the vessel numbering in P.4 is faulty on the distribution map Mellaart 1970c:52), there are two '7's and two '2's
Area P	<p>2 antler handles 2 worked bone objects</p> <p>4 ceramic vessels with painted decoration</p> <p>“after a disastrous fire everything was left in situ, including nearly a hundred pots” (Mellaart 1970c:34) within the Trench P area, probably including the vessels listed above for individual rooms and courtyards (Mellaart 1970c:34, 160-153; Figs.79, 81, 83, 170)</p>
O.1	4 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.78, 81)
Area F	1 fragment of a stone vessel (Mellaart 1970c:152)
Area L	1 worked bone object [unclear whether 2a or 2b] (Mellaart 1970c:163)
Area M	1 worked bone object [unclear whether 2a or 2b] (Mellaart 1970c:163)

Table 36 Hacilar IIa: Reconstructed building inventories.

Q.1	5 fragments of stone vessels [of which some are without level attribution on p.152, but described as from 2b on p.150] (Mellaart 1970c:150, 152)
Q.2	2 fragments of stone vessels [of which some are without level attribution on p.152, but described as from 2b on p.150] Mellaart 1970c: 150, 152)

Q.3	4 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.95, 96, 97)
Q.4	1 ceramic vessel with painted decoration (1 displayed in figures, 4 displayed on inventory and distribution plan, Mellaart 1970c:47, 54) 1 stone axe with antler handle (Mellaart 1970c: 47, 54, 158; Fig.95)
Q.7	1 ceramic vessel with painted decoration (none displayed in figures, 1 displayed on inventory and distribution plan, Mellaart 1970c:47, 54)
	N.B.: the inventories of Q.4 and Q.7 are displayed together on the inventory and distribution maps (Mellaart 1970c:47, 54) for unknown reasons.
Q.10	2 monochrome vessels [displayed on distribution map, Mellaart 1970c:54]
Area Q	2 ceramic vessel with painted decoration [displayed to be located in the 'southwest gate' on the distribution map Mellaart 1970c:47, 54] (Mellaart 1970c:47, 54, Fig.95)
N.0	5 monochrome ceramic vessels 3 ceramic vessel with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.90, 91, 93, 96)
N.1	5 monochrome ceramic vessels (5 displayed in figures, 0 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:45, 53) at least 5 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (5 displayed in figures, 6 displayed on inventory and distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:45, 53) (Mellaart 1970c:45, 53, Figs.90, 91, 96, 97, 99)
N.2	7 monochrome ceramic vessels (7 displayed in figures, 0 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:53) (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.90)
N.3	2 monochrome ceramic vessels (2 displayed in figures, 0 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:53) (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.90)
N.4	1 grooved polishing stone 3 fragments of stone vessels 7 monochrome ceramic vessels (7 displayed in figures, 1 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:53) 13 ceramic vessel with painted decoration (13 displayed in figures, 11 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:53,

	<p>11 in inventory Mellaart 1970c:46) (Mellaart 1970c:46, 53, 162; Figs.90, 91, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 173)</p>
N.5	<p>7 monochrome ceramic vessels (7 displayed in figures, 3 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:53)</p> <p>2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (2 displayed in figures, 3 displayed on inventory and distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:46, 53 of which one however is displayed outside the building) (Mellaart 1970c:46, 53; Figs.90, 91, 94, 99)</p>
N.6	<p>2 fragments of stone vessels [of which one is without level attribution on p.152, but described as from 2b on p.150]</p> <p>2 monochrome ceramic vessels (2 displayed in figures, 0 displayed on distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:53) (Mellaart 1970c:53, 150, 152; Figs.90, 91)</p>
N.8	<p>1 fragment of standing figurine</p> <p>possibly 5 vessels with painted decoration (5 vessels are displayed in inventory Mellaart 1970c:45, but none on the distribution plan Mellaart 1970c:53 and none in the figure lists) (Mellaart 1970c:45, 177; Fig.243)</p>
Area N “outside [enclosure] wall” / “north of granary”	<p>3 monochrome ceramic vessels 5 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.90, 94, 96)</p>
Area N court	<p>1 monochrome ceramic vessels 2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (2 displayed on figures, 1 or 2 on inventory Mellaart 1970c:45, none displayed on distribution map p.53) (Mellaart 1970c:45 Figs.90, 93, 94)</p>
Area N	<p>2 monochrome ceramic vessels 1 ceramic vessel with painted decoration (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.91, 99)</p>
Area L; “very end of Hacilar IIB, from L.II floor, a closed deposit” 1970c:Fig.85; labelled “L.IIT” on inventory 1970c:48	<p>12-13 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (12 displayed on figures, 13 on inventory Mellaart 1970c:48) (Mellaart 1970c:48, Figs.95, 98, 99)</p>
Area R	<p>2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (1 displayed on figures, 1 displayed on distribution map and inventory Mellaart 1970c:47, 54 in the courtyard outside building R) (Mellaart 1970c: 47, 54, Figs.94, 95)</p>
Area B	<p>1 fragment of a stone vessel</p> <p>5 ceramic vessel with painted decoration (5 displayed on figures, 4 displayed on distribution map and inventory Mellaart 1970c:50, 56 in courtyard south of A.2)</p>

	(Mellaart 1970c: 50, 56, 152; Figs.93, 94, 95)
A.1	<p>1 fragment of a stone vessel 1 macehead 2 mortars 1 grinding stone</p> <p>6 monochrome ceramic vessels (6 displayed on figures, 6 displayed on distribution map, Mellaart 1970c:55)</p> <p>8 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (8 displayed on figures, 8 displayed on distribution map and inventory Mellaart 1970c:49, 55 of which 3 area found in the possibly unroofed area in front of the house) (Mellaart 1970c:49, 55, 152; Figs.90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98, 172, Pl.116f)</p>
A.2	<p>2 fragments of stone vessels 3 “querns for the preparation of paint”</p> <p>3 monochrome ceramic vessels (3 displayed on figures, none displayed on distribution map, Mellaart 1970c:55)</p> <p>24 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (24 displayed on figures, 24 displayed on distribution map and inventory, Mellaart 1970c:50, 56) (Mellaart 1970c:50, 56, 152; Figs.90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, Pl.116d)</p>
A.4	<p>2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (0 displayed on figures, 1 displayed on distribution map and inventory Mellaart 1970c:50, 56) (Mellaart 1970c:50, 56)</p>
	N.B.: the distribution map Mellaart 1970c:56 includes the area labelled A.4 on the plan Mellaart 1970c:Fig.20 with the A.2 inventory, also including 3 vessels from what seems to be a pit/disturbance
A.1./A.2	<p>4 palettes with one “rubbing stone” 1 monochrome ceramic vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.91, Pl.116e)</p>
A.3 = part of west court	<p>1 fragment of a stone vessel</p> <p>1 monochrome ceramic vessel (Mellaart 1970c:152; Fig.90)</p>
Area A, North court	<p>2 monochrome ceramic vessels (2 displayed on figures, none displayed on distribution map and inventory Mellaart 1970c:55)</p> <p>13-15 ceramic vessel with painted decoration (13 displayed on figures, 15 displayed on distribution map and inventory Mellaart 1970c:49, 55)</p>

	[note that these vessels are listed as 'Area A' in the figures, but the distribution map Mellaart 1970c:55 shows that at least the 13-15 painted vessels are from the north court] (Mellaart 1970c:49, 55, Figs.90, 95, 96)
P.2	1 fragment of a stone vessel (Mellaart 1970c:152)
Area P	2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration [2 displayed on figures (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.96, 99), 2 on inventory (Mellaart 1970c:48)]
Area C	1 monochrome ceramic vessel 1-2 ceramic vessels with painted decoration [1 displayed on figures Mellaart 1970c: Fig.90, 98), 2 on inventory (Mellaart 1970c:48)]

Table 37 Hacilar IIb: Reconstructed building inventories.

figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 29 Hacilar I: plan of excavated structures (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.29).

Hacılar Iab

figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 30 Hacılar I: reconstruction of settlement layout by Mellaart (1970c:Fig.35).

Introducing Hacılar I

Settlement development

Construction of Level Ia

Mellaart (1970c:75-77), envisaged that the entire settlement ('fortress') was built in one concerted action (Level Ia) which later was only repaired or slightly restructured a few times (Level Ib) and then destroyed also in one contemporary (and hostile) event: "nowhere have we been able to distinguish between parts that were built earlier and others that were built later [...]. As far as one can see the whole fortress

was laid out and constructed in a single building operation and this is fully supported by the extensive levelling operations undertaken on the lower slopes of the mound preparatory to the actual building process” (Mellaart 1960:94). There is, however, evidence that not all buildings were constructed at the same time.

First, the schematic section provided by Mellaart (1970c:Fig.32, also stated 1959:56, 1970c:80) shows that the floor levels varied between neighbouring structures; up to 0.5m as between Rooms 11 and 12. Although the buildings could in theory have been built at the same time onto uneven ground (although Mellaart 1970c:75, 77 reconstructed a major levelling event on the mound prior to the construction of Level I, after which the ground was so level that “over a length of 70 m the variation is a mere 15cm”), these floor level differences might also indicate that some houses were built later than others, their floor levels higher because debris had already collected between pre-existing structures. Rosenstock (2010a:26) further suggested that the Hacilar I plan as published might be a composite of two not exactly contemporary house blocks between which there is no direct stratigraphical connection (no connection through a wall) and which are oriented slightly differently. The argument of orientation might be less convincing given that many walls are not exactly aligned; but the cross-section (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.32) also shows that the northern block had floor level higher than the southern block, so there might actually be a time gap between the construction of both.

The strongest piece of evidence for a contemporary, concerted construction of the entire Level I village is the fact that Mellaart with very few exceptions (between Rooms 1 and 5, one wall of Room 18) did not observe any gaps between walls; accordingly all walls would be one single construction. Most walls are, however, so thick that they might easily represent two parallel walls, belonging to two independently built houses, as already suggested by Rosenstock (2010a:26). Mellaart described that the walls were mostly built with rows of parallel bricks, and only rarely in a header-and-stretcher technique: “The long, narrow mudbricks, measuring 63 x 30 x 12 cm (pl. x L 1 vb), were sometimes bonded, but more often than not laid as stretchers (pl. x L va). Bonding was not a necessity, for the walls were on average 2 m thick, and sometimes more [up to 4m]” Mellaart (1970c:75). This suggests that walls were made from several parallel rows of bricks that were rarely bonded; from this side it is possible to reconstruct parallel walls. Maybe the very narrow gaps between such walls remained undetected in an excavation that moved quickly (see remarks about Mellaart’s excavation speed above, Hacilar II) and also did not use shade (see Rosenstock 2010a:27 who states that excavating mudbrick architecture is handicapped if not done under shade). In retrospect, this

cannot be verified any more; the excavation photos (Mellaart 1970c:Pls.40-49) show the walls as monolithic blocks with very few details; maybe one photo (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.45a) shows a thicker Room 5 wall built from clearly distinguished bricks next to a thinner Room 6 wall made from different bricks (Rosenstock 2010a:26).

In conclusions, not all houses might have been built at the same time and there might therefore have been more organic growth of the settlement than indicated by Mellaart's reconstruction, but this cannot any more be securely reconstructed, and in any case it remains unknown which structures were earlier and which later, so that this insight cannot be used here. All buildings will be treated as more or less contemporary.

Abandonment of Level Iab, and Levels Icd

Mellaart (1970c:86-87) reconstructed that the 'fortress' was victim of an attack that burnt it completely, killed some of the residents and induced most of the others to leave the place. Whether or not this attack and fire represents a likely scenario for the end of Level Iab will be discussed below (Warfare). Following the event, Mellaart continues to interpret, the remaining survivors, drastically reduced in numbers, built a few non-substantial buildings described alternately as "unimpressive", "poverty-stricken" and "miserable hovels", and also used unroofed areas as courtyards (Level Ic). They were constructed partially over the non-to-badly burned Block B, which was levelled for that purpose, but mostly in the former courtyard area; i.e. over the Level II remains. That is his interpretation of finding the stone foundations of otherwise not preserved, thin walls over Block B of the 'fortress' and in Trenches C, H, N and Q (Mellaart 1958:139-131, 1959:56-58, 1970c:Fig.36, 40). The interior of the buildings was also not well preserved, for example no hearth was found in a building. Some buildings had repairs and modifications (Level Id), but the survivors did not continue to live at Hacilar for long, and the mound was eventually abandoned.

When reconstructing Level Icd in this manner, Mellaart seems to have forgotten to take into account that it was directly below the mound surface, and how disturbed surface levels typically were at the site; and that although he himself describes this: The Icd buildings were "in a deplorable state of preservation, for not only was the upper part of the mound badly denuded, but these stone foundations have been a quarry for building material since Hellenistic times. As a result the surface of the

mound was pockmarked with holes and the robber trenches were filled Hacılar I, Hellenistic, and modern pottery and other rubbish” (Mellaart 1970c:86).

The ‘miserable state’ of the Icd remains might, then, be less indicative of the state of its prehistoric builders/ residents, and more of site destruction processes post-Chalcolithic. here it suffices to state that the remains postdating the fortress might have been more substantial than the state of their preservation or the extent of Mellaart’s excavations make them seem, but Level Icd cannot be researched here, consisting on only a few disjointed fragments of buildings.

room	
1	[living room]
2	[living room]
3	may have been a guard room (also Mellaart 1959:59), but then interpreted as a living room later (Mellaart 1970c:80)
4	[living room]
5	[living room]
6	[living room]
7	open porch, which was turned into a room in Ib by adding a wall
10	corridor or storage room (also Mellaart 1959:59)
11	[living room]
12	may have been a guard room (also Mellaart 1959:59)
13	corridor
14	corridor or storage room
15	corridor
16	corridor or storage room
18	[living room]
19	[living room]
20	[living room]
22	passage
24	[living room]
25	[living room]
Unroofed spaces	
8	courtyard
9	entrance to fortress (Mellaart 1970c:77, 81)
17 / 23	courtyard
21	courtyard

Table 38 Hacılar I: Room functions according to Mellaart (1970c:80).

Settlement size, layout and reconstructing building units

Most of Level I was excavated in a large trench (Trench E) in the southeastern part of the site. Mellaart excavated a dense cluster of 20 rooms and four separate courtyard areas¹⁰; the excavated rooms form two room clusters separated by one of the courtyards. Based on the fact that he found additional walls also attributed to Level I in other trenches at a distance from the main excavation area of Level I (Blocks a/B in Trench E), Mellaart (1970c:77, 80-82, Fig.35) reconstructed that this level formed a ring of blocks similar to that excavated in Trench E; this ring of building blocks together formed the “fortress”. And around this ring-shaped fortress might have been additional settlement space: “As no excavations were carried out beyond the walls of the fortress it is still impossible to say whether this complex stood by itself, as we believe, or formed the citadel and nucleus of a more extensive township” (Mellaart 1970c:77). The reconstruction of the ring should be doubted; within the complex stratigraphy of Hacilar, Mellaart would not have been able to securely identify building remains found in Trenches C, H P or N (Mellaart 1970c:77, 80-81, Fig.35) as part of Level I (in Trench E), with which it had no direct stratigraphical connection (also Rosenstock 2010a:24). Where found, the supposed Level I remains in the other trenches further seem to have been badly preserved (Mellaart 1970c:77). This analysis will therefore be restricted to the remains in E.

The fortress itself seems to have been residential space in Mellaart’s view. He (Mellaart 1970c:77) seemed to envisage each house block at Hacilar I, or the entire village, functioning not as a discrete household residence, but through a kind of communal usage mode: “this was not a village of individual houses sheltering behind a defensive wall, but probably a fortress of a ruler who had command of considerable human resources”. Many of the rooms and spaces are by him not reconstructed as living areas (Table 38); that leaves only seven living rooms in Block A and five in Block B, some of which are connected by doors. Even though he does not provide details of the social organisation of the place, he seems to envisage either some kind of closely functioning of the Hacilar I community (which he estimated at 300-500 people, Mellaart 1970c:85), which was precisely not made up from households with distinct residences (Mellaart 1960:94) but a group of people who collectively used a block of rooms with different purposes. Or an entire building block was an elite residence: “Alternatively the whole of block A may have been conceived as a multi-roomed building, the residence of the 'ruler' of Hacilar I”

¹⁰ The plan (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.29) lists 25 rooms and courtyard spaces, but the pottery inventory (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.111) reports a vessel from a Room 26, which might be the narrow room north of Room 20 of which only a fragment was excavated.

(Mellaart 1970c:85).

Rosenstock (2010a:25) has offered the alternative view that Hacilar I could, instead of as a monolithic fortress, be reconstructed as a cluster of individual buildings or houses; this might be the case whether they were built contemporary or not, but the above postulated possibility that not all rooms or houses were built at the same time only reinforces an interpretation as a house cluster. Schachner (1999:139-140) has also interpreted Hacilar I as an agglutinating village made up of individual houses, so seemingly have Cutting (2005b:102-103) and Düring (2011c:172), but without stating any reasons for their opinion.

Accepting an interpretation of Hacilar I as a cluster of individual houses, however, does not actually make things easier. Reconstructing residential units at Hacilar I is a challenge. Some rooms are connected by door openings, and might have functioned together (see Schachner 1999:Fig.72, who reconstructs all rooms connected by doors as functioning together, i.e. interpreting Rooms 4, 11, 10 and 14 as one house; and similarly Cutting 2005b:102). Some rooms seem too small and narrow to be residential, but three such rooms (16, 18, 22) do not (on ground level) seem to be connected to any others, and in two other cases, two such small and narrow rooms (3+12, 10+14) are connected by doors, but still the combined internal space remains limited. The lack of clarity as to second stories (below) complicates this even further. The distribution of hearths also does not bring clarity; Rooms 1+2 and 3+12 are connected, but each have a hearth, making that two hearths in what could be a single residence. By contrast, some large rooms have no hearth (Rooms 19, 20, 25, 24). In conclusion, it seems to be most prudent to not decide on a reconstruction of residential units at Hacilar I, i.e. not to offer a reconstruction of which rooms function together as a house. This necessarily makes the analysis of household autonomy and social stratification, which both rely on comparing houses between each other, more vague. In the following, I will work from the assumption that Hacilar I was made up from household residences, but we will see that it is actually rather difficult to research Hacilar I in this way (see especially Household autonomy, House layouts and House furnishing).

Building formation processes: house inventories and roomfill

Mellaart interpreted all or most roomfill as collapse from upper stories (Mellaart 1975:118): “During the conflagration the upper floor collapsed into the lower rooms forming a black greasy ashy deposit, often as much as 2 m thick, filled with pottery,

objects, charred wood and the grisly remains of the burnt skeletons, especially children, who had been trapped in the burning furnace” (Mellaart 1970c:76). Apart from the fire and collapse, the buildings as found therefore, according to Mellaart, were preserved in their normal use status (e.g. “tools of all sorts or articles of jewellery are less common than one might have expected in a burnt settlement” Mellaart 1970c:82) and also not disturbed much afterwards (“the sealed deposits of the burnt fortress”, Mellaart 1970c:86) other than that part of Block B were levelled before Ic was built (Mellaart 1970c:86).

The question of whether not the roomfills actually represent the normal house inventories is of paramount importance for a number of issues in this section, and therefore needs to be discussed. I suggest that Mellaart’s interpretation might be incorrect. First, there might have been more disturbance of the roomfills than he recognised; second, the identification of that roomfill as collapse needs to be questioned.

As to the state of preservation: Some walls of Level Ia stand 2m high (Mellaart 1959:52, 1970c:76) when excavated, but Mellaart describes all Level I remains found in Trenches N, C and H as quite disturbed (Mellaart 1970c:77, 81) and also in parts of Block B, Level Ia walls were not very high (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.32, Pls.47-48)—not surprising, because “The fortress at Hacilar lies directly beneath the surface” (Mellaart 1959:52, 1970c:Fig.32). The better preserved rooms could have contained a large mass of undisturbed roomfill, but the upper few deposits in each room (and that being most of the fill in some of the rooms that only were preserved 0.5-1m high, Mellaart 1970c:Fig.32) should not be regarded as “sealed”: whether they were reused for construction in Level Ic, or were left open for erosion for a few millennia, site formation processes might have altered them significantly and that is especially important to assess artefact assemblages. Note for example a comment made on a human-shaped vessel found in Room 6: “lower part missing, but sherd of base found at bottom of robber’s hole in room 6, in 1958” (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.249.2). This statement not only indicates disturbances in Room 6, but also that some of the complete vessels displayed in the publication were actually reconstructed from sherds found in different places within the rooms.

Mellaart only offers glimpses of the nature of what must have been many cubic tons of roomfill removed from the ‘fortress’. A few details can be reconstructed from the published material. The main matrix that made up the roomfills seems to have been ash and charcoal (see the above citation). The schematic section drawing (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.32) mentions “traces of burnt beam” in Room 5 about 1m

above the floor. Mudbricks or mudbrick fragments were also found in the roomfill (Mellaart 1970c:83); maybe also plaster, because the upper storey is reconstructed with plaster (Mellaart 1960:94, 96). Mellaart (1970c:75) also stresses the “fattiness” of the deposits that he attributes to animal fats kept in the upper storey. Any Early Chalcolithic animal fat would, however, of course have been decomposed after such a long period of time; maybe the soapy feeling did instead stem from the high ash content of the deposits. There unfortunately are no photos of the buildings before they were excavated to floor level; and only a single section drawings record information on roomfill: a drawing (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.38) shows Room 5 to be filled from top to bottom with “loose earth, clinker and burnt bricks” (note that the layer of “burnt beams” within the roomfill noted in Mellaart 1970c:Fig.32 is not shown in Mellaart 1970c:Fig.38).

As for artefacts, a photo (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.50b), showing a detail of the western part of Rooms 1, where a crushed, but complete pot was found next to a posthole (also see Mellaart 1970c:Fig.29), is captioned “Room I, with the only pot found *in situ* in the fortress”. This must indicate that not much was otherwise found on the floors, at least no pottery; that is probably also why he (Mellaart 1970c:57-74) provides lists of vessels per room, but no maps of their finds locations as he had done for Level II (Mellaart 1970c:41-56). That leaves open the question of where the large amounts of sherds were found that come from Level I: “The quantity of pottery found in the burnt fortress is exceptional; a sherd count approached the hundred thousand mark. How many pots there were in the fortress at the time of the destruction we have not yet been able to work out, but an average of twenty to thirty reconstructable pots per room is the minimum” (Mellaart 1959:58, similarly Mellaart 1959:52, 1970c:82, 1975:118). Since not a lot of unroofed areas of Level I were excavation, much of this pottery must have come from roomfill; although possibly not always from undisturbed roomfill, but rather in disturbed deposits overlaying the better preserved parts of Level I. Some of the finds from Room 3 are labelled “lower floor” or “upper floor” (Table 40), indicating that some artefacts were found between the two floors; these can be relatively securely attributed to some use or abandonment process of Hacilar Ia.

However, Mellaart also seems to have changed his mind about aspects of the interpretation of roomfills. The report of the 1959 season states that “That these lower rooms were used is proved by the presence of hearths, benches, post- and potholes, ochre querns and a number of pots and sherds found *in situ* on the floors which are invariably covered with a thick layer of decayed rushes. In one or two rooms we found the impressions of mats. Only a few passages south of the

courtyard were empty and devoid of any vestiges of occupation (Rooms 10, 13-16)" (Mellaart 1960:94). He thus mentioned more pottery on the floors, and also the querns might have been found on floors. In the 1970 book there is a statement that also seems to contradict the above cited remark of only one pot found on a floor: "There was pottery in all the rooms of block B [...] In contrast to block B only one pot was found *in situ* (pl.Lb) in block A, in room I" (Mellaart 1970c:83). Since this does not explicitly state that pottery was found "in situ" (on the floor) in block B, however, the conclusion remains that the pot in Room 1 might have been the only one. The impression remains, however, that Mellaart was not always in full control of untangling the formation processes of the roomfill. In this respect, it is also important to notice that the pottery inventory in the final publication indicates that the excavator himself was not sure where some of the (nearly) complete vessels were found: there is a number of vessels with descriptions such as "I.22 25" or "I.3/4. Upper floor" (Mellaart 1970c:74, Fig.118; see Table 40 for all cases). This suggests either problems with the accuracy of recording; or with attributing artefacts from difficult-to-read surface deposits to rooms; or both.

No exactly finds locations are mentioned for the other artefacts that can be attributed to rooms (Tables 40-41), but most likely they were found in the roomfill. More artefacts might have been present but was not collected, given that the team did not sieve the removed soil. Mellaart explicitly mentioned that no carbonised grain and only few animals bones were found Mellaart (1970c:76, 82; i.e. no grain clusters recognisable to the eye, without sieving). Slightly enigmatic is the remark that "On the floors rested a 10 cm-thick deposit of vegetable material, the remains of rushes or matting" (Mellaart 1970c:75, also 1959:54). Since it cannot refer to non-charred organic material, it might refer to ash or maybe phytoliths.

Also mysterious is a statement by Cutting (2005b:102) about Hacilar I saying that "some of the aspects of most interest to this research (the exact location of *in situ* cooking vessels or grindstone tools, for example) were unrecorded". It is not clear on what she bases her knowledge that such cooking and grinding equipment was found on floors. She mentioned as to her sources that "Dr. French and, particularly, Professor Mellaart provided further insights into the excavations" (Cutting 2005b:95), it is therefore possible that Cutting was told such artefacts were found in Level I by one of the excavation members; if not, the remark is best ignored.

Based on the very limited evidence on roomfills, it is possible to make two statements. First, Mellaart skims over the description of this supposed collapse, and because it can be expected that his speedy excavation style did not involve a

detailed investigation of the roomfill deposits and the ways in which they could be reconstructed as collapse, they cannot with certainty be seen as collapse. Collapsing buildings leave a very specific signature (e.g. Friesem et al. 2014b) that does not seem consistent with what Mellaart encountered, which seems to rather have encountered rooms filled with a jumble of objects and sediments. For example, if Mellaart were to for example interpret the layer of “burnt beam” in Room 5 at 1m above the floor (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.32) as collapse, he would need to explain how it was that the building collapsed in a way that 1m of fill accumulated in the basement before the ceiling of the upper floor collapsed. Further, it seems odd that he seemingly perceived to have found collapsed upper stories in every or nearly every room, and yet had so little to go by when reconstructing them (Mellaart 1970c:83-84). He for example remarks that “ovens are absent, but they may have been present in the upper floor” (Mellaart 1970c:84)—but would he not have found remains of ovens or hearth in the collapse?

Maybe a few rooms did actually contain collapse; but Mellaart’s style of describing the Level I architectural remains is so cursory and generalising (see below, Warfare) that it must be assumed that he extrapolated observations made in a few rooms to all rooms. The roomfills might instead represent intentional infill post-abandonment (through middening or concerted infill, or both), or natural erosion; the fact that they were “filled with pottery, objects, charred wood” might rather indicate the former.

Second, with only one explicitly mentioned exception (the pot in Room 1), all other Level I artefacts seem to come from the roomfill, or unroofed areas. Combined with my suggestion that the roomfills might not actually represent the collapsed upper stories, it must be stated that it remains unclear in what relation these artefacts are to the house itself, if they are not the original inventory.

Upper and lower stories

Mellaart (1970c:76, 83, Fig.31) reconstructed upper stories for the entire Level I village, and all architecture researchers accept these upper stories (Cutting 2005b:101; Düring 2011c:172; Eslick 1988:22; Schachner 1999:139). His main argument was the find of collapse inside the ‘basements’, disproven by me above. Even without this collapse, there is relatively convincing evidence for such upper stories: all of the larger rooms had buttresses or posts that would have supported an upper storey. Mellaart (1970c:76) additionally argued that many rooms are too

small to be used as living spaces, instead probably functioning as storage rooms to an upper storey; this argument might be true for example for Room 16, which is not connected to any other; but other small rooms are connected with each other (Room 3+12, 4+11+10+14). I would conclude that it can neither be verified nor disproven that such stories existed at Hacilar I; and work from the assumption that they might have existed.

With upper stories tentatively accepted, a reconstruction of how they functioned in combination with lower stories is influenced by my above statement that the buildings as found, roomfill and inventories, might not be equivalent to the building as existed in the past. Mellaart's reconstruction of the nature of the upper stories (Mellaart 1970c:83-84) is based on his assumption that the materials found in the basements represented the collapsed upper stories. Based on the mixture of charred wood, ash and pottery, he reconstructed them to be mainly from wood. Other details, such as columns and verandas, are admittedly conjectural and based on Mellaart's observation of "Anatolian village architecture" of the 1950s; they are probably best ignored. Not accepting the roomfill as collapse, upper stories might also have looked different, for example been made from mudbrick. Mellaart (1970c:8-81, Fig.30) reconstructs staircases for some houses, but access between the stories might also have been via ladders.

Since "The basements were fairly empty except for the contents of the collapsed upper storey" (Mellaart 1975:118, also 1970c:83, cf 1960:94 as cited above) reconstructs that they were not used much for living or work purposes, at least not during the warmer months when the outside could be used for activities. This remark is somewhat surprising since hearths were found in nearly all rooms that he considers to be living areas, not storage rooms or corridors. It must be based on his belief that the entire village was burnt in a sudden hostile attack, and that the houses were therefore preserved in their normal use status (see above). If the basements were busy activity areas, Mellaart would have expected to find pots and tools on the floor. If not accepting the reconstruction of a sudden destruction (see below, Warfare), this argument does not hold up and the presence of hearths suggest that the basements were in fact used as a regular part of the house.

Household autonomy and community integration

When discussing the Level I architectural remains, Mellaart mainly concentrates on a reconstruction and description of the settlement/'fortress' as a whole, its size and layout; details of walls, building materials, and room interiors are described only very briefly and in a generalising manner that suggests great uniformity, but might skip over some important differences. I refer to statements such as "During the conflagration the upper floor collapsed into the lower rooms forming a black greasy ashy deposit, often as much as 2 m thick, filled with pottery, objects, charred wood and the grisly remains of the burnt skeletons, especially children, who had been trapped in the burning furnace" (Mellaart 1970c:76). It requires a thorough reading of the entire chapter on Hacilar I and some of the preliminary reports to find out that skeletons were only found in Rooms 5-6 (Mellaart 1960:96); that not all rooms were equally burnt (Block B was less affected, Mellaart 1970c:86); and that charred wood is in the remainder of the source only specifically mentioned for Room 5 (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.32). This manner of reporting lowers confidence in the accuracy of Mellaart's reconstruction of Hacilar I as concerns, for example, upper stories and subphasing; but also might misrepresent the facts by overestimating the uniformity of the built environment, and downplaying the individualities of different buildings. This needs to be kept in mind for the following.

House layouts

Rooms vary strongly in size, and also in layout (#38), from square rooms to long and narrow rooms, with varying numbers of buttresses or posts. Some rooms are accessible on ground floor and others not (Mellaart 1970c:76). Some rooms might have been used together in a residence, connected by doors (e.g. Rooms 3+12) or maybe belonging to the same upper storey; this might make house sizes and layouts even more variable.

Apart from the discussed above possibility that houses were not built at the same time (Settlement development), there also seem to have been smaller changes to individual buildings. Mellaart (1959:54, 1970c:76) attributed them all to the same renewal phase (Ib), but does not actually seem to think they were all done at the same time: "Certain repairs and alteration were made in phase IB [...] The alterations were fairly simple: buttresses were strengthened or enlarged, walls doubled, porticos enclosed, and higher floor levels were laid". Each building seems to also have changed idiosyncratically (#39).

Room	Modification or repair
2	the wall were “patched” (Mellaart 1959:54)
3	second floor layer (Mellaart 1959:54)
4	probably a second floor layer (Mellaart 1959:54)
6	second floor layer (Mellaart 1959:54, 1970c:Fig.32) a second wall built into the room in front of the north wall (Mellaart 1959:54, 1970c:Fig.29, 32) eastern buttress not bonded to wall (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.29) – added later (Mellaart 1959:54) [also displayed in 1970c:Fig.37, which is incorrectly captioned ‘Room 5’ – but compare the subfloor burials displayed in Fig.37 against the statement “In the vast ruins of the fortress of Hacilar I only five graves were found all placed below the IB floor of room 6” Mellaart 1970c:89)
8	two different walking levels a buttress/ wall feature added to the outside of Room 6 (Mellaart 1959:54)
7	open porch, which was turned into a room in Ib by adding a wall (Mellaart 1970c:80) probably a second floor layer (Mellaart 1959:54)
11	probably a second floor layer (Mellaart 1959:54)
18	a later addition built in Ib against Room 19 (Mellaart 1970c:80, Fig.29)

Table 39 Hacilar I: building modifications.

House furnishing

In Block A, Mellaart had determined Rooms 1-2, 4-7 and 11 to be living rooms; the others to be corridors, store rooms or guard rooms (Table 38). Of the living rooms, Rooms 1-2 and 5-7 have hearths, 4 and 11 do not; and also some of the storeroom/ passages (Rooms 3 and 12) had hearths. The irregular distribution of hearths within a cluster of differently sizes rooms is reminiscent of Aşıklı Höyük, where this pattern is interpreted in terms of a group of not fully autonomous households sharing the same building block (‘neighbourhood’ Düring 2006:296, 2011c:64). This is actually not too dissimilar from the way Mellaart (1960:94, 1970c:77) seemed to envisage Hacilar I functioning. But the second stories adds an unknown factor; combined with the above observation of variable layouts, it could be that some houses had cooking installations on an upper storey (Mellaart 1970c:84); and that every house had a similar set of internal features, they were just differently distributed within the house. That remains speculation since the upper stories were not found; so there can essentially be no clarity as to whether every house had a hearth (#4) or

not (#72)—not to mention the lack of clarity as to where one house unit ends and the other starts (above, Reconstructing building units).

Nothing interpreted as food storage installation was found at Hacilar, the only possible exception being a wooden shelf that Mellaart (1970c:83) reconstructs for Room 5, but does not actually interpret as a food storage installation. The team also did not recover carbonised grain or clusters of animal bones (Mellaart 1970c:76, 82). In absence of direct evidence for storage within the excavated part of the village, one is at liberty to either interpret some of the smaller rooms as storage rooms (Mellaart 1970c:80); suspect that food was stored in an upper storey; or in places outside of the excavated area; or that it was stored in perishable containers in the excavated Rooms 1-25, but neither the containers nor the food itself is preserved, either because it was removed before/during abandonment or did not preserve. In any case, nothing at all can be said about storage and its relative availability to households (#5, #6, #72-#77).

The lack of clarity as to house borders also prevents a decision as to whether some residential units might have been connected by door (#66) or whether two or more households shared the same living space (#65). It seems possible, given that Rooms 1 and 2 each have a hearth, but are connected by a door; the same was the case for Rooms 3 and 12. Rooms 1 and 5 seem to have shared a retaining wall (#67) that shielded them from the rubble from the mound into which the level was cut (Mellaart 1970c:75); or, if not accepting the 'level I cut', then maybe something else, even wind or rain.

Building materials and construction techniques

Mellaart (1970c:77) has reconstructed the entire Level I as a fortress/village built communally, under the supervision of a "ruler", in one concerted construction event (#52), and this in his eyes evidenced by the fact that all the thick walls are the same construction, all bonding into each other (#54), with the same materials (below, #56, #57), and built onto a specially prepared level surface (#53). The latter, the 'level I cut', has been effectively disproven by Rosenstock (2010a). The above section on Settlement development has already discussed the possibility that that thick walls of Hacilar I do not, in fact, represent single walls between rooms (#54), but two parallel walls of individual rooms or houses (#12).

In accordance with his interpretation of the entire fortress as essentially one

building, Mellaart (1970c:75) described the construction style of all of Level I as rather uniform: on top of lime stone foundations, mudbrick walls were built, apparently using bricks of fairly standardised sizes; and bricks mostly laid parallel. Floors and walls were covered in clay plaster. There is no information of differences in mudbrick colour, other than that the repairs done in Level IB were done with different material, “black bricks set in green mortar” (Mellaart 1959:54, 1970c:76). The photos might indicate a greater variety of Ia mudbrick types that acknowledged in the text: Two excavation photos (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.42a and Pl45a) show that the wall between Rooms 5 and 6 apparently was built from different brick or different mortar, which makes the individual bricks much more clearly recognisable; this is also indicated on the plan drawing (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.29). Most other walls, as shown in the excavation photos, do not have as clearly recognisable bricks, the only exception being the slumping wall in Room 2 (Mellaart 1970c:Pls.40a+b, 44b). It seems possible, however, that only some walls were cleaned to a state where the bricks show up clearly in photos. And a remark from a preliminary report that “Once or twice twigs were laid in the mudbrick” (Mellaart 1960:96) indicates varieties in construction techniques. Most of the Level I walls were also never removed (see below, House-related ritual), so that Mellaart would never have gotten to study the details of for example brick laying techniques. Since first, the publications do not mention a greater variety of construction techniques and materials, overall they seem to have been similar (#56, #57).

House-related ritual

No symbolic house elaboration (#16-#17, #85-#86), either through immobile items (paintings, reliefs) or mobile items, was postulated either by Mellaart (1970c:92) or any other researcher; or in other words: the items found in houses are not seen as ritual.

As with all other burnt buildings in the study region, it should be questioned whether the Hacilar I house fires were of ritual nature (#22, #31) (see Düring 2011c:165 postulating this possibility for the Lake District LN/EC in general). In this particular case, however, there is little indication. Throughout this appendix, house fires are described as likely ritual in nature if first, every house burned in an idiosyncratic way, which cannot be asserted at Hacilar I because Mellaart does not describe the burning patterns on every house, only mentioning that they were less strong in Block B (Mellaart 1970c:86). Second, if there are other indications of

abandonment ritual or planned abandonment, such as cleaning, special deposits placed in the house, or removal of important features such as posts. No special deposits are reported (see above, Roomfills), but the fact that the houses (basements) were found without many artefacts and ecofacts in them could maybe be seen as evidence for planned abandonment. But ritual house burning cannot be deduced from the available evidence.

Since most of the Level I walls were never removed, and excavations did not reach beyond floor levels, there is no knowledge on building continuity (**#88**). For the same reason, burials under floors, or under or inside walls could not have been found for the most part. Mellaart reports that “In the vast ruins of the fortress of Hacilar I only five graves were found, all placed below the IB floor of room 6” in hocker position without burial gifts (Mellaart 1970c:89, also see Fig.37 which is incorrectly labelled ‘Room 5’, but must show Room 6). They were located at different locations under Room6, and one was a double burial (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.44). It is not entirely clear from the publications which rooms of Level I were excavated below floor level; mentioned are Room 5, under which a sondage into Levels XI-VI was made (Mellaart 1970c:9, Fig.38) and apparently Room 6, where the burials were found. But no excavation seems to have gone below the Ia floor of Room 6 (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.37), so that the only Ia floor removed was that of Room 5. It is likely that it actually were only these two rooms, since the excavations that reached deeper into the mound (Aceramic levels and Levels IX-VI) were all located in Trenches A-B and Q-P. In other words, the only room where building continuity or subfloor burials of Level Ia could have been investigated was Room 5. For Rooms 3-4, 6-7 and 11, a second (Ib) floor layer was recorded (Table 39) and probably removed to reach the Ia floor, but burials of Level Ib apparently only in Rooms 6.

In conclusion, it is not actually possible to state whether building continuity was present (**#88**); and the impression that all burials from Level I cluster in one room (Room 6, **#87**) is a product of the excavation strategy and might not represent actual burial pattern of Hacilar I; as is Mellaart’s (1975:119) conclusion that “the very few burials show that, like their predecessors, the Hacilar people buried their dead outside the settlement”. There is a possibility that the houseburning and human bones found in the roomfill of Rooms 5 and 6 were related to ritual house closure, but this cannot be confirmed any more (see below, Warfare). As an overall conclusion, very few traces of house-related ritual at all could be identified at Hacilar I.

Settlement layout

The buildings of Hacilar I cluster densely (#47); at least 6 rooms or room groups (Room 1+2, 5, 6, 16, 19, 25) had no access on ground level and therefore must have been accessed through the roof; or from an upper storey that was entered from the raised central courtyard (Mellaart 1970c:80; see below, Unroofed space). Within the excavated area, there seem to be two different room clusters (#49, Block A and Block B) separated by a courtyard space. Combined with the above outlined difficulty of distinguished individual residences inside these blocks, and the existence of a shared roofscape, these two blocks might have social meaning by presenting two separate close-knit groups of people or households.

Unroofed space

Within the area of Level I excavated within Trench E, three or four areas were found that Mellaart reconstructs as unroofed: an area around the 'gate' Room 9 west of Block A; an area shaped like a long, irregular rectangle between Blocks A and B (Rooms 17+23 which might or might not be connected to another unroofed space, Room 8); and a part of another small area east of Block B (Room 21). It is not mentioned in the publication how these areas were identified as unroofed; it is possible that the excavator encountered different types of deposits here that they identified as typical of courtyards. However, as with roomfill (see above), there also is only very cursory information of what characterised the courtyard deposits.

Focusing on what is reported from the courtyards: the central (17+23) and eastern (21) courtyards each had an oven, both seemingly attached to a wall (Mellaart 1970c:77) which however was not actually excavated in the case of Courtyard 21. Courtyard 17+23 also had two nearly parallel rows of postholes that are reconstructed by Mellaart (1970c:Fig.30, 1960:94) as fences but might also have been for example the support for a light roof (also note another fence in Room 21 reconstructed in Mellaart 1970c:Fig.30 that is not, however, displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Fig.29 as postholes). In Courtyard 9, some stones leaned against a wall that "prevented cattle or pack animals from damaging the brick walls (Mellaart 1970c:77) or had another purpose. As for artefacts, nearly only pottery is reported from the courtyards (Table 41); and here, similar to the roomfills, it should be doubted as to how representative these are of the original use of the space. Based on the ovens (#82) and postholes, it is possible to suggest that these courtyards were production spaces, maybe used by the entire community (Cutting 2005b:103).

Since the deposits are not described, it remains unknown whether there was any production waste or refuse disposal (#80). Mellaart (1970c:76) mentioned that “there is plenty of ammonia-stained pottery from the courtyards, which would have served the needs of sanitation in shelters of sticks, reeds and matting”, but it is not clear whether this refers to the courtyards in Trench E or others areas he considered part of Level I (see above, Settlement size); and the poor preservation of pottery might again be due to the fact that this layer was directly under the mound surface. Given the position of these courtyards (at least 17/23) between buildings makes it more likely that they were used communal than that they represent private courtyards (#46).

Further, if accepting Mellaart’s settlement reconstruction, there would have been an interior courtyard of substantial size in the center of the ‘fortress’: within the ring of house blocks, Mellaart (1970c:77) reconstruct a courtyard of 100m diameter that “was apparently devoid of buildings and could have been used for sheltering animals and peasants from the surrounding countryside in case of danger”. As described above with Level II, Mellaart reconstructed a curious relationship between Levels I and II, whereby Level I was built onto an excavated and levelled area that surrounded the old mound in which the Level II remains were also hidden. The central courtyard would therefore have been on a higher level, accessible maybe from the roofs or upper stories of Level I: “The upper storey over these main rooms would be roughly level with, or only a little raised above, the level of the old mound, and access may have been gained directly from the inner courtyard” (Mellaart 1959:56, 1970c:80). Since I have pointed out that Mellaart would not have been able to securely stratigraphically link any deposits found in the mound centre with the ‘fortress’ and since only cursory information is reported also from this courtyard, it is best ignored here.

Non-residential buildings

Neither Mellaart (1970c:92) himself, or any other researcher, seems to have interpreted any Hacilar I room or building as a special-purpose building (#89, #90, #91); all rooms are seen as living/ storage/ production spaces. Based on the data collected here, there is no reason to disagree with this assessment. The entire village is interpreted as a type of enclosure/ perimeter fortification, which added to its community integration (#92; Mellaart 1970c:77); but above (Settlement layout), I have pointed out that the reconstruction of Hacilar I as a ring is not based on

evidence.

Conclusions

At Hacilar I, architectural indicators for community integration are much stronger than those for household autonomy. The importance of community is indicated by the use of similar building materials and techniques (#56, #57), and maybe Blocks A and B were each built as one single construction with shared walls (#54). In any case, buildings or rooms cluster tightly (#47), and it is possible that the two blocks represent two different social groupings (#49). Outdoor spaces also seem to have been used communally (#82), although there is not much evidence as to their use. Very little house-related ritual is observed, and it cannot be interpreted for the question of household autonomy/ community integration. The only signs for autonomous households are the idiosyncratic layouts (#38) and modifications (#39) of rooms, but it remains unclear whether they even formed individual household residences. The non-preservation of the upper stories prevents an interpretation of the distribution of the existing hearths; and no storage facilities were found. In absence of these features, it is difficult to determine whether Hacilar I functioned as a collection of household residences. It could be argued that my difficulties of researching Hacilar I as a cluster of household residences is due to the fact that it was in fact not a collection of discrete household residences, but a community so tightly integrated that individual households become obscured in the architectural record; and might also have been an important social group in the past—similar to both Aşıklı Höyük and Mellaart's original reconstruction of Hacilar I, as pointed out above. Only that Mellaart (1970c:77) saw a component of central administration in this communal integration ('fortress of a ruler', see below).

Based on the available archaeological data from Hacilar, and based on my set of indicators, it is possible to reconstruct an increase of community integration from Hacilar VI to II to I. The available data seem to indicate this increase clearly; how reliable this interpretation is in light of the many issues pointed out here especially with the Hacilar II record remains doubtful. Also a direct comparison of Hacilar II and I using the indicators of **Themes 8** and **6** rather seems to indicate less household autonomy in Hacilar I: instead of gaining more open space around the house (#46, #32, #34), Hacilar I households were more tightly fit into a house cluster. Indicators #40-#44 cannot be compared because no individual houses were identified at Hacilar I.

Social competition and stratification

Social competition

Just as the discussion of household autonomy, that of social competition and elite residences relies on comparing different houses within the same village with each other. As stated in the conclusion to the previous section, such individual houses might not have existed, and are in any case not clearly recognisable to the archaeologist. Social display (**Theme 18**) might have, if at all, mostly been located on the upper stories or roofs that Mellaart (1970c:76, 83) reconstructs as the main living and socialising area; we might therefore be missing the 'displaying' part of the house from the archaeological record. Since residences had two stories and sometimes maybe also several rooms in a lower storey (see above, Reconstructing buildings), it might be possible to reconstruct them as 'deep' houses (**#98, #99, #100**) in which activities and things could be hidden. However, since Hacilar I households might not have had the socioeconomic autonomy within the village community, there might have been little possibility for them to compete.

Elite residences

Without being able to differentiate individual residences from each other, it cannot be determined whether any house was larger than another (**#106**) or had more rooms (**#107**). Nothing can be said about asymmetries in internal furnishing, storage or cooking installations (**#111, #112, #113**). Because most of the village was not removed, therefore building continuity (**#124**), burial numbers per house (**#123**) and the elaboration of burials (**#121**) or housefabric deposits (**#120**) cannot be compared between houses. There also does not otherwise seem to be any differences in ritual elaboration; little to no evidence for house-related ritual was found at Hacilar I in general.

The few indicators that can be researched rather seem to indicate an absence of status differences in the excavated parts of the village. No room or block of Hacilar I seems to be located in a position of dominance (**#108**), and upper stories (**#109**) are reconstructed to have existed for all blocks, rooms or houses. No room has special building materials (**#110**), and there seems to be no privately controlled unroofed space (see above, Unroofed Space) and accordingly also no asymmetric distribution

of yard space (#114). Rooms 3, 5, 6, 12 and 19 stand out as having particularly many and a diverse range of artefacts (#117, #119), but since the roomfill might not be representative of the significance of the rooms prior to abandonment (see above, Roomfills) this might not indicate status differences, and Mellaart himself did not interpret the finds distribution as indicative of social status, although he had used differences in mobile inventory to argue for status differences between houses in Hacilar II (see above).

Mellaart had considered that the entire Block A might be an elite residence: “Alternatively the whole of block A may have been conceived as a multi-roomed building, the residence of the 'ruler' of Hacilar I” (Mellaart 1970c:85). There is no evidence for this, either: Block B is less well preserved than Block A because it was more modified in Levels Icd (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.36, 40), and all other structures from Trenches C, H and N that Mellaart assigned to Level I are even less well preserved (Mellaart 1970c:77, 81). It follows that Block A is the only (excavated) area of the settlement that is relatively well preserved, and is excavated—it is therefore difficult to compare it to other buildings and to assert its special status. Since Block A does not have larger rooms (#106), special finds (#117, #119) or installations (#111), different building materials (#110), or really anything to set it apart from Block B, it remains unclear in any case how Mellaart came to this conclusion.

Elite influence on settlement layout

Mellaart had interpreted Hacilar I as “the fortress of a ruler”, i.e. a small to moderate-sized village community directly ruled by a central figure, based on indicators for the existence of potential indicators for an elite influence on settlement space that were discounted in Chapter 7 of this thesis. He (Mellaart 1970c:77) stated that “the extensive levelling operations conducted with such precision that over a length of 70 m the variation is a mere 15 cm, and the intricate layout of the buildings erected by the Hacilar I people, show conclusively that this was not a village of individual houses sheltering behind a defensive wall, but probably a fortress of a ruler who had command of considerable human resources”. Here, it is assumed that the level of coordination recognisable in the competent execution of a large-scale construction project (#133) with a fortificatory aspect (#134) necessitated a central power. I pointed out in Chapter 6 that the same coordination could have been achieved by communal organisation in an egalitarian

framework. I have further already pointed out that not all of Hacilar I might have been built at the same time (above, Settlement development); that also that there probably was no large-scale levelling event (“level I cut”) that Mellaart reconstructed as part of the erection of Hacilar I (Rosenstock 2010a); and that there is also not secure evidence for Hacilar I as a ring-shaped settlement (above, Settlement layout), thus undermining the fortificatory aspect of the construction. These three points together also disprove the foundation of Mellaart’s argument that, even if accepting this argument in principle.

Not accepting Block A as an elite residence, there was no separation of the village into an elite and a non-elite residential areas (#135-#137, #141). There were no non-residential buildings (#138-#140; Mellaart 1970c:92) that could have functioned as part of a central complex. Yakar (1991:158, 178) has suggested that the Hacilar I ‘fortress’ and seat of a ‘ruler’ functioned as “the centre of a local chieftdom”. A recent survey has indeed found evidence for the existence of several smaller contemporary sites around Early Chalcolithic Hacilar (Vandam 2015:288, Fig.13-3), but without excavation a hierarchical relationship between these and the Hacilar I residents cannot be proven.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are no architectural indications for status differences at Hacilar I, in contrast to Hacilar II. Eslick (1988:19-23) did not see indications for any status differences or social hierarchies in any of the Hacilar levels.

room	installations	mobile inventory
1	<p>two hearth phases in the centre of the room, one overlaying the other</p> <p>platform</p> <p>L-shaped platform that might have been the basis for a ladder</p> <p>(Mellaart 1970c:83, Fig.29, 32, Pl.40a)</p>	<p>14 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (14 vessels displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.115-118, 121-122, 124, 143, 146, 148, 150; compare against 11 vessels displayed in inventory Mellaart 1970c:57, of which one was found on floor level next to a posthole (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.29, Pl50b)</p> <p>1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig. 111)</p> <p>2 potstands (Mellaart 1970c:Fig. 112)</p> <p>clay object (Mellaart 1970c:164)</p>
2	<p>hearth in the centre of the room, and “ashhole”</p>	<p>24 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (24 vessels displayed in inventory Mellaart 1970c:58-60;</p>

	<p>next to it</p> <p>some stones in front of/ sticking out of the north wall (Mellaart 1970c:83, Fig.29, 32, Pl.43b)</p> <p>Imprints of woven mat (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.189)</p>	<p>compare against 17 vessels displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.117, 120-122, 124-127, 131-138, 146, 149)</p> <p>5 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.109, 110, 111)</p> <p>1 potstand (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.112)</p> <p>fragment of a brown limestone bracelet (Mellaart 1970c:161)</p> <p>unworked stone resembling a figurine (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.167e)</p>
3, lower floor	<p>hearth in the centre of the room (Mellaart 1970c:83, Fig.29)</p> <p>Imprints of woven mat (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.189)</p>	<p>4 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.118, 128, 152)</p>
3, upper floor	<p>hearth in the centre of the room (Mellaart 1970c:83, Fig.29)</p>	<p>area of burning</p> <p>9 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.116, 119-120, 125, 127, 132, 143, 145)</p> <p>2 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.109)</p>
3-4, upper floor		<p>9 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.118)</p> <p>2 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig. 109)</p>
3 undefined		<p>22 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels Mellaart 1970c:61, of which some must be those attributed to lower or upper floors of Room 3 in the figure captions (see previous lines) – 6 vessels from Room 3 displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.117, 119, 121, 152</p> <p>bone 'belt fastener' (Mellaart 1970c:163)</p> <p>2 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig. 109, 111)</p> <p>human-shaped pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.249.4)</p>
4		<p>The inventory (Mellaart 1970c:62) displays 17 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels in Rooms 4+7; in the figures, 1 vessel is listed for Rooms 4+7 (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.151), 6 vessels for Room 4 (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.116, 118, 121, 131, 135), and 13 for Room 7 (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.115-118, 133, 139, 143)</p>

		1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.111)
5	<p>hearth in the centre of the room, and “ashhole” next to it</p> <p>platform against south wall</p> <p>bench</p> <p>a shelf-like construction in the east wall indicated by postholes</p> <p>(Mellaart 1970c:76, 83, Fig.29, 32, 37, Pl.40b)</p>	<p>35 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (35 displayed in inventory Mellaart 1970c:63-65 , compare against 32 vessel displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.115-118, 122, 126-127, 129, 134, 136, 138, 140-143, 145-147, 151</p> <p>9 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig. 109, 110, 111)</p> <p>1 potstand (Mellaart 1970c:Fig. 112)</p> <p>three pendants made from dentalium shells (Mellaart 1970c:159)</p>
6	<p>hearth in northern part of the room</p> <p>(Mellaart 1970c:83, Fig.29)</p>	<p>32 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (23 vessels displayed in inventory Mellaart 1970c:66-67, compare against 32 vessels displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.115-117, 119, 121-125, 130, 132-133, 136, 140-142, 145, 151-152)</p> <p>3 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:109, 111)</p> <p>2 human-shaped pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.249.1, 3)</p> <p>2 headless human figurines (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.245.3, 246.4)</p> <p>2 animal figurine fragments (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.171m, Fig.247.7)</p>
7	<p>hearth in a corner (Mellaart 1970:83, Fig.29)</p>	<p>13 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.115-118, 133, 139, 1431959:Fig.5.1) [see also Room 4]</p> <p>animal figurine fragment (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.247.8)</p>
10		found empty (Mellaart 1959:56, 1970c:80)
11		--
12	<p>hearth in a corner (Mellaart 1970c:83, Fig.29)</p> <p>impressions of reed matting (Mellaart 1959:56, 1970c:Fig.29)</p>	<p>31 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (28 vessels displayed in inventory. Mellaart 1970c:70-71, compare against 31 vessels displayed in Figs. 115, 117, 119-123, 126-128, 138, 140, 148-149, 151</p> <p>6 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:109, 111)</p> <p>human-shaped pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.248)</p>

	<p>1 painted human figurine fragment (Mellaart 1970c:Pl.170d)</p> <p>1 head of human figurines (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.238.5)</p>
13	found empty (Mellaart 1970c:80)
14	found empty (Mellaart 1970c:80)
15	found empty (Mellaart 1970c:80)
16	found empty (Mellaart 1970c:80)
	1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.110)
18	<p>1 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:69, Fig.120)</p> <p>1 clay object (Mellaart 1970c:164)</p>
19	<p>8 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (6 vessels displayed in inventory, Mellaart 1970c:69, compare against 8 vessels displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.121-122, 124, 143, 146, 149)</p> <p>3 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.109, 110)</p> <p>1 human-shaped pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.249.2)</p> <p>1 blue apatite bead (Mellaart 1970c:159)</p> <p>1 bone 'belt fastener' (Mellaart 1970c:163)</p> <p>1 headless human figurine (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.245.1)</p>
18 or 19, Level 1c or 1d	1 headless human figurine (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.246.3)
20	21 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (14 vessels displayed in inventory, Mellaart 1970c:72, compare against 21 vessels displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.115, 118-119, 121-122, 124, 141, 144, 153)
20, Level 1c	3 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.122, 152)
22	8 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (6 vessels displayed in inventory (Mellaart 1970c:73), compare against 8 vessels displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.116, 118, 120-122)
21 or 21	1 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.116)
22 or 23	9 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels

	(Mellaart 1970c:Figs.117, 120-121, 124-125, 137, 140-141, 151) 1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.109)
22 or 25	9 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:74)
23	9 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.116-118, 121-122, 141-142, 144)
24	--
25	7 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels [3 vessels displayed in inventory (Mellaart 1970c:73), compare against 7 vessels displayed in (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.116, 118, 121-122, 144)] 1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c: Fig.109) headless human figurine (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.246.2)
25, Level 1c	1 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.122)
26	1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.111)

Table 40 Hacilar I: Reconstructed building inventories.

room	installations	mobile inventory
8		--
9	stones leaning against wall (Mellaart 1970c: Fig.29)	19 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (13 vessels displayed in inventory, Mellaart 1970c:68, compare against 19 vessels displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.116, 121, 122, 124, 151) 1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.,111)
9, gate		1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.151)
9, court		1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.141)

9, Level 1b		1 painted pottery vessel from “1.9 level 1B” (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.153)
gate [either Room 9 or Area K]		5 painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.118, 120, 137)
17 / 23	two lines of postholes a large oven built up against the north wall (Room 18, Mellaart 1970c:82 , Fig.29)	6 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:74) human-shaped pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.249.5)
21	a large oven built up against the east wall (Mellaart 1970c:82 , Fig.29)	7 complete/nearly complete painted pottery vessels (9 vessels displayed in inventory, Mellaart 1970c:73, compare against 16 vessels displayed in Mellaart 1970c:Figs.118-119, 121, 140-141, 144, 151) 1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.109)
		--
Area C		1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.150)
Area F		1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.141)
Area G		2 painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.122, 141)
Area G, Level 1c		1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.115)
Area K		5 painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.115, 117-118, 120-121) 2 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:1970c:Fig.109) animal figurine fragment (Mellaart 1970c:1970c:Fig.247.9)
K (gate)		2 painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.122)
‘east gate’ = Area K?		1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.115)
Area N		2 painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.116, 121)

	2 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:1970c:Fig.111) headless human figurine (Mellaart 1970c:1970c:Fig.245.2)
Area N, Level 1a	1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.119)
Area N, upper floor	2 painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.118, 152)
Area N, lower floor	5 painted pottery vessels (Mellaart 1970c:Figs.119, 120)
Area N, lowest floor	1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.118)
Area Q	1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.151) 1 complete/nearly complete monochrome pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:1970c:Fig.109)
Area Q, Level Ic or Id	1 painted pottery vessel (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.152)

Table 41 Hacilar I: artefacts found in courtyards in Trench E and other trenches.

Mobility

Based on the indicators used in this thesis, there is no evidence to reconstruct a mobile element of the Hacilar I population. It certainly was not a campsite; and the excavated parts of the settlement also give no indications of being a pastoral base settlement.

Warfare

Preparing for warfare

Mellaart (1970c:77) had reconstructed the village of Hacilar I as having a very clear fortificatory nature, which is why he refers to the village as a whole as a ‘fortress’. He reconstructs the defence system as a mixture of a house ring defence (#166) paired with short free-standing wall fragments (#163) that closed the gaps between houseblocks in order to form a completely enclosed settlement perimeter. There were only narrow passages leading into the village (#172), referred to as “gates” (#173) by Mellaart, who saw them functioning together with guard rooms. In addition, each house block also was defensible by clustering individual rooms densely (#165) so that they could only be entered through roofs (#175), and also through thick walls with stone foundations (#176, #177):

“However, the main reason for the lack of doorways on the ground floor of the fortress was evidently defence, and raising the main floor about 3 metres above ground level not only gave the defenders extra height, but also a better view over the surrounding countryside. Even if the enemy managed to penetrate into the courtyards he would still be confronted by a baffling lack of doorways and the one or two that did present themselves could easily be barred. Each block could have been defended as a single unit, and as in the case of Norman keeps, their peculiar method of construction turned them into death-traps for the defenders. Charred human bones, mainly of children, were found in Rooms 5 and 6, among masses of greasy black material, burnt brick, charcoal, pots and objects, all collapsed from the upper storey into the rooms below” (Mellaart 1960:96).

The ring-shape, wall segments and ‘gates’ do not hold up to a closer checking of the record. I have already pointed out that there is no secure evidence that Hacilar I had a ring-shape, or really for any buildings belonging to Blocks A and B outside Trench E (see above, Settlement layout). It is furthermore doubtful that Blocks A/B actually constituted the outer edge of the settlement: similar to the Hacilar II enclosure wall, Mellaart actually only exposed the outer edge of the south wall(s) of Blocks A/B in two short stretches of about 10m each, and there the trench borders only reached ca. 1m beyond the wall’s edge (Rosenstock 2010a:24). It is therefore not at all clear what was on the other side of this wall; there could be more rooms or courtyards, and there is no evidence that the settlement ended here. Eslick (1988:23) and Rosenstock (2010a:24) have pointed out that the supposed particular thickness of

this southern wall should also be doubted since only two very short segments actually appear thicker than the other walls in the fortress, and there are both cut in such awkward angles by the trench border that it might be better not to rely on this wall thickness at all.

Of the supposed thick free-standing wall that closed Courtyard 17/23, and thereby the settlement, off towards the outside (**#163**; Mellaart 1970c:Fig.30), Mellaart excavated only a short fragment (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.29). And here, too, there is no evidence that this was actually the edge of the settlement. The latter also means that what seems to be a narrow passage (**#172**, Room 9; Mellaart 1960:96, 1970c:77) between Block A and an adjacent building block might not actually lead from the outside into the settlement. So little is excavated of the surroundings of this passage that its function remains entirely unclear. And there is actually no evidence at all that Room 12 functioned as a 'guard room' to the 'gate' Room 9 (Mellaart 1960:94, 1970c:80); further, the area between them is not excavated so that there might even have been further walls and rooms between them. Mellaart (1970c:81-82, Figs.35-36) saw another three possible gates with guard rooms existing at other points in the fortress ring, but these, as the ring itself, are based on conjecture, not evidence.

A majority of other architecture researchers (Düring 2011c:172, Eslick 1988:23, Rosenstock 2010a:24) therefore sees no evidence for a defensive nature of Hacilar I. If not accepting the house-ring (**#166**), enclosure walls (**#163**) and gates (**#172**, **#173**), there still remains Mellaart's argument of the defensive nature of clustering, thick walls and rooftop entrances (**#175-#177**). As pointed out in Chapter 9, there might have been many other reasons for Hacilar I inhabitants to choose these architectural features (similarly Düring 2011a:73, 2011c:172); for example clustering had a social aspect as discussed above, and thick walls with stone foundations ensured the stability of the two-stories houses. But similarly, it cannot be excluded that these constructional decisions were determined (also) by the expectance of warfare. In sum, there is some very slight and ambiguous evidence for preparations for warfare. It is possible that the ready acceptance of the Hacilar I fortress for example by Clare et al. (2008:76), Joukowsky (1996:121) and Mellaart himself is influenced by it being chronologically situated between two supposed hostile destructions of Hacilar (after IIb and after Ib), which, so the idea, would make it more likely that people built defensively.

Mellaart himself mentioned that the upper stories could have had ground level entrances from the inner courtyard, not rooftop entrances; or in any case were

probably not high enough above the level of the central courtyard to have much of a defensive advantage: “The upper storey over these main rooms would be roughly level with, or only a little raised above, the level of the old mound, and access may have been gained directly from the inner courtyard” (Mellaart 1970c:80). The raised central courtyard is also not accepted here (see above, Settlement layout), but I just wanted to point out this inconsistency in Mellaart’s own argumentation.

The results of warfare

Evidence for a hostile attack on Hacilar I is in Mellaart’s (1959:54, 56-58, 1960:96, 1965b:112, 1970c:76, 86-87); reconstruction found in the destruction of the buildings by fire (**#179**), which collapsed the upper stories and killed a group of people whose skeletons were found in the building collapse (**#180**). There further was an abrupt change in settlement patterns (**#182**), with only limited re-building (Level Ic) observed in another part of the site; even if this resettlement did not last long, and the final abandonment of the site is portrayed as a long-term effect of the attack on Hacilar Ib (Clare et al. 2008:74): “It is only too clear that the destruction of the Hacilar I fortress dealt a death blow to this once flourishing settlement. After the fire and massacre, some of the survivors continued to live on the mound, perhaps for a further century [until] the old mound was deserted, probably c. 5000 BC, never again to be re-occupied” (Mellaart 1970c:87).

I already discussed that it is in particular this evidence for warfare that is presented in rather generalising manner by Mellaart. It requires a closer reading of sources to find out that the human bones were only found in Rooms 5-6 (Mellaart 1960:96); that not all rooms were equally burnt (Block B was less affected, Mellaart 1970c:86); and that charred wood is in the remainder of the source only specifically mentioned for Room 5 (Mellaart 1970c:Fig.32). This manner of reporting hampers a re-evaluation of the evidence. It is not possible to find out which rooms were burnt in what manner to what degree; where exactly charred wood was found; and what position exactly the human bones were found in, whether they were in anatomic position and how many individuals were found; and, as already pointed out, no details of the collapse pattern are reported either. In light of all this, I can only point out that house fires and the deposition of human remains in roomfill was interpreted differently at other sites, ranging from accident (Hacilar IV and VI, see above; Canhasan 2b, see below) to ritual (ritual house burning: Çatalhöyük East (Cessford and Near 2005); burials in the roomfill of abandoned buildings:

Çatalhöyük West, Köşk Höyük, see below). Also, the clearer evidence for an unexpected destruction (charred wood collapse, bones) seems to cluster on Rooms 5-6; maybe it was in fact only these two rooms that were destroyed either by accident or in a hostile act. For the others, and also from Rooms 5-6, it would be possible to suggest planned abandonment because one might expect more evidence of daily life, tools, vessels, food, to have been found if an entire village was destroyed by an unexpected hostile attack. Alas, by not presenting the details of the evidence, Mellaart effectively prevented alternative interpretations of the evidence for a hostile destruction of Hacılar I. I have to conclude that there is a possibility that there actually was an attack on Hacılar I.

Kuruçay

figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 31 Kuruçay 11: plan of excavated structures (Duru 2008:Fig.81).

figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 32 Kuruçay 7: plan of excavated structures (Duru 2008:Fig.89).

figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 33 Kuruçay 7: excavation photo (Duru 2008:Fig.93).

Introducing Kuruçay

Kuruçay Höyük was the second Neolithic/ Chalcolithic excavation (1978-1988 by Refik Duru) in the Lake District after Hacilar. Kuruçay (90mx60m base, 8m height, Duru 2008:14) is located close to Lake Burdur on a hill overlooking the floodplain, and 10km from Hacilar. Excavations covered a large area (3500m²) and reached virgin soil in nearly the entire excavation area (Duru 1994c:95). Levels relevant to this thesis (Levels 13-7) were dated in Appendix 1 to a relatively narrow time window between 6200 and 5900 BC and are separated by a long hiatus from the later LC and EBA occupation.

The lowest levels Kuruçay 13 represents a layer of 0.6-1m thickness without architectural remains (Duru 2008:14), possibly representing finds washed in from a settlement located outside the excavation area (Duru 1994c:99, 1999b:175, 2012:5) or a period of wattle-and-daub architecture (Umurtak 2007b:1). This analysis starts with the first preserved architectural remains in Level 12. Unfortunately, architectural remains of all Levels 12-7 are not well preserved, in most cases not representing more than a few courses of the low stone foundations that Duru

(1994c:99-101) reconstructs as supporting mudbrick walls. With one exception—the Level 11 fortification system—all buildings are described as houses; and consisted of a single storey. They are reconstructed with entrances on ground level, but since in most cases only foundations were preserved, that is not certain. Installations or mobile furnishing in the building interiors were only found in a few cases in Level 12 and 7. It remains unclear whether the described artefact assemblages were found stratigraphically within buildings or outside buildings; they are reported only by level (Duru 1994c). Steadman (2000b:185) postulates for the generally better preserved Level 7 that the remarkable lack of internal furnishing or artefacts might show planned abandonment (cf. Duru 2008:15 who reconstructs an end of this village in a catastrophic fire).

The poor state of preservation typical of Neolithic/ Chalcolithic Kuruçay unfortunately prevents much architectural analysis (Düring 2011c:171), and attests to different formation processes as compared to some other sites studied here which are as a rule much better preserved. Duru (1994c:99, 2012:5-6) believes that floods in the creek next to the site washed away parts of the Level 11 and 12, for example reconstructing Level 11 as follows: “There is no doubt that this settlement, which we believe was quadrilateral in plan, was completely enclosed by this wall; we may suppose that such tower configurations existed on every side” (Duru 1999b:175). The rather exposed location of the village on top of a natural hill, along the flank of a hilly range, might indeed have led to more erosion than at other sites. It is also likely that different human-made formation processes were at work—quite different from some of the other sites studied here, house abandonment practices that left buildings less well preserved and Duru (2012:5) also believes that construction activities often destroyed existing remains of older buildings.

This makes it likely that the Neolithic-Chalcolithic villages were larger than what was excavated of them; additionally, not all was excavated. Area-wise, about half of the *höyük* was excavated to virgin soil (Duru 1994c:Levha 7.1, 2008:Figs.17-18), a quite outstanding coverage of the site. If the Neolithic and Chalcolithic villages were originally larger than what was found in the excavation, then the rest was either destroyed or maybe can be found in the unexcavated half of the site. Both might be the case: The generally bad state of preservation of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic levels indicate a possibility that more existed, but was not preserved. And some of the published plans show that LN/EC occupation was excavated directly next to a trench border (e.g. Duru 1994c:Levhalar 10, 19), making it likely that occupation continued in the unexcavated area (also stated by Duru 2008:46). The poor preservation also made for a very compacted stratigraphy as attested by excavation photos, for

example Level 6 walls overlaid Level 10 nearly directly (Duru 1994c:Levha 20) or the two subphases of Level 11 were found nearly at the same height (Duru 1994c:Levha 16). The excavation photos show that often excavation worked on several different levels, with several different phases being exposed on pedestals within the trench (e.g. Duru 1994c:Levhalar 17, 20, 21, 23.1); such an excavation style would have complicated the recognition of stratigraphical connections within such a compressed stratigraphy.

Duru (1994c:110, 2012:7), reconstructs the Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic people of Kuruçay as not practicing agriculture, stating that no domesticated species were found (also Cutting 2005b:104, Umurtak 2007b:5, 2011b:6). For this study of social organisation, it is only partially relevant whether or not they were farmers. It would be relevant if Kuruçay's population was reconstructed as partially mobile, but Duru reconstruct Kuruçay as a permanent settlement (Duru 1994c:110-111, also see Steadman 2000b:178 for a discussion).

Overview of levels and architecture

In Level 12, three buildings were attested, and a 8m-long wall of unknown function. Duru reconstructs the internal phasing of Level 12 as House 1 being the oldest construction, followed by the much smaller House 2 and finally House 3 (Duru 1994c:99, Levha 14.1). Of all buildings, not more than the lowermost course or courses of stone were preserved, interpreted as foundations by the excavator. Level 11 was subdivided into Level 11 *alt* (lower Level 11) with only a few remains of wall foundation, and Level 11 *üst* (upper Level 11). The latter is represented by foundations of two long wall sections (total 26m) with rounded protrusions that were interpreted as a fortification system, but only a few fragments of possible residential architecture (Duru 1994c:99, Levha 15). The Level 11 wall will be analysed in more detail in below (Warfare).

Duru (1994c:99) reconstructs a short hiatus between Levels 11 and 10, and also a slight shift in settlement location to the south. Of Levels 10 and 9, only wall/foundation fragments were found "scant and in a state of confusion", possibly forming one or two buildings in Level 9 (Duru 1994c:100, Levha 19) of which one seems to have contained a grinding stone and undefined installation (Duru 1994c:Levha 21.1). In Level 8, five buildings were partially excavated, but of each only parts of the wall perimeter were preserved. Each house is reconstructed as having consisted of one rectangular room, and there were irregularly distributed

with open areas between them (Duru 1994c:100, Levha 22). This leaves Level 7 with the best preserved architecture of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic sequence at Kuruçay, however also this level was not well preserved. Seven differently sized buildings were at least partially excavated, some still with remains of mudbrick walls on top of stone foundation, burned in a fire that is reconstructed by Duru as having destroyed the settlement. Each building consisted of one rectangular room with small buttresses (Duru 1994c:100, Levha 24, 25).

In light of the poor state of preservation of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic levels at Kuruçay, not many architectural indicators can be recognised in Levels 12-7, but the following section sum up the available evidence mainly from Levels 12, 8 and 7: as the only level for which several buildings are in evidence, they represent the only material available for the household autonomy/ social stratification discussion, which relies on comparing contemporary houses between each other.

Household autonomy and community integration in Levels 12-7

House layout and furnishing

In Kuruçay 12, large amounts of grinding tools were found in the two better preserved buildings, and at least House 2 had a hearth, possibly also House 1 (#4). As internal furnishing, about 40 grinding tools were found on the floor level in House 1 (Umurtak 2007b:5), and further grinding tools on the floor level of House 2 (Duru 1994c:99, Levhalar 10-12). House 2 had a semi-circular hearth and a second fire installation (Cutting 2005b:105; Duru 1994c:10, 100, Levhalar 10, 12.2; Steadman 2000b:177). An excavation photos (Duru 1994c:Levha 11.2) seems to show a fragment of another installation in House 1 (cf. Duru 1994c:10; Steadman 2004:529), The state of preservation prevents an understanding of whether houses had internal storage installations and whether internal furnishing was symmetrically distributed (**Theme 1, Theme 13**).

In Level 8, the five houses are reconstructed with similar sizes and layouts (Duru 1994c:Levha 22), but since only fragments of their wall circumference were preserved, house standardisation (#64) remains conjecture. No internal features (storage, hearth, oven) are preserved.

Houses of Level 7 each have an idiosyncratic size and shape (#38) within a shared tradition of single-roomed, rectangular and buttressed houses (see Duru 1994c:100

recognising a “preconceived building scheme” in Level 7). One house had a hearth (Duru 1994c:100, either House 3 or 7, Duru 1994c:Levha 26) and grinding stones were found in House 3 (Duru 1994c:Levha 26.2) as well as in other buildings (Duru 1983b:21), but the overall state of preservation of this village is not sufficient to determine that the other buildings did not have built-in cooking/grinding facilities (**Theme 1, 13**). Further, the absence of built hearths does not need to indicate an absence of cooking installations since Duru (1994c:106) “In Levels 8 and 7 we encountered many small fragments which probably belonged to potstands and portable hearths”. Storage facilities were not found at all. That “restorations were undertaken from time to time and some demolished walls were again built of stones” (Duru 1983b:42, 1994c:100) can probably be seen as a description of idiosyncratic modifications (**#39**).

If the hypothesis of two-storied houses in Level 7 is accepted, this would mean a size and room increase (**#40, #42**) as compared to Level 8, but the evidence for Level 7 upper stories is ambiguous. Duru (1994c:100) reconstructs all buildings from Levels 12-7 as single-storied (also Cutting (2005b:105) citing a personal communication by Umurtak), but Schachner (1999:158) and more recently also Duru (2008:46, 47) himself see possible second stories at Kuruçay 7, arguing that the lack of doors or internal furnishing indicates the existence of an upper living story. This argument can be easily discounted by referring to the poor preservation of the Buildings; the state of preservation really prevents any decision as to upper stories. Steadman (2000b:185, 188, 190) reconstructs the roofs as activity areas resembling a second story even if this upper living floor might not have had walls: “Given the evidence of the substantial walls, internal buttresses, lack of furnishings, and the occurrence of portable hearths and pot stands, it seems quite possible, if not likely, that the residents in Level 7 were indeed using their rooftops as activity areas, though they may not have built enclosures generating a ‘second story’ “ (Steadman 2000b:185). This as well is indicated only by indirect evidence; in conclusion, Level 7 is more prudently reconstructed as single-storied buildings.

Building materials and construction techniques

In Kuruçay 12, all buildings had stone foundations and therefore generally similar construction, but with only foundations preserved it is impossible to detect a sharing or non-sharing of mudbrick types (**Theme 2, Theme 11**). Every house had a different size and shape, thus attesting to idiosyncrasy (**#38**). In Level 8 as well, all

buildings used stone foundations but that is not enough to reconstruct the use of similar building materials and techniques. In Level 7, the width of the stone foundations varied (Duru 1982a:19). The two buildings whose mudbrick both seem to have had a range of different brick sizes (Duru 1994c:Levha 24, 2008:47 “the dimensions of the mud bricks vary from 31 x 18 x 11 cm. to 24 x 16 x 10 cm.”). Since the mudbrick walls were burned (Duru 1994c:100), colour and consistency of mudbrick cannot be studied any more to assert whether they were similar or different, but tentatively idiosyncratic building styles can be recognised (**#10, #11**). In no building level of Kuruçay do houses share walls (**#12**).

House-related ritual

Building continuity (**#88**) does not seem to be a feature at Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic Kuruçay, and no ritual house elaboration, through imagery or otherwise, is reported. Burials are difficult to interpret for the autonomy/community discussion. Most people must have been buried outside of the (excavated part of the) settlement, but seven burials were found in the Neolithic to Chalcolithic levels (Duru 1994c:101). Of those seven burials, the distribution map (Duru 1994c:Levha 33.1) assigns four to the Late Neolithic (must be Level 11) and three to the Early Chalcolithic (Levels 10-7). None of them seem to have been found in preserved connection with a house; six were actually found in and around the Level 11 ‘fortification’ wall (Duru 2008:43).

Settlement layout/ unroofed space

In Kuruçay 12, the preserved buildings cluster densely (**#47**). In Level 8, some buildings still are fairly close to each other (**#47**), but there seems to be more open space within the settlement, although it remains unclear how this was used (**Theme 14, #46**). A possible stone platform was found within one of these open spaces (Duru 1994c:13, Levha 22), but its use or relation to the buildings is not clear. In Level 7, House cluster densely (**#47**) without any recognisable sectoring (**Theme 10**). There are no indications as to how the unroofed space was used (**Theme 14, #46**).

Non-residential buildings

In Level 11, the enclosure wall could attest to communal integration (#92), but since no settlement was found it is not even certain that this wall was the enclosure wall of a settlement (also see discussion below, Warfare). From no other level are any non-residential building reported.

Conclusions

Overall, neither autonomy indicators nor community indicators prevail in either level; idiosyncratic and independent house construction (#38, #39, #12) is balanced by a dense settlement layout (#47). These are, however, the only indicators that could be recognised with relative certainty. A more secure or detailed reconstruction of social organisation at Kuruçay 12-7 is impossible: the symmetry or asymmetry with which storage and cooking installations are distributed between houses (Themes 1, 13) remains unclear, as does the use of the unroofed spaces (Theme 14), and since buildings are only preserved in fragments a more detailed investigation of buildings materials (Themes 2, 7, 11) is also prevented. Ritual elaboration of houses (Themes 4, 6, 5, 15) might not have been an important feature of social life at the site, but this again cannot be said with certainty.

Social competition and stratification

The poor preservation of the site is not conducive to studying social competition and stratification, might is majorly based on c house furnishing and mobile inventory which is hardly preserved at the site. From the available buildings, no status differences seem apparent in any level: There is a variation of house sizes present in Levels 12 and 7 (Duru 1994c:Levhalar 10, 24), the only levels where several houses were excavated. But otherwise they do not differ in building material, or the items of the interior furnishing that are preserved (Theme 19). No non-residential buildings or segregation of the villages was observed (Theme 21). Duru saw evidence for the presence of a central authority in the defensive architecture at the site (#134): the enclosure wall of Kuruçay 11 (“very strong settlements such as that at level 11 of Kuruçay with a defence system are found. Undoubtedly developments such as these suggest the formation of classes in society and the concentration of authority in the hands of certain people”, Duru 2008:7) and apparently also the defensive aspect (see below) of Kuruçay 7:

“As these settled societies gained wealth – in relative terms – this wealth resulted in an increase in plundering raids launched by nomadic groups who had not as yet switched to a sedentary way of life. This threat to settled societies must have been answered by a social organisation, that is, the emergence of strong individual or those of status to rule over the society. This same threat also made it an imperative to take architectural measure to protect the settlements, that is, to erect a defence system for the settlement. These social changes can be clearly observed in the architectural works that were implemented at Hacilar II, I and at Kuruçay 7” (Duru 2008:8).

As long as, however, defensive architecture remains the only possible indicator for a central authority, and no residence of a powerful household or person is found, or any other architectural arrangement indicating central administration (e.g. a central complex, **Theme 21**), it should be considered more likely that defensive measures were taken by communal coordination, not central authority.

Mobility

The fragmented architectural record of Kuruçay cannot be used to research mobility. It would be possible to in the preserved remains recognise either ephemeral architecture with thin and incoherent walls (**#146, #144**; see Levels 11-9 on Duru 1994c:Levha 19); traces of use without residential architecture (**#145**, Levels 13 and 11); or settlements with relatively large open spaces (**#156-#158**, Levels 12, 8 and 7). That the inhabitants of the settlement did not grow crops in Duru’s (1994c:110, 2012:7 interpretation only adds to this impression. I hesitate, however, to equate an absence of more, or more sturdy, architecture with evidence for an absence of permanent and long-term occupation. Animal bones have not been studied to a degree where much can be said about the organisation of herding (DeCupere 2015:4, Tab.1).

Warfare

Preparing for warfare

The excavators recognised different types of defensive architecture all throughout the Kuruçay sequence: “The thick walls of the houses were probably intended as protection [#177]; only in the phase Upper 11 did we discover a surprisingly advanced free-standing fortification system [#163]” (Duru 1994a:100). The statement about thick walls seems to refer to all Levels 12-7, or maybe only to Level 7, as Steadman (2000b:184-185) reads Duru’s sentence. Duru stated that Level 7 might also have featured an enclosure wall (#163), but none was excavated: “We do not know whether the settlement of Level 7 was surrounded by a fortification wall. It may well have been” (Duru 1994a:100). And he postulated a form of house-ring defence (#166) for Kuruçay 12: “It is possible to assume that the buildings from Kuruçay Level 12 that are located on the very edge of the settlement (Figs. 13-14) must have been part of the defence system” (Duru 2012:24). This interpretation seems a bit far-fetched given that only three houses in total were excavated (Duru 1994c:Levha 10), and there is no way of knowing where the edge of the settlement was.

Level 11 featured a free-standing wall with towers (#169); possible fragments of a parallel and perpendicular second wall segment with tower is also preserved (1994c:99, Levha 15; 1996 d:52). Between the possibly parallel walls seems to be a narrow entrance (#172) that could even be called a gate (#173) because there were additional built structures that would have facilitated controlling access: a tower on either side, and two protruding wall segments that made the entrance a long, narrow passage (Duru 1994c:Levha 15; Umurtak 2011b:6). Among the many postulated enclosure walls at LN/EC Lake District sites, the wall of Kuruçay is the most convincing as a fortification structure: its towers and protected entrance (#169, #171) make it likely that this wall could have protected a settlement (also Clare et al. 2008:76, Fig.5; Eslick 1988:24; Steadman 2000b:185). Umurtak (2011b:7) further points out that Kuruçay is located on a narrow hilltop, which enhances its defence status. There are, however, a number of factors that lower the reliability of this reconstruction. First, the settlement behind this wall was not found, neither were the remainder of the wall system that supposedly enclosed the settlement (Duru 1999b:175, 2008:Fig.82; Umurtak 2011b:6). The generally bad preservation and compresses stratigraphy of the site might indicate that this settlement was simply not preserved (also suspected by Duru 1994c:99), but the fact remains that the enclosure is incomplete (also point out by Düring 2011a:73). Second, Düring

(2011a:72-73, 2011c:171) has pointed out that the 'towers' "had an entrance both on their exterior and interior, which would make them ill suited for defensive purposes". He compares the Kuruçay 11 towers to House 2 in Level 12 (Duru 1994c:Levha 10), which has a similar part-circular layout; and suggests that the Kuruçay 11 towers also were work areas, and the wall segments might rather have enclosed a neighbourhood within the village, not the entire settlement. This alternative interpretation is possible, but is as difficult to verify in the fragmented available record as the defence interpretation is. It should not be assumed that a Level 11 structure must have had a similar function to a similar-looking Level 12 building; and exterior entrances to defence towers might not seem logical in a defence structure, but they might have served some role in defence that archaeologists cannot recognise. In conclusion, the Level 11 wall is relatively convincing as a defence structure, although it might also have been an usual form of residential architecture. The house walls of none of the Kuruçay levels seem usually thick, but a defensive function can also not be ruled out.

The results of warfare

Level 7 was burnt (**#179**) and followed by a hiatus (**#181**), and the excavators have associated this with a hostile attack: Duru (1983b:48-49; also Steadman 2000b:191) first, when he had not yet detected a hiatus between Levels 7 and 6, postulated the arrival of the Level 6 people could have led to the destruction of Level 7 and following change in architectural style (**#182**); and he now believes that the same nomadic people who burned Hacilar I also attacked Kuruçay 7 and other sites in the region, resulting in a long period without permanent settlements between ca. 5500 and 4000 BC (Duru 2008:7-9, 15). Interestingly, Clare et al. (2008:Tab.1) do not seem to consider the Level 7 fire and abandonment a signature for warfare, but they also do not state their reasons. Both the fire and temporary abandonment of Kuruçay after Level 7 could have had other reasons, but based on the available evidence I cannot exclude a hostile attack either.

Höyücek

Introducing Höyücek

After the conclusion of work at Kuruçay in 1988, Refik Duru's team worked at the comparatively small site of Höyücek for four seasons 1989-1992 before starting another long-term project at Bademağacı in 1993. Höyücek is located in the outskirts of Bucak, a few hundred meters from the highway between Burdur and Antalya. The mound is 120m in diameter and 7.5m in height (Duru 2008:15). Duru's team dug a large trench of irregular outlines, max. 40m x 40m, in the centre of the mound and a series of small sondages across the rest of the mound surface. Virgin soil was reached in a few small areas (Duru 2008:Fig.22; Duru and Umurtak 2005:Pl.2.2, 158-159). No later occupation separates the LN/EC occupation from the mound surface; the uppermost remains were disturbed by agricultural activities and (illegal) modern construction and garden-related excavation activities (Duru 2008:17, 23; Duru and Umurtak 2005:159, Pl.2-3). Further, the site was used in the 19th and early 20th century AD to produce mudbricks (Duru and Umurtak 2005:160). Duru (Duru and Umurtak 2005:160-161) hypothesises that these activities transformed the mound significantly, and that the prehistoric site occupied a much smaller area, but the mound was extended in horizontal size by the bulky refuse from mudbrick construction: a series of trenches along the mound perimeter did not produce prehistoric architecture (Duru 1992a:564; Duru and Umurtak 2005:159). At the same time, excavation for the purpose of sediment sourcing disturbed the upper prehistoric remains of Höyücek, and it is possible that the thus created pits were later filled in with different sediment, thus completely redepositing a large amount of modern and prehistoric materials.

Overview of levels and architecture

At Höyücek, Duru's team distinguished three occupational phases above virgin soil, labelled in order from oldest to youngest, and bottom to top, the 'Early Settlements phase', 'Shrine phase', 'Sanctuary phase', and the uppermost level 'mixed accumulation' (Appendix 1). The uppermost level, of considerable thickness of 2.6m and over 6m in some areas, contained pottery, but the associated architecture has survived only in fragments (Duru 1992a; Duru and Umurtak 2005:178). The 'Sanctuary phase' as well was badly disturbed with only disjointed fragments of five parallel walls and floors recoverable; it was unclear whether and how these formed

buildings (Duru 1994a:745; Duru and Umurtak 2005:173-174, Pl.27). Of the oldest level, 'Early Settlements phase', representing probably a small village, a total area of 35m² (Duru 2012:8) was excavated in two trenches (Duru and Umurtak 2005:162, Pl.7,) without producing architectural remains other than plaster floors which is reconstructed as it having been a small settlement consisting of a loose arrangement of wattle-and-daub buildings (Duru 2012:8; Duru and Umurtak 2005:163). Only the burnt 'Shrine phase' (ShP) has well-preserved architecture (Cutting 2005b:91). An analysis of architecture for the purpose of this thesis is possible only for the Shrine phase (ShP).

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Figure 34 Höyücek ShP: plan of excavated structures (Duru and Umurtak 2005:Pl.7).

Höyücek 'Shrine phase'

Size of settlement and settlement development

This level, excavated in an area of 45 x 25m (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164) was reconstructed by the excavators as an arrangement of five mudbrick buildings clustered densely together with extensive unroofed space around them. The excavators seem to believe that these buildings represent the entirety of the Höyücek Shrine phase village, stating that "the architectural remains of this settlement period [...] all seem to be included in the excavation area". This interpretation might be based on the fact that no more buildings were found

directly adjacent to Buildings 1-5, and small test trenches around the mound perimeter (Duru and Umurtak 2005:Pl.2) do not seem to have produced any material attributed to the Shrine phase (Duru and Umurtak 2005:171); but the decision that the excavated Buildings 1-5 do indeed represent the entirety of this village has such far-reaching consequences for the interpretation of the site that it preferable would have been based on a larger excavated sample of the mound. It can therefore not be seen as certain that the village was not larger.

The 'Shrine phase' as represented in the plan (above) combines several, chronologically partially overlapping, subphases. The excavators observed that Buildings 1 and 2 were abandoned earlier than the others, and hypothesise that they might also have been built earlier: At the time when Buildings 3-5 were caught in a fire that preserved them well with walls standing up to 2m high, Buildings 1 and 2 had already been abandoned and dismantled or collapsed to leave only the lowermost mudbrick layer intact, if that: of the northwestern corner of Building 2, only the wall plaster remained. Of Building 1, the northern and eastern walls could not be found at all (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164-165). An oven found within the area circumscribed by the Building 1 walls, but 60cm above the floor level, most probably was built and used in an outdoor area after the abandonment and destruction of Building 1 (Duru and Umurtak 2005:165). It would be possible to reconstruct that the use of this oven and outdoor area was contemporary with the use of Buildings 3-5 since the oven was found on a similar height as the floors of these buildings¹¹. However, the excavators still reconstruct that all five buildings were at some point used contemporarily (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164, 168). However, this reconstruction might be questionable for Building 1, whose walls were not well preserved so that the stratigraphic relationship with the walls of adjacent Building 5 must have been difficult to determine, and whose floor is located 60cm lower than that of Building 5 (Duru and Umurtak 2005:Pl.7). Building 2, on the other hand, has a floor level similar to that of the other buildings¹²; further, it might have shared a wall with Building 4: from the description and plan, it

¹¹ These statements are based on the plan shown in (Duru and Umurtak 2005:Pl.7), which however indicates the height of features below the mound surface, not above sea level. I assumed that the mound surface did not significantly vary across the excavation area, but this assumption might be wrong and therewith also the above named relative floor heights of structures. Unfortunately, the text does not state relative floor heights, and floor heights also cannot be compared from the excavation photos (Duru and Umurtak 2005:Pl.6, 8-26) which do not clearly indicate whether they show the floor level or not.

¹² Duru and Umurtak (2005:170) write that "buildings n.1 and no.4 were built back-to-back", but they must mean B.2 and B.4. And earlier, they describe "the wall shared by houses no.2 and 4" (Duru and Umurtak 2005:168), indicating that it was in fact only one single wall between the buildings, as also shown on the plan (Duru and Umurtak 2005:Pl.7).

does not become entirely clear whether both were separated by two parallel walls, or one thick wall which would mean that they were built at the same time (Duru and Umurtak 2005:168, 170, Pl.7). There were further “faint remains” of an older building phase under Buildings 3-4, which was not well preserved or investigated but is thought to have been very similar to the later ShP that is represented in the plan (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164).

In light of this, it could be possible to argue that Buildings 2-5 were built and/or used contemporarily, and Building 1 represents an older building that might have been out of use for all or some of the use lives of B.2-5. Possibly, the buildings under B.3 and B.4 were part of the same subphase as B.1. Summarising these observations, it might be most prudent to reconstruct Buildings 2-5 as functioning contemporarily, with unroofed areas surrounding them, including that overlaying Building 1. Of the older phase, only B.1 was excavated, and it is only half preserved, which is why an analysis of this level for the purpose of this thesis is not possible. In sum, ‘Shrine Phase will here be represented by B.2-5 with adjacent outdoor areas. B.4 further has some internal phasing since the excavators (Duru and Umurtak 2005:167) state that it “was originally a single room but was later divided into two with the construction of the platform and the grain storage bins” in the southern half; also B.5 underwent a few phases of subdivision, change of door openings and repair (Duru and Umurtak 2005:167-168).

Building functions

Buildings 3-5 together are interpreted by the excavators as a temple complex (Duru and Umurtak 2005:165, 171). The large room B.3 is reconstructed as the main room of the temple, and B.4 as a side room also used for religious ceremonies. The southern part of B.4, containing many storage installations, is interpreted as the storage area of the temple for food and non-food items belonging to this ritual centre. Building 5, which contained comparatively few artefacts and “was probably emptied before the fire that caused its destruction” is described as the residence of temple staff; this interpretation is however not supported by any evidence as indicated by Duru himself: “there is nothing to indicate its purpose apart from one marble bowl. In spite of this, it can be considered to be part of the temple complex, perhaps the living quarters of those with duties in the temple” (Duru and Umurtak 2005:171). In sum, all three better preserved buildings (B.3-5) have been interpreted by the excavators as a temple complex, leaving only B.1 and B.2 as not immediately part of the ‘temple’. And since B.1 was not contemporary to the

others, and B.2 might in fact be an “open or semi-open work area” (Duru and Umurtak 2005:165) rather than a residence, this would make Höyücek a small ritual centre used by a larger community that lived nearby (Duru and Umurtak 2005:172; Umurtak 2011b:5), probably with only very few permanent residents, all of which would be related to the temple (Umurtak 2000b:688).

The excavators (Duru and Umurtak 2005:171) give two reasons for the reconstruction of Buildings 3-4 as a temple. First, the position of the buildings, whereby it remains unclear what is meant by this since if three out of five buildings making up the site represent the temple, it is difficult to argue for a ‘central’ position. And second, the artefacts found inside the buildings (Table 43). This argument is also problematic since it cannot be assumed that the state the building was left/ burnt in is also representative of its normal appearance and use pre-abandonment. For example, the excavators themselves stated that B.5 was modified (emptied) before abandonment/burning; it is possible that B.3+4 underwent different abandonment preparation processes, whereby objects were specially deposited in parts of the building. The description that “the items placed in *Adyton* [B.4], in front of the door of the cell and at the foot of the steps, such as the marble bowl, the pottery, the stone chisels, the rhyton in the shape of a boot and the thousands of silex blades [as well as deer antlers, three bottom jawbones of large animals and ten astragalus bones mentioned on p.167] made it impossible to walk around in this section” (Duru and Umurtak 2005:171) makes it seem questionable whether this actually represents the normal state of this room (Düring 2011c:165; see below, House-related ritual).

For this thesis, most relevant is the question of whether B.3+4 was only used for ritual, and not as a residence. Given the oven, hearth, and food stores found there (see below, House furnishing), and in light of the fact that the special artefacts deposited here might be representative of the building during its use phase, it might be more prudent to reconstruct Höyücek Shrine phase as a collection of household residences (also similarly suggested by Martinoli and Nesbitt 2003:27), and it will be analysed here as such. If it were true that B.3-5 represent a temple complex, however, then in combination with the excavator’s assumption that they excavated the entirety of the Höyücek Shrine phase this would mean that this small hamlet did in fact consist of only a temple and one or two (if B.1 was also in use for part of the use life of B.2-5) houses. Höyücek ‘Shrine phase’ might therefore not represent a Late Neolithic village community of a size large enough to incorporate the social buildings and processes that are the interest of this thesis: a shifting balance of household autonomy and communal integration, emerging differences in social

power and wealth.

Reconstructing buildings

The excavators see Buildings 3 and 4 as functioning together, and this could also be suggested if they are reconstructed as residential in nature. When discussing this issue, it is difficult to not get drawn into a circular argument by assuming that residences must have been as captured in the 'complete house' indicator discussed in Chapter 7. For example, it could be argued that Building 4 (after the construction of storage containers in its southern half) could not have functioned as a house because so much of its internal space is taken up with storage facilities that very little remains for e.g. sitting and sleeping; or because it did not have a hearth. Further, a door connects B.3 and B.4, and unless the rather conjectural reconstruction of another door in the badly preserved south wall of B.4 (Duru and Umurtak 2005:167, Pl.14.2) is accepted, this would have been the only entrance to B.4. On the other hand, B.4 does not share walls with B.3; but it does seem to share walls with Building 2, as argued above; the plan (above) seems to indicate that the western walls of B.2 and B.4, as well as the wall dividing both are all built as one construction. Having to make a decision, I will assume that B.2, with its own entrance from the north, was more likely an independent residence, but B.4 and B.3 together formed a house since B.4 probably could only be accessed from B.3, and if it had another entrance from the south, this would have been effectively blocked when the storage bins were constructed, which also limit living space to a degree that it seems more likely that B.4 does not represent a completely self-sufficient residence.

In sum, (the excavated part of) Höyücek Shrine phase most likely consisted of three houses: B.2, B.3+B.4, and B.5; with B.1 belonging to an older phase. If this does indeed represent the entire village, it again seems questionable how much information about communal structures can be gained from this small site, which might only have housed a few dozen people; however, the existence of such a small hamlet in itself would be noteworthy in contrast to more sizable contemporaries such as Hacilar VI/II. If these three houses are seen as part of a larger, unexcavated village then it remains unclear how representative they are of the social structures at the site. In either case, Höyücek Shrine phase might not be an ideal case study for an investigation of intermediate-level social organisation.

Household autonomy and community integration

House layouts

The Shrine phase houses are clearly very idiosyncratic in their sizes and layouts (#38), but also display some similarities: Comparing the two better preserved residences, B.5 and B.3+4, both (in their last, preserved phases) had two rooms. But B.3+4 has many more internal installations and a more compartmentalised internal configuration, and the location and orientation of doorways is different.

Also drawing on the better preserved houses: B.5 and B.3+4 each underwent several phases of restructuring and/or repair (#39). B.5 was originally built as one large room, but later subdivided into two; and even later, the door between the two rooms was closed with bricks. A door to the outside located in the north wall was also later closed. The floor in the smaller room was renewed several times. The building also seems to have had structural issues, with walls slumping and bending, and the excavators recorded that the resulting gaps and cracks were filled in with mudbrick. A number of short wall fragments outside the south wall of the building, where the ground seems to have sloped downhill, are also interpreted as possible stabilisation measures; similarly a wall constructed alongside the northern house wall. In B.3+4, the excavators reconstructed that the bin installations (dividing walls, bins, platforms) were added sometime after the original construction of the house. It is also possible that the two rooms were not built at the same time, since their walls are not bonded, and part of their dividing wall is made up from two parallel walls (Duru and Umurtak 2005:167-168, Pl.7). If accepting the above argument for B.3+4 functioning together as a house, no connecting doors (#66) between residences were found.

House furnishing

Except for the poorly preserved B.1, all houses had a fire installation (#4), although these vary in size and nature (Table 42). With B.1 being so poorly preserved, it is not actually possible to state that it did not have a fire installation.

Storage is challenging to reconstruct. Buildings 2-4 each have installations described as “clay boxes”, constructed with clay slabs and clay plaster and apparently intensively used because repairs were observed on some. The fact that one of the

'boxes' in Building 4 as well as similar installation located outside houses (below, Unroofed areas) contained charred grain could be seen as indication that the 'boxes' at Höyücek represent food storage containers. Non-food items were also found in the boxes (Table 42), and the excavators interpret that the boxes were used for storage of such non-food items; alternatively, these finds could represent special depositions that do not represent the usual use of the installations. The excavators (Duru and Umurtak 2005:169-170; Umurtak 2007b:4) typologise these clay boxes by size and interpret boxes of medium and large size (with large boxes called 'bins', see next paragraph) as storage containers, but smaller boxes are not clearly allocated a function and some of the boxes in B.2 and the open area west of B.3 are reported as "open-topped tinder boxes, thought to have been used for cooking". It is not entirely clear how storage boxes were distinguished from 'tinder boxes', but if this reconstruction is correct then one or two of the B.2 boxes were not storage facilities and accordingly the building had only one or two storage boxes.

In its second phase, Building 4 had also a total of 5 installations described as 'grain bins'. These are described as very similar to the 'boxes', but much larger. From the publications, it does not become entirely clear how it was reconstructed that they were used for grain storage since none seems to have actually been found inside bins. B.2, B.3 and B.4 also had vessel-like niches in the walls that the excavators conceptualise as storage space (Duru and Umurtak 2005:160-170). Building 4 also seems to have contained particularly many charred plant remains, or at least particularly many samples were taken there (Nesbitt and Martinoli 2005:Fig.38; Martinoli and Nesbitt 2003:Tab.1); all plant remains recovered from Höyücek Shrine phase are interpreted as food or fodder (Martinoli and Nesbitt 2003:26).

There were further a number of installations/artefacts that are not described as storage facilities by the excavators, but could be interpreted as such. In Building 3, five large marble bowls were found close to the clay boxes, but whether these also represent storage containers, and whether any other types of storage facilities other than the clay boxes and bins were found at the site is not indicated in the publications. One of the B.4 'boxes' was located in a small side-room that was separated from the main room in B.4 by thin mudbrick and wattle-and-daub walls. Given the limited dimensions of this side room, it as well could maybe be seen as a storage facility. On the outside of this cell, inside the main room, a small construction with unknown function was located that in appearance resembled a miniature staircase; further, a marble pot was found at the bottom of these steps and just in front of the entrance to the small side-room (Duru and Umurtak

2005:168, Pl.17.1). While the function of these items unclear, it cannot be said whether they support or disprove a reconstruction of the B.4 side room as storage space. Building 5 did not have recognisable storage installations, and although in principle storage there could have been done in movable/organic containers that were not preserved, the ample presence of clay boxes and bins in the other buildings as well as outdoor areas could be used to argue that it is unlikely that B.5-storage took such completely different form (Duru and Umurtak 2005:165-166, Pl.7). It is important to note that both animal remains and botanic remains were collected through what Martinoli and Nesbitt (2003:18) call “a sampling regime focused mainly on visible accumulation”, i.e. they were collected when seen by the excavators and deemed important (animal bones: DeCupere 2005:205; Duru and DeCupere 2003:109). Even if assuming that the buildings and the work/storage area outside B.3 (see below, Unroofed space) burnt in an accidental fire, and that they might therefore be preserved with all the (charred) stored food present, the excavation strategy was not suited to pick up on this evidence. In conclusion, the (recognisable) storage capacities of B.3-4 by far exceed that of B.2 (#77), and B.5 has now recognisable storage facilities (#75). The asymmetric distribution of storage installation, and somewhat asymmetric distribution of cooking installations, could possibly indicate cooperation between households; but as always, reconstruction storage capacities represents a challenge.

building	fire installations	storage(?) installations	plant food remains
B.1	no oven or hearth found	none recognised	
B.2	oven with hearth	three clay boxes	
B.3	oven with hearth	a few clay boxes	In the roomfill(?): emmer, wild einkorn, bitter vetch, lentil
B.4		cell/tub in northeast corner a total of eight clay boxes/bins in the cell and main rooms	on the floor: emmer, rye, wheat, wild einkorn, bitter vetch, lentil, lathyrus [a legume], goat grass, Medicago sp. [fruit] near bin: wheat, lentil in bin: wheat, bitter vetch, lentil, lathyrus
B.5	a small round hearth	none recognised	

Table 42 Höyücek ShP: evidence for storage.

Installations from Duru and Umurtak 2005:165-170, Umurtak 2007b:4, details of plant remains from Martinoli and Nesbitt 2003; Nesbitt and Martinoli 2005:Fig.38, listing only species with more than 10 specimens found. Note also that the exact location of some of the botanic samples is unknown (Martinoli and Nesbitt 2003:18).

Building materials and construction techniques

There is no information available on variations of building materials between buildings (#10 vs. #57). All buildings seem to have used two different brick types together (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164; Umurtak 2000a:686); and the publications do not mention differences in mudbrick composition or colour between walls or buildings. The fact that all walls were burnt to varying degrees means that colours would not have been indicative of mudbrick composition. The use of construction techniques, however, was clearly idiosyncratic. A variety of different construction styles was observed between the Shrine phase buildings (#11). For example, B.1 had thicker walls constructed with a double row of mudbricks, but wall thickness in general is quite variable even within the same house (Umurtak 2000a:687). The B.3+B.4-residence is made up from a patchwork of walls that have different thicknesses and use different construction styles (e.g. wattle-and-daub vs. mudbrick). The northern part of B.2 might also have been made from something other than mudbrick. For the repairs in B.5, mudbricks were used that differed in shape/size from those of the original wall; the floor in the smaller room was renewed a few times, and floor types differed between phases (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164-168). In combination with the idiosyncratic ways in which buildings were designed and modified (#38) this attests that households were at liberty to build and change their houses independently. By contrast, B.2-4 seem to share walls (#54). The eastern walls of B.2 and B.4 as well as the wall dividing them seem to represent one single construction, and the plan (above) also seems to indicate that the western wall of B.2 is bonded to the adjacent NE corner of B.3.

House-related ritual

No ritual elaboration of buildings through architectural installations or paintings was present or was found at Höyücek; instead, ritual charge might have been achieved with mobile items. The excavators seem to attribute ritual function to number of artefacts “such as the marble bowl, the pottery, the stone chisels, the rhyton in the shape of a boot” clustered in B.3+4 (Duru and Umurtak 2005:171). This is not stated directly, but since the artefacts (see Table 43 for a full inventory of B.3+4) are used to argue for an identification of the building as a shrine (Duru 1993c, 2001d:54; Duru and Umurtak 2005:171,), it can be deduced that either individual artefacts themselves, or the assemblage, is regarded as ritual in nature. It is not in the scope of this thesis to scrutinise the identification of these items as

ritual, but it was relevant to reconstruct their distribution between the buildings of the Shrine phase (Table 43). Unfortunately, that is only partially possible. The finds contexts of Höyücek Shrine phase artefacts are not systematically reported; in the 2005 publication, artefacts are discussed by level without any more detailed information on their origin except for a few references to finds location. Similarly, the architecture part occasionally mentions special finds that are considered relevant to understanding of the building function. These were collected in Table 43, but do not represent a full account of house inventories or artefacts otherwise found in relation to structures (e.g. in the roomfill); it also sometimes remains unclear whether they were found on the floor or in the roomfill. Based on the thus reconstructed distribution of artefacts, B.3 and B.4 indeed stand out as having particularly many artefacts, including those of a possible ritual nature. It is however possible that this is a somewhat distorted image of actual artefact distribution at the site, since only selected artefacts are reported with location. Additionally, the excavators themselves believe that B.1, 2 and B.5 were cleaned of their inventory during an abandonment process (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164-165), so that the artefacts as found are not indicative of what was originally in the buildings. Interpreting the asymmetric distribution of ritual items, it could be argued that their clustering in one building can be interpreted as a suprahousehold sharing and pooling of ritual capacities (#86), actually not too dissimilar of the excavators' original interpretation of this building as a shrine.

It is also possible to argue for potential closing rituals at Höyücek. Düring (2011c:165) suggested that the Höyücek Shrine phase buildings B.3-5 might have been intentionally set on fire (#31). The excavators see this fire as an accident (Duru and Umurtak 2005:230), but an intentional house fire could be a possibility given that the buildings might have been specially prepared before the fire: B.5 was "probably emptied before the fire that caused its destruction" (Duru and Umurtak 2005:171). By contrast, artefact might have been intentionally deposited in B.3+4: it was already mentioned that so many artefacts were found on the floor and in installations in B.4 that they "made it impossible to walk around in this section" (Duru and Umurtak 2005:171). The excavators further (Duru and Umurtak 2005:165; also Umurtak 2000a:693) report "vessels and stone chisels found in situ in the indented sections" left and right of the southern doorway in B.3, as well as bone tools (Duru 2012:9). Based on these artefacts, they argue that the indentations, which otherwise could be interpreted as holding some organic (maybe wooden) door construction, were not actually used for a door. As an alternative to this interpretation, I suggest that these artefacts might not actually have been in this place while the building was in use and probably had some door construction,

but were placed there as part of the abandonment process, which must also have included removing the door. Interpreting the many artefacts of B.3+4 as part of an abandonment ritual also in turn, however, questions whether this actually also represent the status of the building prior to abandonment, for example as a place used by several households for ritual, as suggested by me above, or also Duru and Umurtak's interpretation of this being a temple. However, the abandonment rituals themselves can be seen as something representing the ritual elaboration of the houses. A different abandonment treatment is attested from B.1 and B.2 which were cleaned out and dismantled during the course of the Shrine phase (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164), thus attesting to a certain asymmetry (#86) or idiosyncrasy (#22) of abandonment rituals/treatment (see below, Warfare, for a discussion of whether these were burnt).

Only one human burial was found at Höyücek, a newborn deposited just east of B.1 in unclear stratigraphical position either belonging to the Shrine phase or the subsequent Sanctuary phase. No subfloor or otherwise in-house burials were found at all (Duru and Umurtak 2005:180). Building continuity (#88) does not seem to have been a feature at the site. Only the observation that B.3+4 maybe had older, similar buildings underneath (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164) suggests some degree of constancy of place and layout, but this older phase is not actually investigated to a point where such an interpretation can be sustained.

building	Finds
B.1	<p>on the floor: a group of clay objects interpreted as sling shots large stone axes (Duru and Umurtak:2005:112, 165)</p> <p>In the roomfill: A large impression of a weaved basket on a piece of earth hardened by fire (Duru and Umurtak 2005:129, 203)</p>
B.2	none mentioned
B.3	<p>On the floor/in installations: A large number of ceramic vessels in the oven and hearth (Duru and Umurtak 2005:169)</p> <p>marble bowls, of which five were located in the area of the door to B.4 (Duru and Umurtak 2005:127, 202)</p> <p>in the wall indentations next to the southern door opening: vessels and stone chisels (Duru and Umurtak 2005:165)</p>

B.4	<p>On floors/ in installations: One miniature model of a table found in a clay box (Duru 1993c; Duru and Umurtak 2005: 115, 167, 198)</p> <p>deer antlers, three bottom jawbones of large animals and ten astragalus bones on the threshold between room and 'cell'</p> <p>stone chisel and a "rhyton in the shape of a kidney" in one of the clay boxes in the cell</p> <p>on the floor in front of the 'staircase': a group consisting of a marble bowl, a terracotta bowl, a large stone chisel, and a boot-shaped object</p> <p>"In a shallow hole behind the steps, thousands of silex blades of various sizes were found. None of these blades had been used" (Duru 1994a:Levha 6/2, 10/1; Duru and Umurtak 2005:167)</p> <p>In the roomfill: "a necklace consisting of grey, blue and off-white coloured beads", on which one is formed like and animal head (Duru and Umurtak 2005:123, 201)</p> <p>marble bowls (Duru and Umurtak 2005:127, 202)</p>
B.5	<p>marble bowls (Duru and Umurtak 2005:127, 202)</p> <p>also note that excavation photos seem to show clusters of artefacts either on the floor or very close to floor level (Duru 1994a:Levha 4/2)</p>

Table 43 Höyücek ShP: building inventories.

Settlement layout

The excavated buildings cluster densely (#47), but the buildings are accessible through doors on ground level-the roofscape might therefor not have been used intensely for transport. If assuming that there were more, unexcavated parts to the settlement, it is possible to postulate that B/.1-5 represented one of several house clusters, separated from each other by open spaces/ activity areas similar to the one attested around B.2-5. Possibly the Höyücek Shrine phase represents a modification of the 'courtyard cluster' (#50), whereby not houses cluster around a courtyard, but the courtyard surrounds a house cluster. The village could be made up from neighbourhood groups that lived in tight-knit daily social and economic cooperation in such house clusters with a surrounding courtyard.

Unroofed space

B.2-5 were surrounded by unroofed spaces that contained a number of storage and

food processing installations (**#81, #82**): An oven with adjacent clay box was located east of B.5 over the area previously occupied by B.1. A particularly extensive 'workshop area' was located west of B.3 and contained several clay boxes, fire spots, grinding installations made from walls fixed with the help of clay; marble vessels, and other artefacts (Duru and Umurtak 2005:164, 169). Two of the boxes were found with relatively sizeable amounts of charred grain inside, and are therefore interpreted as storage vessels; they might have had lids e.g. made from wood (Umurtak 2007b:7). This area was prepared by means of a floor partially constructed with clay slabs and partially with lime stone rubble. There were also three short, freestanding and plastered walls interpreted as installations "for putting objects on". The excavators did not find other signs of cover/shelter constructed for this work area, but hypothesised the existence of light covers with organic materials (Duru and Umurtak 2005:165-166). There further was a hearth attached to the outside of the southern wall of B.3 (Duru and Umurtak 2005:168), and the plan (above) also shows more installations in this area, a corner between outer walls of B.3+4, possibly bins or boxes.

Taken together, these installations and artefacts suggest that food processing, food storage and possibly other (non-food) production activities were regularly carried out outside residences. Artefacts reported from outside areas included bone tools, mace head, pestles, mortars, marble bowls, a clay object resembling a miniature table and a triangular object, both interpreted as ritual (Duru and Umurtak 2005:197-199, 202-203), attesting either to a variety of activities taking place here or maybe a use of the area also for refuse disposal (**#80**). The excavators interpreted the installations outside B.3 as belonging to this building (Duru and Umurtak 2005:166), but there is no indication for this other than the fact the installations are located closer to the B.3 entrance than to that of the other residences. There does not seem to be a way of finding out who used these installations, but their location on the outside would have fostered informal contact between household groups even if installations were individually owned.

Non-residential buildings

All buildings are residences if B.3+4 are not interpreted as a temple (see above, Building function).

Conclusions

In conclusion, indicators for household autonomy and those for community integration are balanced at Höyücek ShP, but signs for cross-household integration maybe prevail over those for household independence. Each house is built with an idiosyncratic layout (**#38**), using a variety of construction techniques (**#11**), and changed individually during its life time (**#39**)—although some buildings shared party walls (**#54**). Each house had a fire installation (**#4**), but storage seems to be asymmetrically distributed (**#75, #77**), even though it is, as usual, not possible to reconstruct storage capacities with certainty. The building cluster densely (**#47**), and might represent one of several clusters (**#50**), surrounded by intensely used outdoor spaces (**#80, #81, #82**) which fostered cross-household socialising and social control.

Social competition and stratification

The sample of houses excavated of Höyücek ShP is too small for a reliable analysis of social competition/stratification. In addition, house formation processes presumably modified the building significantly during abandonment, and each in a different way that makes is near impossible to reconstruct their original internal furnishing, on which much of the competition/stratification discussion is based: B.1 and B.2 are either poorly preserved and/or were dismantled intentionally; Building 5 was intentionally emptied during abandonment; and B.3+4 possibly provisioned with special ritual deposits during abandonment (see above, Reconstructing buildings, House-related ritual).

If conducting an analysis in spite of these formation processes, it is not surprising that B.3+4 stands out has having particularly large storage capacities (**#112**), more artefacts (**#117**), and more special artefacts (**#119**). This might reflect the different abandonment processes rather than a different socioeconomic status prior to abandonment, though. It could be argued that this special abandonment treatment (**#122**) is itself a reason to postulate some higher status of the house. B.3+4 is also larger than B.1 and B.2 (**#106, #107**), and has more (preserved) internal furnishing than B.5 (**#111, #112, #113**). Its building materials do not appear special, however (cf. **#110**). There might therefore be reason to interpret B.3+4 as the residence for an economically more productive, and socially and ritually more successful household. But without a larger sample of similarly well-preserved buildings to

compare, this must remain a hypothesis.

It is difficult to make a statement about social competition. B.3 has a large, centrally located oven/hearth (**#104**), B.5 a cooking installation in a side room (**#103**). Both have internal subdivision (**#100**). But what this means in terms of hospitality and a 'hiding' of resources is difficult to say since food-ways and economic organisation at the site are so poorly researched.

Mobility

There is architecturally no reason to interpret Höyücek ShP and either a campsite or base settlement. The faunal analysis does not seem to have delivered any interpretations on herding strategies (Duru and DeCupere 2003). If Höyücek ShP, however, indeed only consisted of five houses, then some relation to other groups located elsewhere must have existed, at least for the exchange of marriage partners. Duru (Duru and Umurtak 2005:171-172) postulated that the small resident population were ritual specialists for groups living in the region; if not accepting Höyücek ShP as a ritual place, another kind of exchange network might have existed that required regular movement between Höyücek and other settlements, maybe akin to part-mobility.

Warfare

Neither the excavators nor Clare et al. (2008:Fig.5) recognised any architectural warfare preparations at the site. Clare et al. (2008:Fig.5, 73-74) interpret the fire(s) that destroyed the Shrine Phase (**#179**) as a signature for warfare, also because it was followed by a hiatus (**#181**). In fact, they seem to suggest two different destruction events: Since B.1 and B.2 were abandonment before the other buildings, there were two separate fire destruction events (Clare et al. 2008:Fig.5). The first of these fires is difficult to verify: although Duru states that "All the Sh.P buildings were destroyed by fire" (Duru and Umurtak 2005:230), and none of the publications clearly states that B.2 and B.1 were not burnt, in a colour photo showing all structures (Duru 2008:Figs.62, 64, 66, 69), the mudbrick of these structures looks unburnt, possibly with the exception of the walls that are adjacent to Building 4 and 5 respectively. As for the second fire: the excavators interpreted it

as an accident (Duru and Umurtak 2005:230), and I have above suggested that there is reliable evidence for a ritual, or in any case planned abandonment of all Buildings 3-5. I therefore conclude that these fires were probably not due to a hostile attack.

The hiatus after the Shrine Phase was postulated by Duru (and Umurtak 2005:227) without any clear indication of reasons, and by Schoop (2005b:Fig.49; Clare et al. 2008:74) based on pottery development, but Thissen (2010:275) points out continuity in material culture. This question cannot be solved here, but without a preceding hostile destruction, there anyway seems little ground for interpreting this potential settlement interruption as a result of warfare.

Bademağacı

Introducing Bademağacı

The site of Bademağacı (210m x 120m, height 11m Duru 2008:19 or 9m, Duru 2007:342, 2012:13) is located 20km to the southeast from Bucak and Höyücek, close to the Taurus foothills and a natural pass through the Taurus mountains (Duru 1999b:179). Following work at Höyücek, Refik Duru's team worked at Bademağacı from 1993 until 2010. An area of 3000m² equating to almost half of the mound surface was excavated and virgin soil was reached in two places (Duru 2012:13-14). The Bademağacı team is currently working on a final book-publication of the site (Duru and Umurtak 2011b:15). It is possible that the forthcoming book with present new views of the Bademağacı stratigraphy and architecture; until then, Duru's (2007, 2008, 2012) summaries of the Lake District Neolithic and the annual reports represent the most up-to-date view of the excavation team.

Overview of levels and architecture

The excavators distinguished 19 building levels from the Early Neolithic to the Middle Bronze Age (Duru 2008:18), including short-lived or ephemeral EC and LC occupation evidenced by pot sherds without architecture found above the Late Neolithic levels (Duru 2008:18, 45, 122; Schoop 2005:170). 21 occupational levels at Bademağacı fall into the time period researched here: the team labelled them ENI, ENII, LN and EC with further subdivisions (e.g. ENII3) (Appendix 1). Excavations did not investigate all levels equally, and only EBA and 'ENII' levels were preserved and investigated to a larger degree (ENII3 was uncovered over 500m², Duru 2012:15).

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Figure 35 Bademağacı ENII3/ ENII2: plan of excavated structures (Duru 2008:Fig.45).

The Late Neolithic: EN I and EN II levels

The lowermost levels, labelled ENI9-5 were excavated in two small sondages (Duru 2008: Fig.35-37). Level ENI9 represents a layer of 0.6-0.7m thickness without architectural remains. The following ENI8 had fragments of a well-preserved lime plaster floor, but no walls (Duru 2008:18, Fig.35-37, 2012:14-15). The 2.5m thick deposits of the ENI7-5 did not contain walls, but some floor levels could be seen in the section (Duru 2008:18, Fig.36, 2012:15). The excavation team seems to reconstruct that the buildings of the ENI consisted of wattle-and-daub based on the absence of any traces of architecture (Cutting 2005b:93; Duru 2008:28, 2012:23; Umurtak 2007b:1); however no postholes or daub remains seem to have been found.

Architectural remains start with the ENII levels (Duru 2008:24), of which a total of 19 buildings was excavated in the centre of the mound, relatively well preserved, but never very high (Duru 2008:Figs.42-45¹³). The building remains partially overlay each other, and the excavators distinguished six subphases (ENII4b, 4a, 4, 3a, 3, 2) (Appendix 1). The ENII1 level had only fragments of architecture that did not form buildings (Duru 2012:17; Duru and Umurtak 2007b:7); ENII2 and 1 also seem to have been partially disturbed by EBA remains (Duru 2004a:544) or because they

¹³ Four buildings from the ENII4, 4a, b are visible in Duru 2008:Fig.42; nine buildings from the ENII3 are visible in Duru 2008:Fig.45; six buildings from the ENII2 are visible in Duru 2008:Fig.45. Duru 2008:Fig.44 shows 3 and 3a, of which one should belong to 3a because it is not visible in Duru 2008:Fig.45.

were close to the surface mound (Duru 2002b:581).

Since within the open settlement layout, there are relatively large distances between each other (Duru 2008:Fig.45), no direct stratigraphic connections would have existed between some houses that were attributed to the same subphase; and because none of the levels was very thick/high, some buildings attributed to different subphases were found nearly at the same height (e.g. Duru 2008:Fig.44). Some installations found between houses could also not clearly be attributed to any subphases (Duru 2008:Fig.45). In light of this, it might be best to research the 19 buildings of the ENII4-2 together; not as a contemporary village (the Bademağacı ENII lasted up to 350 years; Appendix 1) but as an organically growing and changing village in which houses were modified, abandoned and founded on independent schedules and not necessarily in subphases that encompassed the entire village. The dispersed stratigraphy actually makes it impossible to know which of the buildings functioned together as a village; this complicates some areas of the analysis (e.g. comparing presence/absence of features between contemporary houses). In light of this, it is necessary to compromise temporal resolution and treat all buildings as more or less contemporary unless they directly overlay each other. All of the ENII buildings seem to have been at least partially burnt, preserving many of them well including interior furnishing and mobile equipment; yet none seems to have been preserved higher than ca. 60cm (Duru 2008:Figs.43-50).

Southwest of the cluster of ENII buildings and at ca. 15m distance from the nearest house, several stone walls were found that do not form clear buildings. One of these is described as a 'room' of unknown function by the excavators, the other wall fragments as a defence structure (Duru 2008:Fig. 45, 51). No stratigraphic connection between this and the ENII houses were found since the area in between remained unexcavated (Duru 2012:17, footnote 15); the pottery assemblage seems to indicate that the stone walls belonged to the ENII3 (Duru 2002:582, 2008:32), but pottery might only go so far in dating buildings within a dense and complex stratigraphy such as that of Bademağacı where formation processes might move artefacts out of context. The excavators also reconstructed that the EBA settlement was constructed around the existing mound in a way that in some places ENII and EBA pottery was discovered on the same level asl within the same trench (Duru 2004a:546; Duru and Umurtak 2006:13); it therefore seems possible that the stone buildings discussed here actually belong with the EBA, where most buildings were built with stone. Nevertheless, these will be treated as ENII buildings here.

The Early Chalcolithic: LN2, LN1, EC levels

Since the EBA buildings were concentrated at the perimeter of the mound, some parts of the 'LN' and 'EC' levels located in the centre were not overlaid by EBA or MBA remains but encountered just below the mound surface and not well preserved due to ploughing (Duru 1999b:179; 2008:8, 45, 2012:13; Schoop 2005b:170). Some buildings attributed to the 'LN' were found and are described below; no 'EC' architecture was encountered. Reading different descriptions of the LN and EC levels, it appears that these levels were encountered in two different areas of the mound: First, in the centre of the mound, where a deep trench was excavated to research the 'EN' levels, the LN and EC consisted of a sediment layer overlaying the 'EN', of varying thickness between 1m (Duru 2008:114) and 1.5m (Duru 2012:14) containing pottery and small finds but without architecture. And second, more of the sediment with LN and EC finds (Duru and Umurtak 2011b:9-10) as well as the buildings attributed to the LN were found in a different part of the site under the EBA buildings. In fact, the EBA and LN buildings were found nearly on the same level or overlaying each other directly (Duru 2008:Figs.84-85): "Building remains from these two time periods that are thousands of years apart in time, were found at almost exactly the same elevation next to each other" (Duru 2012:17). This very compressed stratigraphy is reason for doubt as to the correct attribution of the 'LN' buildings to this time period (Düring 2011c:172), even more so because they were void of artefacts and thus of datable material (Duru 2008:44, 2012:18). It does not seem impossible that they did in fact belong with the EBA; in fact, when excavated they were first assigned to the EBA (Duru 2012:17, footnote 16; also see Duru 2004a:542-542, Duru and Umurtak 2006b:13 with a longer discussion of the complex stratigraphy of the EC-EBA levels of the mound).

The architectural structures belonging to the 'LN' consist of what seems to be two rectangular buildings that overlay each other (LN1 and LN2). The large, rectangular LN1 building stood adjacent to a structure composed of five parallel walls that were only 60-70cm apart ('grill plan') and are understood by the excavators as foundations for a second building. None of the buildings contained artefacts, and they were not preserved to great heights. Duru reconstructs them as stone foundations with mudbrick walls, but it remains unclear whether any mudbrick was found. The LN2 building was connected to a long straight wall that the excavators understand as a defence structure (Duru 2008:44, Figs.83-85). At a distance of ca. 5m from these two buildings, three short and disjointed wall fragments were found together with a few installations. These structures were not directly stratigraphically connected to the two larger buildings, and the excavators remain

unsure about their attribution to the LN (Duru 2012:18). Duru (2012:17, footnote 15) mentions that “There are two important Late Neolithic buildings between these stone walls [the possible defence walls of ENII3] and the houses of EN II / 3 that have not yet been excavated”, and also notes other wall fragments found across the mound that might belong to the LN (Duru 2012:18). While it is not clear how these two unexcavated buildings were dated to the LN, it might attest that more structures of this period existed on the mound.

In conclusion, the 19 buildings of the ENII4-2 can be researched here. The two ‘LN’ levels with one poorly preserved building each are cannot effectively be analysed here; the other pre-Bronze Age levels did not yield architecture. For none of the phases it is known how far the village extended and how representative the excavated parts are. Duru (2008:29) states about the ENII3 that “houses nos. 2, 3 and 4 are side by side while others stand alone. The dispersion of these houses suggests a minimum of 30 houses were located all over the mound at this time”. This statement seems to indicate that he expected at least the ENII3 village to have spread over the entire rest of the area covered by the mound (also Umurtak cited in Cutting 2005b:94); but this cannot be seen as certain since the level was not actually excavated in areas where EBA buildings overlaid the ‘EN’ (Duru 2012:17).

Household autonomy and suprahousehold integration

House layouts

With the exception of the stone structures in the southwest, all 9 buildings of ENII4-2 seem to be conceptualised by the excavators as individual residences (Umurtak 2000a:685). ENII2 Structure 1¹⁴ consisted of only a few walls that do not form clear rooms; it is therefore best not researched as a house. The excavated part of Structure 4 seems to have been entirely for storage, and because it was located near the trench border, this structure and surrounding Structures 3 and 5 were only partially excavated, leaving it unclear whether and how these rooms belonged together as a house. ENII3 Structure 9 as well was only partially excavated; the analysis of this Structure and ENII2 Structures 3-5 must therefore remain

¹⁴ Referring to the numbering of structures as published in Duru 2008:Fig.45, which for ENII2 buildings are different from those in Duru 2007:Fig.54 and 2012:Fig.54.

incomplete. A very small rectangular structures was assigned to level ENII4 (Duru 2008:Fig.42), but because of its comparatively limited size compared to the other ENII buildings, this was probably not a house. In sum, 10 houses of the ENII were completely excavated.

House furnishing

The houses can be described as having similar layouts with idiosyncrasies (#38) that contradict standardisation (#64). Also houses from the subsequent subphases of the ENII appear very similar in construction, size and furnishing (Duru 2002:581, 2012:15; Duru and Umurtak 2007b:7), so that no chronological changes can be observed (#40-#46). Most ENII houses consisted of one rectangular room, with a door opening in one long side and a hearth opposite the door on the opposite wall (Duru 1999b:180, 2012:15-16; Umurtak 2000a:684-686). But ENII3 Structure 8 had a side room, Structures 1 and 2 had two door openings each, and Structure 2 the aforementioned side room/side passage. Some buildings had a platform along one side (Duru 2012:16). ENII2 Structure 2 had the hearth in a corner near the door (Duru 2008:Figs.45). Further variation is summarised in Table 44, which uses the most completely preserved/excavated level ENII3 as an example to display variations between probably contemporary buildings; based on the current publications, this information suffices to conclude that houses varied in their internal furnishing, but a more systematic mapping of features which might indicate patterns of social closeness needs to await the publication of a more detailed house-by-house description.

All fully excavated houses had ovens and hearths (#4) (Duru 1999:180, 2008:Fig.42, 45, 2012:16). The plan (Duru 2008:Fig.45) does not show hearths/ovens in ENII3 Structure 9 and the rooms ENII2 Structures 3-5, but since only parts of them were uncovered, it also cannot be stated that they did not contained hearths (#72). All buildings also seem to have contained grinding equipment, in some cases embedded into a mud platform (Duru 2008:Figs.48-50, Figs.56-57, 2012:16).

Storage structures in and outside houses consisted in rows of bins constructed with clay slabs (Duru 2012:16, 2008:Figs.53, 54; Umurtak 2007b:2-3), some houses apparently also had niches (Umurtak 2007b:8). Although a preliminary report mentions that "Plenty of grain has been found inside these boxes" west of ENII3 Structure 7 (Duru 2005:12), Umurtak (2007:3) states that the other ENII bins were found empty and that it is not clear what they stored originally. Some bins

contained non-food items such as pottery vessel or a bone spatula (Duru 1999:180; Umurtak 2007b:3). Umurtak (2007b:3) reconstructs them as fruit storage spaces, citing the many finds of fruit remains at the site; but she also considers the possibility of grain or legume storage (Umurtak 2007b:7-8). She describes the non-food items found in the bins as ritual offerings related to food storage (Umurtak 2007b:8). It can however not be excluded that the bins were not, or not all, used to store food. Even their function as storage spaces could be doubted; Umurtak (2007b:3) reconstructs that they were empty at the time when they were burned, and if the fire is reconstructed as unintentional (see below, Warfare) it might be difficult to explain why nothing was found in them.

It is thus not clear whether the bins were actually used to store food; in addition, their distribution between houses is only partially published. The existing publications do not systematically specify inside which buildings bin or other storage facilities were found. Storage bins are described as typical furnishing of ENII houses (e.g. Duru 2012:15), and a more detailed comparison of storage space per house (**#5, #6, #75, #76, #77**) might have to await the final publication of the site. Structure 4, or the house that this room formed part of, had particularly much constructed storage space; the excavated part of this room is nearly entirely taken up by a bin structure with 12 compartments and another row of six bins on the outside should probably be seen as part of the building because it is directly attached to the outside of the wall (Duru 2008:Fig.45, 54; Umurtak 2007b:3). This could indicate that the household that Structure 4 belonged to had particularly much (archaeologically recognisable) storage capacity unless this Building is reconstructed a storage space shared between households (see below, Non-residential structures). The analysis of storage spaces is complicated also by the fact that storage bins were found standing outside buildings; and possibly that charred fruit remains were found outside of bins (see below, Unroofed space) and bin space might therefore not be representative of total food storage space. The evidence on storage and household autonomy is, in sum, inconclusive.

A passage or side room between ENII3 Structures 2 and 3, closed off to one side, could potentially be seen as a shared wall feature (**#67**) or shared space, but only Structure 2 had a door connection to this space, so the use of the passage/room might not have been shared. It is unclear what the passage was used for (Duru 1999:180).

Building materials and construction techniques

All houses of the ENII were made from mudbrick (Duru 2008:28), but some variation of building materials and techniques is reported: some buildings used plano-convex bricks, some foundations built in a wet-slab technique, and some had posts (Düring 2011c:163; Duru 1999:180, 2004a:Levha 8/1, 2012:15-16; Umurtak 2000a:684-686). Some structures in ENII4 and its sublevels had stone foundations (Duru 2004a:542). This does attest to a degree of idiosyncrasy in construction (**#10, #11**), but it would be desirable to gain a clearer impression of how this is to be interpreted in social terms for example by systematically mapping building materials/techniques per building and checking e.g. whether some buildings used similar materials (**#56, #57**). Unfortunately it is not systematically specified which buildings used which techniques (preliminary results see Table 44), so that must remain open for the present. Also the non-residential structures varied in their building materials: The possible defence structures in the southwest were made from stone. The very small rectangular structure belonging to ENII4 was “built by placing thin clay plaques side by side and filling the gaps between them with mud” (Duru 1999:180, 2008:28).

A majority of buildings were free-standing without sharing walls with others (**#12**); but ENII3 Structure 3 seems to have been built incorporating the already existing north wall of Structure 4; and the Structure 2 ‘passage’ used Structure 3’s north wall (**#54**) (Duru 2008:Fig.45). It remains unclear whether ENII2 Structures 3, 4 and 5 were individual houses that shared party walls, or formed a residence together.

Few repairs or modifications to the buildings (**#39**) are noted in the publications. Umurtak (2000a:685) reports that in ENII3 Structures 1 and 2, which each had two door openings, one opening each had been closed off at some point. Duru’s (1999:180) remark that “The passage between [ENII3] Structures 2 and 3 had been blocked at one end by a curving wall. The use of this area – filled with burnt mudbrick and plaster – remains a mystery” could be understood to mean that the excavators interpreted this room/passage to already be out of use by the time the rest of the building was burned and then abandoned.

Building	evidence	source
ENII3 Structure 1	foundation built in wet slab technique wooden threshold postholes, 20-30cm diameter door jamb inserted into the wall	Duru 1999:180, 2008:Fig.49; Umurtak 2000a:684-685
	elliptic oven, free-standing with plastered ashpit	

	platform along east wall	
ENI13 Structure 2	wooden threshold three postholes, 10cm diameter door jamb inserted into the wall	Umurtak 2000a:684-686
	semi-circular oven attached to house wall bench near oven	
ENI13 Structure 3	door jamb inserted into the wall	Umurtak 2000a:684-686
	semi-circular oven attached to house wall bench near door	
ENI13 Structure 4	wooden threshold door jamb not inserted into the wall	Umurtak 2000a:684-685
	semi-circular oven attached to house wall	
ENI13 Structure 5	postholes, 20-30cm diameter door jamb not inserted into the wall	Umurtak 2000a:684-686
	rectangular oven, larger, indented into back wall three clay boxes, of which one is described as a firebox	
ENI13 Structure 6		Duru 2008:Fig.45
	partially preserved oven	
ENI13 Structure 7	door jamb inserted into the wall	Duru 2004a:547, 2008:Fig.48
	semi-circular oven not attached to house wall	
ENI13 Structure 8	rectangular mudbricks thick plaster corners / all wall faces were painted red door jamb inserted into the wall postholes	Duru 2004a:547-548, 2004b:16, 2008:Fig.50
	platform in the northwest corner clay box next to platform	

Table 44 Bademağacı ENI13: variations of internal furnishing, building materials and techniques.

House-related ritual

No symbolic elaboration of houses (**#16, #17, #26, #85, #86**) was reported. To possible items of ritual house elaboration were not found in primary context: A “piece of wall decorated with rows of red painted triangles found in the debris of Bademağacı Level EN II / 2” (Duru 2008:Fig.58, 2012:27), but the wall painting is not explicitly described as of ritual nature, and was not found in primary context inside a building. Umurtak (2007b:3) mentions a large clay model possibly showing horns that was found in ENI2 Structure 3, which might have fallen off the wall when the

house was burned.

Building continuity (**#88**) was not a feature at the site. The fact that all houses were burned seems to be understood by the excavators as the results of an accident or hostility (Duru 2012:16; Umurtak 2007b:3), not ritual (**#31**)—no abandonment rituals were reported at all (**#22**). Skeletons of eight individuals were found unburied in the fill of ENII3 Structure 8, but this has also not been connected to ritual. There is some indication of abandonment ritual in Structures 4 and 5, however: Umurtak (2000a:685) reports that pottery fragments, obsidian, chipped stone and stone axes were found inside the indentation that might originally have held a door. A similar treatment of a door was already observed in Höyücek ShP Building 3 (see above); and similar to Höyücek, Umurtak (2000a:685) presents this as evidence that the supposed door jambs were in fact not door jambs; but instead, I suggest the possibility that these items might have been placed intentionally after removing the door during a planned abandonment process.

A total of 37 burials are reported from Bademağacı ENI and ENII, apparently mostly of children and infants, 20 of which were assigned to ENII3 (Duru 2002:382-383, 2004b:17, 2008:51). The publications do not systematically report where these were found and what their connection to buildings was. Nine skeletons were found inside the fill of ENII3 Structure 8 (see below, Warfare). That the Structure 8 skeletons are specifically described in the publications indicates that the other skeletons were not found in roomfill (see pictures of burials Duru 2008:104-105). Another two or three ENII3 are mentioned as having been recovered from under the floor of a building (Duru 2002:583), and since most ENII buildings were not excavated lower than floor level (Duru 2002:578, the other 8-9 burials were probably not subfloor burials but found outside houses. This is also indicated by the fact that a number of burials are described as poorly preserved, and only tentatively attributed to Level ENII3 by Duru (2002:382-383, 2004a:549). In sum, burials seem to have been found subfloor, in housefill and outside of buildings in ENII. One or more of the subfloor burials might be from ENII3 Structure 5, which is shown in the photos (Duru 2008:Fig.47) with a large pit cut into the floor.

Settlement layout

The most extensively excavated level ENII3 can be characterised as relatively dense (**#47**) since there was never more than ca. 5-7m distance between neighbouring houses (Duru 2008:Fig.45). Nothing can be said about ENII4, of which only three

houses in total were uncovered, belong to two different subphases. The two houses of ENII4A stand relatively close together. In ENII2, all structures stand relatively close together in the southwest area of the trench, with the exception of Structure 2, which is located more isolated in the north. The fact that the distance of about 20m between ENII2 Structures 3 and 2 (Duru 2008:Fig.45) probably prevented the recognition of any direct stratigraphic connections between the two casts doubt on the fact whether Structure 2 was actually contemporary with Structures 1, 3-6 of ENII2 and whether this spatial patterning represent sectoring with a social meaning (#49). These buildings were probably subsumed into one subphase (ENII2) because they were all younger than ENII3.

In ENII3, it could be possible to recognise sectoring (#49) into three groups of houses that are relatively close to each other, but with longer distances to other buildings: Structures 6-8, 1-4 and 5 and 9 could each form a house group; Structures 2-4 additionally also share party walls (see above) and cluster with Structure 1 around a courtyard-like space that also contained a storage facility and production debris (see below, unroofed space; and see Steadman 2004:532-533 for a reconstruction of this house group as a cooperative unit). But this might be an over-interpretation of relatively minor differences in the unroofed space between individual houses. And any social meaning of this sectoring seems elusive as long as it cannot be cross-referenced with other indicators of social closeness, such for example shared layouting or construction idiosyncrasies (#56, #57, #59).

It remains unclear whether settlement layout changed over time (**Theme 6**) since much more was excavated of ENII3 than of ENII2 or 4; but from what is excavated, no significant changes can be noted, and all levels were characterised by much open space between Buildings.

Unroofed space

Assigned to sublevel ENII3 (Duru 2005:12; Umurtak 2000a, 2007b), three separate arrangements of storage bins were found standing outside buildings (#81) and because of their outdoor location tentatively describes as communally used storage spaces (Umurtak 2007b:7). They were assigned, then one bin clustered would be located west of Structure 7, one between the entrances to Structures 1 and 3, and one between Structures 5 and 9. Who used these bins must remain unclear, but combining their location with the observation of possible house sectors (above), it could be suggested that they might have been used communally by each of the

three house sectors, but this is entirely speculative. Additionally, a few difficult to interpret short stone walls and rectangular structures might also belong to ENII3 (Duru 2008:Fig.45, east of Structure 1), but their function or usage patterns are entirely unclear.

ENII4 consisted of what seems to be a hearth or oven (#82) and a small rectangular structure (Duru 2008:Fig.42) that might have been a production/storage facility (Steadman 2004:532), but houses contemporary to these structures were not found, therefore they cannot be interpreted.

Little mention is made of what characterised the area between the structures and whether any refuse or primary debris (#80) found between structures of the ENII. A few cases are mentioned throughout the publications that seem to have been exceptional and therefore worth reporting. This could either be interpreted to mean that no find clusters or otherwise clearly recognisable refuse/activity deposits were found in unroofed spaces, or that the publications do not systematically report on unroofed spaces. It is also not systematically reported where the so far published artefacts were found, and some were most probably found in unroofed areas. The preliminary reports anecdotally mention ENII finds from outside buildings or “from debris”, which might refer to areas outside buildings (e.g. Duru 2002:585, 2004a:17, 2008:Fig.156). Further, description of the finds context of Bademağacı faunal remains provided by DeCupere (et al. 2008:371) reads as if a lot of the faunal material was found in sediments between ENII buildings, where it was well preserved and might well indicate either primary (activity areas) or secondary (midden) contexts; this citation also indicates that the excavation strategy was not to document the formation processes of unroofed areas in detail:

“The faunal remains were identified in the field by the first author [DeCupere] during the campaigns of 1998, 1999 and 2005. The material was mainly hand-collected; no sieving was carried out during the excavation of the upper levels but in the deep trenches all sediment from the EN I levels (5 to 9) was screened using a 4 mm mesh. In general, the faunal remains were very well preserved and had a rather dark colour. Almost all show a similar good state of preservation and only a minority of the material has been burnt. Not all stratigraphic levels yielded animal remains, and certainly not in the same quantities. Most of the material was collected from the early Neolithic levels, especially from the EN II period.”

Some evidence of midden-like areas is mentioned. Duru (1999b:180) reports that “On the walking ground around the storage area [between ENII3 Structure 1 and 3],

hundreds of flint and obsidian blades were found together with two vessels that contained dozens of celts". This could indicate that the courtyard-like area in the middle of this house cluster was used to produce chipped stones.

Umurtak (2007b:3; also Duru 2004a:553) mentions that "Kilos of burnt but well-preserved wild apple and pear have been collected from the Bademağacı EN II/ 4B, 4A, 4 and 3 settlements. In the 3-4 meter-long open area outside the houses of EN II/4B settlement, a heap of carbonised fruit spread out was found. Although no fruit residue has been attested in the storage bins of Bademağacı, it should be thought that such fruits were consumed fresh or dried". This clearly indicates the existence of at least one deposit in EN II 4B that could be interpreted as a food processing or storage area; since the other fruit mentioned in the statement was not found in bins, it must either have been found loose inside houses or in unroofed spaces. The former could indicate that food storage was done in houses independent from bins; the latter either food processing or refuse disposal taking place in outdoor areas. It remains to await the final publication of the site to settle this question.

Non-residential buildings

Some structures of the ENII2 might not be houses, but whether that is the case and if yes, how it is to be interpreted remains unclear: Structure 1 is either incompletely preserved or might have been some half-open structure of unknown function. All that was excavated of Structure 4 is taken up with storage bins and it could be a storage building (#91), but the storage bins in Structure 4 could have been part of a house either together with the unexcavated western part of this room which might have offered the space and other facilities needed to make Structure 4 a residence; or it could have functioned together with rooms Structure 3 and/or Structure 5 as a residence. Some stone structures to the southeast of the ENII3 houses are incompletely preserved, not securely dated, and their function remains unclear. That they could have been meant for defence (Duru 2012:17) is a possibility, but with the evidence basis being so unstable (see below, Warfare), they should probably best not be interpreted as an enclosure wall (#92) or other communally used building of ENII3. There were also some other short and thin stone walls placed irregularly within the ENII levels, but their function remained unclear (Duru 2012:16-17).

Conclusions

In conclusion, indicators for household autonomy and those for communal integration are both present in probably quite: Each house had its own cooking facilities (#4), and houses were built with idiosyncratic materials and techniques (#10, #11), layouts (#38) and in most cases without sharing walls (#12). Some modifications (#39) are also reported. Communal integration is suggested by the relatively dense settlement layout (#47), in which the available open space was probably used intensely as evidenced by storage (#81) and cooking (#82) facilities as well as refuse or primary deposits (#80). It is possible that different house clusters signify social groupings (#49); the central group of ENI3 Structures 1-4 is the clearest case of a cooperative group where houses also shared walls (#54) and a courtyard-like space with a storage facility (#81). When the final book on Bademağacı with more detailed evidence is published, it will probably be possible to discuss in greater detail many issues that remain vague here, importantly the location of burials and details of storage facilities.

Social competition and stratification

Social competition

Bademağacı ENI3 does not architecturally have the signature of a site in which household competed through economic productivity, hiding and displaying: the houses are not large (#98) or two-storied (#99; Cutting 2005b:93 citing a personal communication by Umurtak), and generally have little internal subdivision (cf. #100). Inside the one room that must have contained all necessary domestic furnishing, the household and its possessions would have been on display to visitors, but this might rather indicate social control than competition as long as there are no other indicators for social competition. The poor state of knowledge on the economic organisation and food-ways of the site is regrettable when researching potential social competition.

Elite residences

House sizes vary in ENI3, but no house is significantly larger than other (cf. #106). There are no apparent differences in furnishing (#111, #112, #113). The available

publications mention mobile inventory only anecdotally, so that an analysis of indicators **#117-#119** has to await a fuller publication; many seem to have been found with original inventory (Duru 2008:Fig.46, 49, 50), so that such an analysis seems promising. Based on this anecdotal reporting, Structure 8 seems to stand out as featuring many intact pottery vessels, a clay stamp seal, stone chisels and axes and numerous stone beads on or near the floor (Duru 2004a:548, 2004b:16-17, Fig.2, 2008:Fig.50). As long as the location of artefacts is not systematically published, it cannot be systematically researched, but the excavators also seem to see the inventory of Structure 8 as something special, given that they mention it explicitly even though other buildings also had artefacts on the floor (Duru 2008:Fig.46, 48, 49). Structure 8 is also the only one with two rooms (**#107**), which might be significant. It was also the only one with corners painted red (**#110**; Table 44). A spatial ritual function can maybe be excluded given that burials and a possible bucranium clay moulding were found in other buildings, but not in Structure 8 (see above, House-related ritual). Anecdotally, we might then argue for a special socioeconomic status of Structure 8 and its household. This hypothesis should be re-examined once the Bademağacı record is more fully published. The skeletons found in this building are difficult to explain in relation to socioeconomic status. Not impact of status differences on the settlement layout is apparent (**Themes 20, 21**).

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Figure 36 Bademağacı ENI13: excavation photo of Structure 8 (Duru 2008:Fig.50a).

Mobility

Bademağacı ENII does not have the archaeological signature of either a campsite or pastoral base settlement, unless the large amount of open space between houses is interpreted as related to animal management (#157, #158, #159), and interpretation for which there is no additional evidence other than the existence of this space in itself. It is unfortunate that the LN/EC levels are not better preserved or more extensively excavated, since the faunal assemblage indicates a major shift from sheep/goat meat production towards cattle meat and dairy production between ENII and LN/EC, and dairy production continued into the EBA (DeCupere et al. 2008:384-385, 2015:5); it would be interesting to research whether any associated changes in architecture could be observed.

Warfare

Preparing for warfare

Duru has reconstructed two subphases at Bademağacı ENII and LN with defence walls: A series of stone walls in ENII that form a rectangle with two long walls attached were interpreted as an closure wall of ENII4-3; the main reason for their interpretation as a defensive enclosure wall (#163) seems to be their location at what might be the edge of the ENII settlement, the fact that they are not clearly houses, and that they might form a corner (Clare et al. 2008:76, Fig.5; Duru 2004b:16-17, 2012:17). Duru (2012:17) even reconstructs this wall “with casemates [#164] or turrets [#169]”. Interpretation the rectangular structure that forms part of it as a tower is very conjectural. The two wall fragments that are made up from lines of parallel stones could indeed be casemates, and if they had earth/rubble between them, would have been thick and sturdy. On the other hand, the free-standing wall segments of this supposed defence system are about 3m and 5m long; they are further separated from the ENII3 houses by ca. 15-20m of open space (Duru 2008:Fig.45), and not securely dated or stratigraphically linked to the main ENII3 settlement (Duru 2008:32, 2012:17, footnote 15). There is therefore absolutely no reason to interpret it is a defence structure of ENII3, or a defence structure in the first place. A long free-standing wall of the LN settlement was also interpreted as a defence wall (#163, Duru 2008:32, 2012:18) but since this entire occupation phase

is so little understood (see above, Overview of levels), this wall might easily have had another function, and not even be located at the edge of the settlement. I can therefore not recognise any preparations for warfare.

The results of warfare

All houses of ENII3 were burnt (**#179**). Based on the fact that a lot of mobile inventory of ENII3 seems to have been found where it originally was used inside and outside the buildings (Structures 1, 7, 8; Duru 2008:Figs.44 48, 49, 50, 54, 57), it is in fact possible to interpret the burning of at least some structures as non-planned; unless the artefacts found on floors and in installations represent a type of abandonment ritual. I have above (House-related ritual) argued that Structures 4 and 5 might have been abandoned ritually and intentionally based on special deposits in their door indentations. Based on the excavation photos (Duru 2008:Fig.44, 47), these also did not feature mobile inventory on the floor; this supports an interpretation of planned abandonment.

There is no evidence that all houses burned at the same time, and therefore it is entirely possible that some houses (Structure 4, 5) were ritually/intentionally abandoned, and others (Structures 1, 7, 8) not intentionally burned. The only indicator that suggests that the unplanned burning of some ENII3 houses was the result of a hostile attack is the find of nine skeletons in the roomfill of Structure 8 (**#180**; Clare et al. 2008: 74-75, Fig.5). No photo is published, by apparently the individuals, two adults and seven children, were found in “in disorderly positions in different parts of the house” Duru 2004a:54; also Cutting 2005b:93). The Bademağacı excavators also reconstruct that these individuals were surprised by an unexpected house fire (Duru 2004b:16, 2012:16), but do not clearly interpret either accident or hostile attack. As usual, a hostile event can neither be categorically excluded nor interpreted with certainty.

Erbaba

Introducing Erbaba

Erbaba at Lake Beyşehir is situated on a natural hill between the lake and neighbouring wooded uplands in a prime ecological zone. The size of the mound is 4m in height and 80m in diameter. Erbaba was excavated in four seasons between 1969 and 1977 by a team directed by Jacques Bordaz from the University of Pennsylvania. There is no post-Neolithic occupation layer, which allowed for large undisturbed areas to be opened, totalling over 1,100m² or 20% of the mound's surface and removing an estimated >6% of the mound's volume (Bordaz and Bordaz 1982: 86, 89; Düring 2006:248).

The excavator Jacques Bordaz (Bordaz and Bordaz 1982) identified three cultural layers at the site. Düring (2006:249-250) doubts the reliability of this stratigraphic division, established in small test trenches that do not do justice to the complex formation processes of prehistoric mound sites, and suggests that in reality the site's stratigraphy was more complex. Erbaba was researched with a different methodology than that characteristic of the Mellaart, French and Duru projects: a processualist-inspired 'sampling' of the site's stratigraphy and material culture in small trenches dispersed across the site was combined with horizontal exposure whose location and extent were less chosen based on a desire to expose entire structures or clarify stratigraphic relations, but for a desire to expose representative percentages of all stratigraphical layers, often only to a shallow depth where the tops of walls were defined (Bordaz 1969:60; Bordaz and Bordaz 1982:86-87, 89). The clarification of stratigraphy was thus trusted to trenches of very small size, and few structures were completely excavated. It further appears from Bordaz's (1969:60) description of the sequence that the three levels were distinguished based on differences of soil, not based on architectural stratigraphy.

The results of the excavations were published in several preliminary and specialist reports, with the 1982 paper functioning as something of a summary—but without a final, detailed presentation of materials and observations in a monograph or other format. The project was further geared towards reconstructing Neolithic economies and environments (Bordaz and Bordaz 1982:85), which is reflected in the reports that describe architecture only in abbreviated fashion and without images except for one single schematic plan (below). Düring (2006:248) found that the lack of detailed reporting of the Erbaba architectural findings (as well as some other groups

of material culture, for example the pottery was not comprehensively published, Schoop 2005:128) together with the fragmenting excavation methodology, “has been detrimental to our understanding of the site” and meant that despite the sizable exposure, the site can contribute little to a study of society through architecture (also stated by Schachner 1999:48, who does not analyse this site). Cutting (2005:87, 89) adds that the only architectural plan published (Bordaz and Bordaz 1982:Pl. 33) is for Level I¹⁵; no plans have been published for Levels II and III, and the reports contain only generalising descriptions of their architecture, thus seriously inhibiting architecture analysis (Düring 2006:252). Of Levels II and III, only small disjointed areas in separate parts of the mound totalling 70m² at the most were uncovered. Even for Level I, opened in an area of 1100m², the excavation strategy was not ideal for architecture documentation.

Introducing Erbaba Level 1

From the published evidence it remains unclear whether and how individual rooms at Erbaba I formed buildings. Bordaz and Bordaz (1982:87) distinguished 36 rooms belonging to “approximately” 11 architectural units, but based on what principles they divided rooms into buildings remains unclear (Düring 2006:254; also see Cutting 2005b:90 who discerned only 21 rooms). Düring (2006:253) classifies the smaller rooms as probable storage rooms, but many of the small rooms do not have door connections to larger rooms so that it remains unclear which belonged together. Based on the fact that they form free-standing units separate from other rooms, Düring (2006:255) and Cutting (2005b:89) both tentatively distinguish two groups of three rooms each in Area G as buildings. In sum, however, Erbaba buildings or houses remain poorly defined.

Only some Erbaba I buildings were excavated to floor level: Excavations remained shallow, reaching only 40cm deep across most of the excavated area of Level I and therefore often not reaching floor levels or possible installations inside the rooms (Bordaz and Bordaz 1976:39, 1982:89; Düring 2006:252). Those rooms that were excavated to the floor level did not feature any installations (hearth, oven, storage;

¹⁵ In fact, the plan is published without specifying what level it represents, only from reading the article does it seem likely that it represents Level I, as also assumed by Cutting (2005b:87, 89) and Düring (2006:Fig.7.1).

Cutting 2005b:89; Düring 2006:255; Steadman 2004:535-536). The lack of exploration of the house interior essentially leaves the architectural documentation of most buildings incomplete (Cutting 2005b:90). The lack of internal features was interpreted by Düring (2006:253-254) as evidence for an upper storey that was the main living floor: he hypothesises that Erbaba Level I houses had two stories, and only the cellars were preserved and excavated, citing “the absence of floor features, the poor quality of floors noted by the excavators [...] and the absence of wall plaster” as evidence (similarly Cutting 2005b:90). If this is correct, the main living areas of the houses are not known, which further inhibits this analysis. Alternatively, Steadman (2004:536) speculates that food production and storage were not particular to each dwelling but were carried out in courtyards used by the occupants of several dwellings”, thus interpreting the evidence in terms of ‘incomplete’ houses (**#67**) and intense suprahousehold collaboration. The different sizes of rooms (**#68, #69**) are seen by her as additional evidence that the architecture “could reflect a ‘complete’ dwelling (e.g., perhaps Rooms 9-11, ca. 24 m²) supporting an ‘incomplete’ dwelling, such as Rooms 7 and 8, in a cooperative socioeconomic relationship. At the very least, a cooperative and communal lifestyle, with several dwellings forming household complexes, appears to be the norm at Early Neolithic Erbaba” (Steadman 2004:536-537).

Household autonomy and community integration

House layouts and furnishing

With building units undefined, gaps in the settlement plan and the interior of houses mostly unknown, little can be said about the society that built Erbaba I. Among the indicators on my ‘checklist’, it is possible to analyse only a few: Household autonomy is indicated by the fact that the highly variable shapes and sizes of rooms/buildings do not indicate standardisation (**#64**), but rather idiosyncratic layouts (**#38**). Further, despite the limited evidence and publications, several modifications to buildings (**#39**) were noted including the adding of walls or doors and renewal of floors (Bordaz 1969:60; Bordaz and Bordaz 1982:89; Düring 2006:253). No analysis of internal installations (**Themes 1, 8, 13**) can be offered since their exploration remained uneven (see above).

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Figure 37 Erbaba Level 1: plan of excavated structures (Düring 2011c:Fig.5.3).

Building materials and construction techniques

Varieties in building materials do not explicitly seem to have been recorded, but the fact that Erbaba buildings were constructed from stone (Düring 2006:252), which does not as easily allow for idiosyncratic choices of composition and shaping as mudbrick does. Assuming that obvious differences (e.g. choice of different stone types, different sizes of stones) between buildings might have been reported by the excavators, it is more likely that building materials and techniques were relatively uniform, therefore showing community-wide shared traditions (**#56, #57**) rather than statements of household identity (**#10, #11**). Additionally, many buildings seem to have shared party wall (**#54**), even if it is not possible to state that with certainty as long as building units remain undefined (see above).

House-related ritual

There might have been building continuity (**#88**): Although the shallow excavation, stopping well above the floor of most buildings, prevents a clearer impression, “in some cases the walls seem to have been constructed on top of earlier walls in the same alignment (Bordaz 1969, 60)” similar to the building continuity of Çatalhöyük and Aşıklı Höyük (Düring 2006:252). No other house-related ritual is reported.

Settlement layout, unroofed space and non-residential buildings

Suprahousehold influence on the built environment could be indicated by the clustering (**#47**) that characterised the settlement: The houses/ rooms form a relatively dense cluster interrupted by spaces that were probably unroofed judging from their size and configuration. The lack of doors on ground level indicates roof level entrance to the buildings (Düring 2006:251-252, Fig.7.3), and therefore probably the existence of a roofscape as informal suprahousehold socialising space. One roof was found collapsed into a burned building (Bordaz and Bordaz 1976:40; Düring 2006:253), and it was flat, thus supporting the reconstruction of a roofscape. The evidence as to sectoring (**#49**, **#50**, **#51**) is inconclusive: Düring (2006:251-252) recognises possible sectoring into neighbourhoods separated by unroofed areas, but also stated counterarguments (Düring 2006:257, 2011c:138) and in fact the fragmented nature of excavation prevents an actual understanding of the settlement layout. Düring (2006:258-259, 2011c:119-120, 137-138, 141) remarks that the Erbaba community was much smaller than those of other clustered central Anatolian sites, which meant that its community probably functioned somewhat different than e.g. Çatalhöyük; for example, it might have been embedded into a local settlement system in which villages exchanges people and goods. Also, subdivision into neighbourhood groups might not have been necessary.

Unroofed spaces (see Düring 2006:Fig.7.3 for a distinction of roofed and unroofed space) are located centrally between different buildings and therefore might have been used by several households; but in absence of any report of installations (**#81**, **#82**) or the remains of activities (**#80**) there it is not known what they were used for. No non-residential buildings were identified.

Conclusions

Overall, based on the meagre evidence Erbaba I appears in this analysis as a village made up from households that were able to autonomously design (**#38**) and change (**#39**) their residences, but formed part of a probably tight communal network that facilitated suprahousehold integration and control through clustering (**#47**), socialising on the roofscape and in internal courtyards (**Theme 14**) and led to a relative uniformity of construction styles (**#56**, **#57**) and to a continuity of built space (**#88**). Any comparison of Level I with older levels, and reconstruction of social developments at the site, is prevented by the even more limited understanding of Levels II and III.

Social stratification, mobility and warfare

The poor resolution of the investigation of Erbaba architecture prevents a discussion of social competition and stratification, preparations for warfare, or the possibility of this being a base settlement for a part-mobile community; no indicators can be investigated because of the lack of clarity as to how building units (houses) are to be distinguished, the lack of internal installations or mobile inventory, and lack of knowledge about the structuring of the Erbaba settlement.

Canhasan I

Introducing Canhasan

Canhasan is located close to the modern town of Karaman on the Konya plain, about 75km southeast of Çatalhöyük on the other side of the ancient volcano Karadağ. The site is situated on the bank of a former river (Düring 2006:260). The three mounds at Canhasan were excavated by David French from the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara between 1961 and 1969. Canhasan I (excavated 1961–1967) is the largest of them and was not damaged by agriculture before the excavation in the 1960s; it therefore was the main focus of excavation (French 1998:1). Canhasan III, a Early Neolithic site, was excavated subsequently, while Canhasan II, of EBA date, was never excavated. On the ca. 9ha large mound (Düring 2006:260), French's team excavated an area (of 1080 m², Düring 2006:260; or 650 m², French 1998:27; or 1175 m², Schoop 2005:110) at the centre of the mound. Excavations reached 10.5m deep, and French estimated another 1m of cultural layers above virgin soil (French 1998:20). Nine building levels (1-7) were defined within the excavated sequence of Canhasan I. Levels 2-7 date to the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic and are analysed here (Appendix 1).

The Canhasan 1 excavations have been comprehensively published in a series of annual reports and three final monographs on architecture and stratigraphy (French 1998), pottery and small finds (French 2005, 2010). French's excavation style has been described as more thorough and rigorous than many others of the time, and his style of reporting clear, openly addressing also issues that were difficult or unclear during excavation (Düring 2006:261; Steadman 2000b; Wright 2002); he also provides a rare case of a description and discussion of the excavation methodology (French 1998:8-14). Some researchers have found French's presentation of the architecture, especially his plans, too schematic (i.e. not providing an accurate visual impression of the state that the features were found in) and not rich enough in detail (Steadman 2002b:76; Wright 2002:609). For the present purpose, the data basis is still rather comprehensive. As a rule, French was rather careful with any reconstructions of social life at the site (French 1998:v; Steadman 2002b:76; also documented through the content analysis in Appendices 3-7), so that the existing interpretations, discussed below, of an interplay of people

and architecture at Canhasan 1 are provided mostly by others.

Overview of levels and architecture

The Middle or Late Chalcolithic Level 1 directly under the mound surface had partially been destroyed by modern pits (e.g. French 1998:Fig.27, 28, 34). By contrast, the preservation of the levels studied here was good to very good. Levels 7-6 were only reached in a very small test trench of 2m x 3m (Düring 2011b:140). Not more than one wall each was uncovered from these two levels (French 1998:20-22). Of Levels 5-3, parts of densely clustered built structures were excavated in smaller areas of between 4m x 4m and 10m x 10m, but no complete buildings were uncovered (French 1998:22-26). Level 2 was the focus of excavations, and will be the focus of this analysis. It was uncovered in a relatively large area (between 748m² and 840m², Düring 2006:261, 271; or 650m², French 1998:27) and its walls were often preserved to heights of 3m or more (Düring 2006:Table 8.3; French 1998:27, Pls.5.2, 7.1). That Levels 7-3 cannot be researched here is particularly regrettable since other aspects of material culture show potentially important changes between Levels 4 and Level 3, also in pottery which is exclusively monochrome until Level 4, but painted since Level 3 (Schoop 2005a:113). Given the significance of painted pottery introduction postulated in Chapter 3 for contacts with the Lake District and increasing household autonomy and competition, it would have been fascinating to research related changes in architecture although the one known Level 3 building (French 1998:Fig.10) does not appear majorly different from Level 2.

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Figure 38 Canhasan 2b: plan of excavated structures, shading indicates upper stories as reconstructed by French (1998:Fig.12).

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Figure 39 Canhasan 2a: plan of excavated structures (French 1998:Fig.23).

Introducing Canhasan Level 2

Settlement development

French (1998) separated Level 2 into two main subphases 2B and 2A; Düring (2006:262-264, 2011:141-142) suggested a different reconstruction of the settlement development by portraying Canhasan as an organically growing village, which will be followed here. French (1998:50, also note somewhat different reconstruction on page 68) describes 2A as a later occupation erected around, mostly west of, the previously existing 2B village which when became an unroofed activity/midden area. 2A was built along the same general alignment as 2B; a possible third occupational phase with different alignment, represented only by one building (2A/Structure 6), could have existed above the 2A remains.

According to French (1998:42-43, 46), 2A was built as a later 'insertion' into or onto the Level 2B remains: new structures were built into the existing shell of an older building in a process that sometimes left the older walls standing, but sometimes also involved the removal of features, when the upper parts of 2B walls were cut off before a 2A structure was built (for example Structures 1, 10, French 1998:31, 42). In other cases, 2B buildings were completely removed and 2A building erected in their place ('terracing'), an operation that would have removed a substantial part of the 2B settlement west of 2B/Structures 1-4. Since no remains of these supposedly removed buildings were found, one might question what the evidence for this 'terracing' was; it seems that French reached this conclusion mainly based on the fact that he found 2A buildings on the same level with and adjacent to building assigned to Level 2B (French 1998:42, 46, see section drawings: Figs.35.1, 35.1, 50.1, 50.3).

The subdivision of Levels 2 into 2A and 2B had its origins in pottery styles, with 2B featuring what French considered to be transitional Early to Middle Chalcolithic, and 2A Middle Chalcolithic pottery (French 1998:69). French observed these two different pottery styles from the beginning of excavations, with 2A pottery being found inside and over 2B structures (French 1962:29-30, 1963:30, 1998:43); but actually did not find building belonging to the 2A pottery (French 1966:115) until the two last excavation season in 1966 1967, when he re-assigned to 2A some structures that had originally been assigned to 2B after recognising the 'terracing' described above (Düring 2006:262; French 1967:169; 1998:27, 42-43).

Leaving aside pottery styles, French's difficulties of coercing the Canhasan 2 remains into a system of occupational levels can probably be explained by suggesting that this was in fact an organically growing village, in which buildings were changed individually and on individual schedules. French (1998:50, but also see 65) seems to envisage Level 2A replacing Level 2B building in one concerted event. Much more likely seems to be that buildings were replaced according to individual schedules. There are three different arguments for this:

First, some buildings assigned to 2B would have co-existed with 2A (Düring 2006:263). While houses might have contained different or differently dated pottery, a question that cannot be solved here, their attribution to 2B and 2A seems arbitrary or ambiguous from an architecture-stratigraphy point of view. For example, upon first discovering 2A/Structure 2 (then called "House 8"), French (1963:34) interpreted that "This house was built at the same time as the other houses of layer 2B but, unlike Houses 3, 4 and 5, it continued to be occupied after the other houses had been destroyed"; and such a reconstruction might be much closer to the actual settlement development than that later clear separation into two levels. Also, for 2B/Structure 7, French (1967:172, 1998:37) actually speculates that a later inserted wall might belong to Level 2A, because it had stone foundations; he therefore essentially postulated a continued or re-use of Structure 7 in Level 2A. Most importantly, the above described find of 2A walls directly next to 2B walls, explained by French with 'terracing' could much rather indicate that these buildings actually functioned contemporarily.

Second, the Level 2B buildings were not all built contemporarily (cf. French 1998:65): Düring (2006:263-264) saw evidence for a sequence of construction events in the fact that some building took irregular form in order to fit near pre-existing neighbouring buildings, and provided a Harris matrix summarising the development of the village. Some of the more detailed section drawings also seem to show two different wall phases, both assigned to 2B, on top of each other, showing that some buildings might have had predecessors that are not well preserved (e.g. Structure 7? in 1998:Figs.37-38, 41, Structure 6 in 1998:Fig.42). Also, buildings of 2B had different floor heights (French 1998:27), varying up to 80cm between neighbouring buildings, Düring (2006:278) reconstructs a terrace-like settlement layout from the fact that the floor of Structure 10 is 2.1m lower than that of Structure 3. The most likely explanation for these different floor heights is that Canhasan 7-2 was an organically developing village (i.e. organically growing upwards), and that the less well researched Levels 7-3 had already created a mound with relief and terraces before 'Level 2B' was built. And the buildings were also not

abandoned at the same time: French (1998:32) himself reconstructs that Structure 2 was abandoned and filled in because it had become instable and was compromising the stability of nearby Structure 10, thereby essentially stating that Structure 10 was still in use when Structure 2 was abandoned.

Third, as already mentioned, '2A' combines at least two chronologically/stratigraphically distinct blocks: 2A/Structure 6 is not stratigraphically connected to any other structures, and on a different alignment, and might have been built over the destroyed western part of 2A/Structure 2 (French 1998:47, 49-50, Figs.23, 24).

In conclusion, it seems much more likely that Canhasan constituted an organically growing village (Düring 2006:264). In Level 2 specifically, not all 2B structures were built or abandoned at the same time, not all 2A structures are contemporary and some 2A structures co-existed with 2B buildings. For the present purpose, which requires comparing contemporary buildings among each other, this means that the Level 2 village should best be researched as one unit, including 2A and 2B. This still is an oversimplification of the actual development of the house cluster excavated by French, since it is not clear which of the building actually functioned together as a village at a given point in time. But in the absence of high-resolution stratigraphy and radiocarbon dating, treating 2A and 2B together as a unit representing and organically developing village is still closer to reality than treating it like two different levels. In any case, since the structures of Level 2A were often very poorly preserved and difficult to decipher (Düring 2006:273; French 1963:30, 1965:89-90, 1998:43), probably because they were sometimes found directly under the mound surface (French 1998:Fig.35.1, 35.2) or had been subject to erosion during the centuries of settlement interruption between Levels 2 and 1 (see Appendix 1), in reality much of the discussion relies on Level 2B evidence entirely.

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Figure 40 Harris Matrix of Canhasan 2 built structures (Düring 2006:Fig.8.1)

	number of rooms (from French 1998:Fig.11)	size of building footprint (including walls) calculated by French 1998:31-49	Interior sizes calculated by Schachner 1999:Tab.27, Fig.51	interior size including upper stories calculated by Düring 2006:Tab.8.4
2B/Structure 1	5 rooms / 6-9 rooms (Düring 2006:275)	140 m ²		133.5 m ²
2B/Structure 2	1 room	97 m ²	64 m ²	130.1 m ²
2B/Structure 3	2 rooms Doorway between the two rooms found complete including a lintel-like construction (French 1963:Pl.1b)	44 m ²	76 m ²	126.4 m ²
2B/Structure 4	2 rooms	88 m ²		110.1 m ²
2B/Structure 5	1 room	35 m ²	14 m ²	22.6 m ²
2B/Structure 6	1 room	39 m ²	23 m ²	38.8 m ²
2B/Structure 7	1 room, but possible more to the north (unexcavated)	61 m ² (the excavated part)		67.8 m ²
2B/Structure 8	--- (only one corner excavated/ preserved)	--		--
2B/Structure 9	--- (only one corner excavated/ preserved)	--		--
2B/Structure 10	5 rooms or compartments preserved, but more might have been present originally before the eastern part was removed in 2A / 8 rooms (Düring 2006:275) [of the four rooms in Trench R24-25, the two northern seem to be better preserved, but the two southern rooms only in fragments; also, the fifth compartment in the east was not well preserved. Also note that Düring (2006:Fig.8.2) interprets the easternmost compartment in Trench S24 as a separate	164 m ²		154.9 m ²

	building, Structure 11]		
2B/Structure 11	<p>--- (only one corner excavated/ preserved)</p> <p>[note that Düring's (2006:Fig.8.2) Structure 11 is different from French's (1998:42) Structure 11, which is reported as "from Q21" and therefore west of Structure 4. I refer here to French's Structure 11]</p>	--	--
2A/Structure 1	--- (only one corner excavated/ preserved)	--	--
2A/Structure 2	<p>5 partially rooms preserved, but layout of building can only tentatively be reconstructed because walls and their stratigraphy were poorly preserved: "the walls and stratigraphy were both confused and confusing"</p> <p>The structure was first called 2B/"House 8" in 1963 report, but was re-assigned to Level 2A later, now labelled 2A/Structure 2</p>	---	--
2A/Structure 3	<p>3 rooms partially preserved</p> <p>The structure was first called 2B/"House 9" in 1963 report, but was re-assigned to Level 2A later, now labelled 2A/Structure 3</p>	--	--
2A/Structure 4	(corner of) 1 room preserved	--	--
2A/Structure 5	2 rooms partially preserved	--	--
2A/Structure 6	2 rooms partially preserved	--	--

Table 45 Canhasan 2: sizes of buildings, number of rooms and interior furnishing.

Number of buildings

French (1998:27-42, Fig.11) identified a dense cluster of 11 mudbrick buildings in Level 2B. Of Structures 8, 9 and 11, only one wall or corner each were uncovered, and the eastern part of Structure 10 was not well preserved, leaving seven more or less complete buildings for analysis (Structures 1-7). Of 2A, six buildings were partially excavated, but none is well preserved, often even the walls were only present in fragments (French 1998:42-49). French (1998:68) states that it is not possible to estimate the size of the Level 2 village.

Identifying buildings at Canhasan 2B is relatively straightforward (Cutting 2005b:80; Düring 2006:274); all rooms connected by doors are fairly unanimously (Cutting 2005b:Fig.7.4; Düring 2006:Fig.8.2; French 1998:Fig.11; Schachner 1999:Fig.51) understood as a building. A few disagreements exist: In 2B/Structure 1, four small side rooms were counted by French (1998:Fig.11) and Düring (2006:Fig.8.2) as part of the building although they are not connected by walls to other rooms; but Schachner (1999:Fig.51) counts one of these rooms as a separate building. Düring (2006:271, Fig.8.2) interprets the room that had been assigned to the eastern part of Structure 10 by French (1998:Fig.11, 20) as part of a separate building, Structure 11. There is reason for this reconstruction: The western and the poorly preserved eastern parts of Structure 10 are so different, especially concerning building materials (below), that it would be worth considering whether they were either different buildings, or whether one is a later addition to the other. I will here accept French's reconstruction of buildings for two reasons. First, it does not seem to make a major difference; the different reconstruction of either Structure 10 or Structure 1 only make a difference for a small number of indicators, for example the sharing of party walls (**#12** vs. **#54**)—but do not change the overall picture significantly. Second, finds are reported by French, if anything, only by structure and therefore conforming with French's structure numbering facilitates researching some other indicators.

Buildings: upper stories

French (1998:27, Fig.12) reconstructs all excavated Level 2B structures with partial upper stories, and the upper stories are generally accepted in the literature (Cutting 2005b:80; Düring 2006:267, 2011c:144; Schachner 1999:120; Steadman 2000b:186). The decision of whether or not the Canhasan 2B buildings had upper stories or not is of crucial importance here since it means to research the excavated

part of buildings either as a complete house, or one half of a house whose main living space is not preserved.

There are two main lines of evidence for upper stories (Table 46, see Düring 2006:267-270 for a longer discussion): first, actual remains of such stories in the buildings where walls were preserved to greater heights, and where sometimes the upper parts of the walls become narrower. The clearest case was Structure 10, where walls become narrower 2-2.7m above the floor, forming a ledge upon which the upper floor rested. The ledge had impressions of wooden beams and branches interpreted to be the ceiling of the basement, and from 20cm above the ledge upwards, the walls of the upper storey were plastered in white (Düring 2006:268; French 1998:38-40). French recognised a potentially similar ledge in Structure 1 (French 1998:31). However, the walls of Structures 3 and 5 were preserved up to heights (3m, 2.93m) where one would expect to find remains of the upper floor, but none were found (Düring 2006:268).

And second, in some buildings deposits were found in rooms that have been identified as collapsed upper stories. French seems to see this as secure evidence for upper stories, for example stating about Structure 3 that “Within the areas enclosed by the walls of the W room there was a fill comprising roof/floor debris, decorated plaster fragments (red on white; grey/blue monochrome) and pots. The association of these materials provides the clearest evidence for the existence of a second storey above the existing walls of Structure 3. The concentration of the materials in the W room suggest that the upper storey was, in fact, located only over the W room” (French 1998:33-34). This however represents more ambiguous evidence; it would require knowing some details of the supposed collapse to securely identify it as an upper storey. Collapsing mudbrick structures (either slowly degrading, or collapsing in fire) documented in ethnoarchaeology (Friesem et al. 2011, 2014a, 2014b, Friesem 2016; Goodman Elgar 2008) leave specific signatures behind; a jumble of building materials and artefacts inside a room would need to be compared against such evidence in order to identify its primary collapse. Neither the final publication or reports describe the supposed collapse deposits in detail; they do however specify for some structures that the collapse was found 1.5m or 2m above the floor level of houses (French 1962:31, 1998:27, 40); in such a case it would for example require some explanation of how the two vertical meters between upper and lower storey came to be filled with what is a not inconsiderable amount of material. It seems impossible to reconcile this find situation with the image of a house collapsing in itself; the only possible explanation for finding several cubic meters of sediment filling a space between upper and lower floor

seems to be deliberate infilling, but then the word 'collapse' might not be entirely suitable. If lower stories were deliberately filled in, we might also expect that the ceilings and upper floors are better preserved, although that could be a result of the fact that 2B started directly below the mound surface (see below, Ritual elaboration, for consideration of ritual house abandonment).

Düring (2006:267-269) sees additional proof for the fact that Canhasan 2B generally were equipped with second storeys in changes in mudbrick types and construction techniques over the different levels at the site, arguing that walls became more stable in 2B and were able to carry upper stories. He further outlined that the walls and buttresses of the 2B buildings are disproportionately thick when compared against the interior space they surrounded; and showed that the buildings seem to be lacking important features that are characteristic of living spaces at other sites: ovens/hearths, and frequently renewed wall plaster. As a consequence, he interprets them as storage spaces belonging to an upper storey that contained the features necessary to make it a living area (Düring 2006:276; also Cutting 2005b:80; French 1998:66). The existence of fine white plaster and pottery on this upper floor is evidenced in the Canhasan record as described in the previous paragraphs; other features, such as hearths, seem to be inferred by most researchers (e.g. Düring 2006:280).

In conclusion, there is direct evidence for the existence of upper stories at Canhasan 2B, because the lower wall parts of such stories were actually found in a number of houses. I have pointed out that the supposed collapse that was found in nearly every building should probably been regarded as more dubious evidence, and ideally excluded from the discussion of upper storeys. The thickness and stability of walls, as well as the lack of some important house features can be seen only as indirect evidence. Nevertheless, I will accept here the prevailing reconstruction of all Canhasan 2B building as having (partial) upper stories. In the case of Structure 10, the evidence is fairly clear. For the others, a second storey needs to be at least considered a possibility. I therefore suggest that an architectural analysis should treat only the Structure 10 upper storey as a certainty, but upper stories in all houses as a possibility that could mean that the excavated parts of the houses only represent one part of the complete house. As a result, when researching the excavated parts of these buildings, a substantial part of the house is missing from the analysis (Düring 2006:274). Whether these stories covered only parts of the ground floors, as reconstructed by French (1998:42, 68, Fig.12), or covered the entire ground floor, as suggested by Düring (2006:270, 275) is not that relevant here, because in either case features that are of primary importance to this analysis,

such as hearths and eventual ritual elaboration, are to be suspected in the upper living story but are not preserved.

The 2A buildings might not (all) have been two-storied. They are, just as 2B building, constructed with the features that Düring (2006:267) discusses as stabilising the building so that it could carry an upper storey (header-and-stretcher brick laying, mould-made bricks, buttresses), but at least two of the 2A buildings had hearths on ground floor, and French 1998:47 posits that a hearth on the ground floor might mean that the building only had one storey. Düring (2006:270) concludes that the 2A buildings as well probably had a second storey, and I will follow this interpretation during the following discussion.

structure	evidence for upper storey	sources
2B/Structure 1	western wall is narrower in the upper part, which could be the remains of an upper storey with thinner walls	French 1998:31
2B/Structure 2	wooden posts Roof/ceiling material found 2m above the floor, with deposits of pottery and wall plaster on top	French 1962:31 French 1998:27
2B/Structure 3	8 posts as support for the upper storey roof/ceiling material found 2m above the floor in western room, with deposits of pottery and painted wall plaster on top	French 1962:31 French 1998:27, 33-34 Düring 2006:267 French 2010:159
2B/Structure 4	no postholes no collapse of an upper storey found, but such collapse might have been removed when 2A/Structure 2 was built over the western room	French 1998:35
2B/Structure 5	no postholes roof/ceiling material in roomfill along the southern and eastern walls, with deposits of pottery and wall plaster on top	French 1962:31 French 1998:36 Düring 2006:267 French 2005:Pl.1a
2B/Structure 6	roof/ceiling material under a deposit of pottery within the upper part of the roomfill, just under the 2A deposit; although the pottery might be 2A in date	French 1998:36, Düring 2006:267
2B/Structure 7	---	

2B/Structure 8	----	
2B/Structure 9	----	
2B/Structure 10	walls become narrower 2-2.7m above the floor, forming a ledge upon which the upper floor rested	Düring 2006:268
	mudbrick and plaster on the ledge had impressions of wooden beams and branches, reed and straw interpreted to be the ceiling of the basement, conserved by the fire	French 1968:47
	where preserved, the white plaster of the lower floor reaches up to 2.75 or 2.6m above the floor, to where the ceiling of the basement is interpreted to have been	French 1998:38-40, Figs.20-21, Pl.7.1
	from 20cm above the ledge upwards, the walls of the upper storey were plastered in white	French 2010:159
	fragments of carbonized beams in roomfill, as well as fragments of painted wall plaster 1.5m above the floor	
2B/Structure 11	---	
2A/Structure 1	---	
2A/Structure 2	---	
2A/Structure 3	probably single-storied because a hearth was found	French 1998:47
2A/Structure 4	--	
2A/Structure 5	--	
2A/Structure 6	--	

Table 46 Canhasan 2: evidence for upper stories.

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Figure 41 Canhasan: section drawing indicating stratigraphic sequence (French 1998:Fig.43).

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Figure 42 Canhasan 2b: pottery cluster/ supposed collapsed roof in Structure 5 (French 2005:Pl.1b).

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Figure 43 Canhasan 2b: photo of Structure 2 during excavation (French 1963:Pl.1a).

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Figure 44 Canhasan 2b: photo of Structure 3 during excavation (French 1963:Pl.1b).

Building formation processes: roomfill and artefacts

Considering especially the decade of the Canhasan excavations, French's understanding of complex formation processes can be regarded as excellent. His discussion of excavation methods (French 1998:8-10) attests to his concern with recognising also the finer details of sediment stratifications; and Canhasan was among the first excavations in Anatolia to systematically dry sieve (Wright 2002:609) from the 1965 season onwards (French 1998:10). Unfortunately, French's observations of the deposits found in and around buildings led him to believe they were mainly disturbed (not *in situ*), and subsequently to not publish much about them. That is regrettable because it impedes attempts to re-interpret the Canhasan material; not only artefact studies (Schoop 2010), but also architecture interpretation: we learn close to nothing about what must have been many cubic tons of material removed from the insides of the Level 2 buildings.

A number of interrelated issues can be identified that complicate reconstructing from the publications the details of deposits that filled the Level 2 buildings, and the artefacts therein. First, French views and reports built structures (architecture) and the deposits and artefacts found in them as two nearly independent entities. Second, he considers only deposits found on floors as useful for further analysis, which impacts the selection of artefacts chosen for publication; this might also have been the reason why the deposits themselves are barely described in the publications. Third, this and other opinions attest that he saw the study of

formation processes mainly as a way to assess the reliability of artefact assemblages, not to learn more about the buildings themselves. These points will be discussed in the following.

David French's assessment of Canhasan formation processes

French (2005:8-9, see summary of the grading system by Schoop 2010) divided stratigraphic units into six categories of reliability; or rather he divided artefacts into six categories of reliability according to the context they came from, but this can be translated here into a system of describing deposits. He considered as *in situ* (Grade 1) only deposits found on floors, including the pottery clusters found in the roomfills that were interpreted as inventory from the floor of the collapsed upper story. Very few *in situ* deposits seem to have been present, and most artefacts were not from *in situ* deposits (French 1962:31, 2005:1, 2010:vii). Grade 2 is attributed by French to burials and deposits related to, but not located inside buildings: foundation/ 'votive' deposits and "pits dug from a floor or surface associated with a structure and sealed during the lifetime of the structure" (French 2005:8). This potentially—for architecture research—very interesting type of deposits, reminiscent to what has in Chapters 6-7 been called 'house-fabric deposit', however seems to not have been present in Level 2 at all¹⁶. Accordingly, all other deposits found inside, under and between Level 2 structures must have been graded into categories 3-6 (note that a majority of the finds published in 2010 were graded '6'), none of which French saw as in direct stratigraphic, chronological or conceptual relation to built structures, even such deposits as for example the intentionally stacked bricks filling 2B/Structure 2 (Table 48).

Additionally to distrusting all but floor deposits, French (1998:9-10, 2005:4-7) himself is of the opinion that the stratigraphy of sediment layers was not always accurately recognised or excavated, citing excavations methods and in particular an overreliance on workmen as reasons; and he in retrospect also found that decisions what excavated artefacts to collect and study and which not were not applied systematically enough at Canhasan (French 2005:1). All these factors together make him rather despondent as to how much information can be gained from studying the non-primary deposits (French 2005:4-7; Schoop 2010); again, here he mostly seems to refer to the study of artefacts from the deposits rather than the deposits

¹⁶ The only two Grade 2 pottery vessels reported are from Level 1 (French 2005:8). A number of figurines from Level 2 were assigned Grade 2, but they were actually from non-stratified contexts (French 2010:3-4).

themselves. Unfortunately, French might have been rather too strict on himself (see French 1998:v, 9-10; 2005:2-3; Wright 2002:609) and the Canhasan deposits—or too radical in his decision to not report any details of the character of layers not considered *in situ*, or not systematically publish artefacts from these layers, which, as pointed out by Schoop (2010), is also not helpful for scholars trying to work with and re-interpret the Canhasan material. Therefore, even though French might have been one of the first excavation directors in the study regions to pay attention to house fill formation processes (even if apparently mostly in retrospect, after the excavation and while preparing it for publication, French 2005:2-3), but went a bit too far in the other direction and, faced with few primary/*in situ* finds contexts, decided to regard all others as useless. However, more recent excavations have gained a lot of knowledge on social organisation from studying house fill (see Çatalhöyük West Biehl et al. 2012b, Çatalhöyük East abandonment rituals, Matthews 2005a), and it would be helpful to also reconstruct some of the nature of Canhasan house fills, which this section will try to do.

Artefacts vs. architecture

David French's non-trust in most of the Canhasan deposits might also have guided his decision to regard 'architecture' as separate from artefacts, as already pointed out by Düring (2006:276) and Steadman (2000b:76). In the final publications, French radically separates 'architecture' (walls, floor, construction materials and techniques, and stratigraphy) from artefacts and ecofacts (French 1998). Pottery and small finds are presented in other volumes, making little connection between the two (French 2005, 2010). Already in the preliminary reports, architecture and artefacts were reported somewhat separate, and it is only occasionally mentioned whether artefacts were found inside buildings, and if yes, where in buildings; but the 1998 architecture publication is particularly radical in, for example, not even mentioning the burials and primary deposits of artefacts found within the houses, the only exception being pottery deposits mentioned as evidence for upper stories (but a photo of that collapse is instead found in the pottery volume, French 2005:Pl.1b). And the deposits in roomfill and outside of houses themselves are, apart from some information in the preliminary reports, never systematically described, the 1998 book dealing only with built structures, and the 2005 and 2010 book only with artefacts. Details of their nature apparently were also not systematically recorded during excavation: "Significance was not always given to the nature and composition of soil-deposits, though both may have been recorded

at the time” (French 2005:3).

The fact that French’s opinion on formation processes of deposits other than walls and floors is mostly discussed with the grading system in the beginning of the 2005 pottery publication (French 2005:1-11), as well as the system of labelling stratigraphic units by finds batches (below) together attest that French’s take on formation processes was mainly concerned with the integrity of artefact assemblages, not with understanding the use lives of houses. He also, as mentioned above (Settlement development), first dated pottery based on a perceived evolution of styles, and then attempted to date structures and layers according to the pottery chronology. Nevertheless, the available published material can be used to gain some insight into what characterised roomfills.

Deposits in Canhasan 2 houses

In absence of house fill descriptions either in the text, or in photos, it is mainly the section drawings that can be used to gain some insight into the nature of roomfills. French relied heavily on baulk sections and drawings thereof to keep track of stratigraphy (French 1998:12), and several of these detailed drawing are published (French 1998:Figs.37-50). They show the interior of 2B/Structure 7 (to be filled with layers, sometimes fine layers, of multi-coloured (yellow, brown, black) deposits, some ashy and some containing mudbrick fragments. Structure 10 seems to be mostly filled with mudbrick fragments. It is further likely that deposits inside houses contained a considerable number of artefacts. Not much can be said about pottery, because French (2005) focuses the pottery volume on reporting pottery graded 1-3, only occasionally mentioning pottery assigned to Grades 4-6 (but see French 1963:35-36, 1966:118, 1967:172-173 for references to pottery, botanic remains and animal bones from roomfill); but a clear majority of the many artefacts from Level 2B listed in the 2010 volume (most of which are graded 6) must come of the roomfills given that there was not really any space excavated from this level that was not taken up by houses (see below, Unroofed space); in the preliminary reports, French occasionally refers to artefacts found in the narrow gaps between houses (e.g. French 1966:118), but given the smallness of these spaces, most artefacts cannot have been found there. There are also a few remarks in the preliminary reports about the artefact richness of 2B roomfills, for example “In the burnt debris was found a fairly wide selection of objects, most of which had fallen from an upper storey and consequently were high up in the debris. Very little has yet been found on the floors” (French 1962:31, referring to Structures 2, 3 and 5).

In sum, Canhasan 2 roomfills seem to have been layered and contained many artefacts. They resemble what has at Çatalhöyük West (Biehl et al. 2012a) been reconstructed as resulting from a post-abandonment use of buildings as middens. French himself thought that 2B/Structure 7 was used in such manner: “After the house fell into ruin the inside filled up with rubbish and debris” (French 1966:118). At Çatalhöyük West, we also occasionally found artefacts clusters within the layered roomfill resembling the pottery clusters that French interprets as having collapsed from the floor of an upper storey (see above, Upper stories). I already stated above that it should be regarded with doubt whether these deposits found 1.5-2m above the floor really represent collapse; the midden-hypothesis can offer an alternative explanation of these deposits as refuse disposal.

If this reconstruction is accurate, David French was correct in assuming that the roomfills did in fact have very little to do with the use of the house while it was a residence, pre-abandonment. This would also mean in combination with my above suggestion (Settlement development) that Canhasan 2 was an organically developing village, that we can imagine this settlement landscape as a mosaic of buildings in use, buildings being constructed, and buildings being abandoned and being used like open/midden spaces in other settlements.

Matching artefacts and structures

The Canhasan excavation team collected finds separated by stratigraphic unit, employing the method of giving finds from one unit a ‘batch’ number (French 1998:11). The batch number can therefore also be used to refer to the “soil-unit” itself, but seems to refer primarily to a group of finds, since for example some “soil-units” have several batch numbers if they were excavated over the course of several days, a new batch number was assigned every day to the finds from that day (French 1998:11). In this somewhat curious system, there is therefore not a single identifier for a stratigraphical unit (compare for example the Çatalhöyük system, where every stratigraphic unit receives a unique identifying number, Farid and Hodder 2014:35). It is not explicitly mentioned whether “soil-units” also received batch numbers if they did not contain finds; but in any case they are in the publications presented as strictly connected to artefact recording, not architectural recording. After introducing the batch system, the 1998 publication does not deal with batches anymore; for example, it does not refer to batch numbers when discussing certain deposits. The batches are only listed and used in the 2005/ 2010 artefact publications. This attests once more that French experienced stratigraphy

mainly as a means of keeping track of the chronological development of artefacts, not so much as a means for understanding house formation processes; this is also expressed in the following statement: “The sections of the main deposits of 2A material showed a wealth of minor or secondary layers, the minutiae of soil stratification but almost wholly without associated features (e.g. floors). As far as possible we excavated the deposit according to these secondary layers so that the numbered pottery batches show the details of the pottery sequence” (French 1963:30, 1998:43).

Nevertheless, as in the above section on house fills, the available information on batches should be useful for studying houses. The pottery and small finds (2005, 2010) are published with batch numbers are indicated; it should therefore theoretically be possible to reconstruct which artefacts were found in which building, by finding out which batch numbers were located in which building. That, however, is not possible because none of the publications contain a systematic report of the exact location of batch numbers. As a result, even though the 2005 pottery catalogue lists a variety of material from ‘*in situ*’ contexts from Level 2 (Grade 1), there is no way of finding out which structure it was found. The 2010 book also mentions structures only in some cases. Throughout the publications, a few schematic section drawing with batch numbers can be found, as well as a few remarks of batch locations in the text description (see Table 47). These pieces of information are however not equivalent to systematic reporting. The batch system, although in theory a good method of recording finds by building, is therefore not actually useful for reconstruction artefacts per building, because the exact location of batch numbers is not systematically reported. In sum, it is not actually systematically reported where artefacts were found. It is possible to reconstruct some artefacts found in buildings from the literature (Table 53), but how representative that is of actual artefact distribution must remain unknown because the reporting was arbitrary. It can be expected that the artefacts whose location is reported were considered somewhat special, for example finds from *in situ* deposits, metal and complete pottery vessels; and that more fragmentary remains were not reported.

structure	batch	source
2B/Structure 1	279	French 1963:42
2B/Structure 3	62 71 79 369	French 1963:42 French 2010:41, 122
2B/Structure 5	30 "S22c, Batch 30, on collapsed roofs, Structure 5, SE corner	French 2005:xiii
2B/Structure 7	189	French 1963:42
2A/Structure 2	366 373 383	compare 1963:Figs.3-4 / 2005:Figs.1-2 with 1998:Figs.49.2, 50.3

Table 47 Canhasan 2: batches by building as can be reconstructed.

abandonment		
2B/Structure 1	burned, some areas of the building more than others walls of southern part cut off ca.1m above floor two poorly preserved Level 2A deposits/structures over the northern and southern parts; one with hearth	French 1998:31
2B/Structure 2	upper part burnt, but in the interior the lower part (from 2m under trench surface) is not burned; French reconstructs that a fire in Structure 3 also partially burned Structure 2 Interior "completely filled with mud-bricks, neatly stacked over the whole area occupied by the interior of the structure", stacked around the wooden posts after(?) the building were burned; possibly the infill was to stabilise the building whose walls were leaning, so that it would not damage adjacent Structure 10 Roofing material found in upper part of fill no overlaying 2A deposits	French 1963:35 French 1998:31-32
2B/Structure 3	heavily burnt west room filled with "roof/floor debris, decorated plaster fragments [...] and pots" interpreted as a collapsed upper storey	French 1998:32-34, Fig.23

	some patchy 2A deposits over east room	
2B/Structure 4	2A/Structure 2 was built over the western part of the house; the upper parts of some walls of Structure 4 were removed in the process Some 2A deposits also over east room	French 1963:30 French 1998:34-35, 46 Düring 2006:Fig.8.2
2B/Structure 5	no re-use or re-occupation	French 1998:35
2B/Structure 6	substantial 2A reoccupation found within and over the building rubbish and fill were deposited inside the house as part of this reoccupation burning observed on interior facades, “to be associated with a later, Layer 2A, reuse”; i.e. after Structure 6 was abandoned buttresses lean towards north	French 1963:30 French 1998:36, Fig.23
2B/Structure 7	not destroyed by fire no 2A structure, but substantial 2A deposits and also Late Chalcolithic sherds over the building building was filled with rubbish, the lower building with 2B rubbish, the upper with 2A	French 1966:117 French 1998:37-38, Fig.11, 23
2B/Structure 8	---	
2B/Structure 9	---	
2B/Structure 10	“Structure 10 appears to have been burned in the same fire which affected other structures, especially Structures 2 and 3, on the N side of Structure 10”; the southern part of Structure 10 is less heavily burned the fire burnt the mudbricks red to black, but left the plaster white eastern part of building [which Düring(2006:Fig.8.2) refer to as Structure 11] nearly completely removed in Level 2A, when 2A/Structure 5 was built over it: “the Layer 2B walls (?and room-fill) of Structure 10 had been dug away (at least in part) or terraced and the Layer 2A walls had been superimposed” (French 1998:47)	French 1998:38-42, 47
2B/Structure 11	2A/Structure 6 must have been built over Structure 11; possibly Structure 11 was cut down in the process, because French (1998:42) reports that “only 4 courses of mud-brick survive”	French 1998:42
2A/Structure 1	not destroyed by fire	French 1966:117
2A/Structure 2	“a jumble of bricks and surfaces” overlaying the northern part of the building is interpreted as a later phase of 2A	French 1998:47, 49

<p>Structure 6 might have been constructed over the partially destroyed 2A/Structure 2: “There is no clear stratigraphic association between Structure 6 and Structure 2. It is possible that Structure 6 was constructed on a terrace which had been cut through the walls of S and W [sic] of Structure 2” (French 1998:49)</p> <p>Düring (2006:269) suggests the hearth found in Structure 2 might postdate the use of the building</p>		
2A/Structure 3	a hearth post-dating the building	Düring 2006:269
2A/Structure 4	---	
2A/Structure 5	a series of hearths post-dating the building	Düring 2006:269
2A/Structure 6	---	

Table 48 Canhasan 2: evidence for abandonment of buildings, and modifications post-abandonment.

Household autonomy and community integration

House layouts

All buildings are conceptualised as residences, i.e. houses by French (1998), Düring (2006), Steadman (2000) and Cutting (2005b:80). Buildings can be characterised as having idiosyncratic sizes and layouts (**#38**; Table 45; Düring 2006:273, Fig.8.4) within a shared canon of rectangular buildings with buttresses. Some buildings underwent idiosyncratic modifications or repairs (**#39**, Table 51). If it is correct that every house was abandoned and replaced on its own individual schedule, as postulated above, this would also represent independent house modifications.

From the available evidence, houses do not seem to increase in size (**#40**), number of rooms (**#42**), storage space (**#44**) over the duration of Level 2 (see above, Settlement development, for chronological development of Level 2). It is even possible to argue for the contrary process: if 2A houses are reconstructed as in majority single-storied (see above, Upper stories), that would mean a reduction in house size, number of rooms and possibly also storage space (see below for an interpretation of basements as storage spaces). If, however, Düring’s (2006:269) and French’s (1998:66, 67) perception that buildings started being built with upper stories from Level 3 onwards is correct (see below, Social stratification), this could be reconstructed as a process increasing the size, number of rooms and storage capacity of buildings (**#40**, **#42**, **#44**; Steadman 2000b:187); but since no building

from Levels 7-4 has actually been excavated completely, there is no way of knowing whether these older houses did not maybe have interior capacities similar to Level 2 buildings, but on a single floor.

Repair/modification	
2B/Structure 1	possible repair or strengthening of north wall in southeast room potential repair of western wall, or later addition of a buttress (French 1998:31)
2B/Structure 2	none mentioned
2B/Structure 3	none mentioned
2B/Structure 4	none mentioned
2B/Structure 5	none mentioned
2B/Structure 6	none mentioned
2B/Structure 7	frequent replastering of the northern (external) face of the north wall and adjacent (external) floor, including red clay wash – maybe this was another room belonging to Structure 7, but only a small fragment excavated/preserved two or more layers of floor renewal one part of the north wall was added later, and has (differently from the other walls) a stone foundation – might be from phase 2A this and the collapse of the south wall might indicate that the structure gradually fell into disrepair (French 1965:90, 1966:118, 1967:172, 1998:37)
2B/Structure 8	---
2B/Structure 9	---
2B/Structure 10	one wall within the poorly preserved eastern room was added later: it abuts another wall, with original wall plaster preserved in between the two walls, after which new plaster was applied (French 1998:42)
2B/Structure 11	---
2A/Structure 1	none mentioned
2A/Structure 2	none mentioned
2A/Structure 3	none mentioned
2A/Structure 4	none mentioned
2A/Structure 5	none mentioned
2A/Structure 6	three separate phases of wall construction, with different materials also several floor levels, built with different materials (French 1998:49, 2005:14)

Table 49 Canhasan 2: repairs and modifications of buildings.

House furnishing

In 2B, hearths or ovens were found in none of the buildings (Düring 2006:276; French 1962:31). They are reconstructed to originally have existed in the upper storey, but presence/absence of hearths cannot actually be used here as an indicator (**#4, #72**) since their existence is hypothetical. In 2A, hearths were found in Structures 2 and 3 (Table 50) indicating that in this level hearths were possibly present on a ground floor, but the poor preservation of the other 2A buildings prevents a definite answer as to whether the other 2A structures did not have hearths.

Reconstructions of storage capacities are problematic, as usual. Düring (2006:272, 276) interprets both the benches and the bins as storage installations, citing that the benches were not ideally shaped as seating installations, and that a deposit of carbonised grain was found on top of benches in 2B/Structure 3 (French 1962:31). Possibly the grain might have been stored in organic containers hanging of the ceiling or standing/lying on the benches.

At the same time, both French and Düring interpret the entire lower storeys as storage spaces, French (1962:31) citing the already mentioned grain deposits and Düring (2006:267-269, 276). adding that the limited size and compartmentalised layout of these spaces is also indicative of a use not as living/activity areas. How either the number/size of bin and bench installations, or the size of the entire lower basements, translated into storage capacity however is not known. Düring (2006:276) points out that no evidence remains of what was stored in bins and on benches, and the same can be said about the basements in general: while there seems to be reliable evidence for a use of these spaces for storage, and maybe mainly for storage, what and how much was stored in them cannot be known. It can therefore be concluded that all houses seem to have featured fairly sizeable storage spaces (**#5, #6**), but that any interpretations based on a comparison of storage capacities between houses (**#76, #77**) are not possible.

internal features (French 1998:31-49)	
2B/Structure 1	benches in two northern side rooms bench in northeast corner of main room bins between buttresses on the east wall of main room bin in southwestern side room floor not reached
2B/Structure 2	possible benches along north, south and east wall floor not reached (also see French 1998:Fig.34.1)

2B/Structure 3	benches along the north and east wall of the eastern room, and all sides of the western room bin in southwest corner of western room (also French 1998:Pl.5.2, 6.1)
2B/Structure 4	no benches or bins
2B/Structure 5	no benches
2B/Structure 6	partition between two western buttresses which are interpreted as bins by Düring (2006:272)
2B/Structure 7	a partition in the southwest corner, forming a bin (also French 1967:118, 1998:Fig.18, Düring 2006:272)
2B/Structure 8	--
2B/Structure 9	--
2B/Structure 10	--
2B/Structure 11	--
2A/Structure 1	none found
2A/Structure 2	a rectangular compartment in one room, formed by thin partition walls (a bin after Düring 2006:269) hearth in southeast corner
2A/Structure 3	possible bench in one room a hearth, which however might postdate the building itself according to Düring 2006:269
2A/Structure 4	none recorded
2A/Structure 5	a possible partition wall in northern room
2A/Structure 6	--

Table 50 Canhasan 2: internal features in buildings.

Building materials

Although French (1998:21, 27) describes the Level 2B building materials as rather uniform, there was quite a variety of mudbrick colours (Table 51), if not mudbrick sizes which seem to have been very similar between buildings, maybe through use of a mould (Düring 2006:267; French 1998:25). Materials used for floors and wall plaster, where preserved, and mortar also seem to have been diverse, although mortar colours are not reported as systematically as mudbrick colours. Construction techniques are more uniform, most buildings used a combination of parallel brick courses and header-and-stretcher technique for the corners between wall features; but some variation was also observed here, for examples Structures 2 and 3 had wooden posts and the other buildings not. In 2A as well, building materials were diverse and there was a greater variety of brick types/sizes (French 1998:67, Table

51). Overall, building materials can be characterised as varying between buildings (#10, #11). None of the houses in either 2A or 2B shared party walls (#12, Düring 2006:274; French 1998:27), or the other way around: researchers reconstructed buildings so that each has its own set of walls.

building materials and techniques		sources
2B/Structure 1	yellow mudbrick standard brick sizes no details of brick laying mentioned walls plastered except for some walls in the southwest room where plaster might not be preserved	French 1998:31
2B/Structure 2	yellow mudbrick standard brick sizes no details of brick laying mentioned 10 postholes with burnt wood no wall plaster found	French 1963:Pl.1b French 1998:31-32 Düring 2006:272
2B/Structure 3	original mudbrick colour made unrecognisable through fire; traces of straw temper mortar layers 1.5cm thick bricks laid in parallel courses, header-and-stretcher techniques used to corners of walls, and to bond buttresses to walls 8 postholes, and at least one carbonised post found floor made from clay layer over a layer of pebbles wall plastered only present in patches; plaster in the western room is white	French 1962:31 French 1963:36 French 1998:32-34 Düring 2006:272
2B/Structure 4	red mudbrick standard brick sizes bricks laid in parallel courses, header-and-stretcher techniques used to corners of walls, and to bond buttresses to walls clay plaster preserved only in patches, better preserved on north wall clay floor in eastern room, no floor found in western room	French 1998:35
2B/Structure 5	yellow mudbrick standard brick sizes grey mortar, mortar layers 2-3cm thick clay plaster with straw temper, white-wash over the plaster	French 1962:31 French 1998:35-36 Düring 2006:272
2B/Structure 6	yellow and red mudbricks standard brick sizes no wall plaster found clay floor	French 1998:36-37 Düring 2006:272
2B/Structure 7	various mudbrick colours: mostly yellow, some yellow-brown, some grey-green; it is especially noted that “the brick is clean, without large stones and sherds”; grey mortar	French 1966:117 French

	<p>standard brick sizes</p> <p>bricks laid in parallel courses, header-and-stretcher techniques used to bond corners of walls, and to bond buttresses to walls</p> <p>a short wall section, added later. had stone foundations</p>	<p>1967:172 French 1998:37-38, 43</p>
2B/Structure 8	standard brick sizes	French 1998:38
2B/Structure 9	--	
2B/Structure 10	<p>where the bricks are not burnt, they are in western part: yellow / in eastern part: red, reddish brown, yellow-brown, grey standard brick sizes</p> <p>western part: bricks laid in parallel courses, header-and-stretcher techniques used to bond buttresses to walls / eastern part: header-and-stretcher techniques used throughout</p> <p>western part: mortar layers 3-4cm thick / eastern part: 1-2cm in the eastern part</p> <p>In the western part, excess mortar protrudes from the walls</p> <p>western part: In one of the preserved rooms, no wall plaster was found; in the other, all walls were plastered, with a white clay top coating over a plaster of yellow clay with a lot of straw temper / eastern part: fine grey-green wall plaster covered walls and floors</p> <p>corners between walls and buttresses carefully rounded</p>	<p>French 1998:38-42, Düring 2006:272</p>
2B/Structure 11	yellow mudbrick	French 1998:42
2A/Structure 1	yellowish green, greyish green, crumbly mudbrick standard brick sizes	French 1998:46
2A/Structure 2	<p>yellow and red mudbrick part of south wall with stone foundation</p> <p>most mudbricks had standard sizes, except two walls which had smaller mudbricks, and mudbrick used for partition wall is even smaller; use of header-and-stretcher technique</p> <p>in the southeast corner, some wall facades were plastered with white clay</p>	<p>French 1998:35, 43, 46-47</p>
2A/Structure 3	<p>red mudbrick bricks of different sizes red wash on a white clay plaster on the walls and floor</p>	<p>French 1963:35 French 1998:47</p>
2A/Structure 4	<p>red mudbrick bricks of different sizes</p>	French 1998:48
2A/Structure	standard brick sizes	French 1998:49

5	play grey, grey, brown, red mudbricks	
2A/Structure 6	<p>first wall construction phase: mudbrick with white inclusions/white colour, made with straw and pebbles</p> <p>second wall construction phase: greenish mudbrick, red mortar</p> <p>bricks of irregular sizes, different between the wall phases and “poorly laid”</p> <p>some floors were made from yellow clay with red plaster</p> <p>mud plaster</p>	French 1998:49

Table 51 Canhasan 2: building materials and construction techniques.

Ritual elaboration

After a careful dissection of the literature, potential signs for a ritual elaboration of some Canhasan houses abound (Table 52), although this has not as such been yet acknowledged in French’s interpretation of the site. French’s reluctance to interpret the evidence listed in this section as ritual, together with some other uncertainties about the evidence that will be discussed throughout this section, make the recognition of house-related ritual at Canhasan uncertain, but it will still be considered here as a possibility.

Wall paintings: First, some of the fragments of wall painting found inside 2B/Structure 3 and Structure 10 were painted (Düring 2006:267, 268-270, 272; French 1962:31, 1998:27, 33-34) but this has not so far been described as ritual (French 2010:159). Further, the wall painting fragments were found in the roomfill, and their reconstruction as once having belonged to the upper stories of these structures (Düring 2006:280; French 2010:159) is not secure.

Mobile inventory: Second, number of mobile objects were found on floors or in installations that can maybe be described as ritual: figurines were found in a number of buildings; Yalçın (1998:268) interprets a copper mace head from the floor of 2B/Structure 2 as a probably ritual object since it was not used; and French described a number of square ceramic vessels as “probably domestic, possibly cultic, utensils” (French 2010:41).

House-fabric deposits: Third, a number of structures had what has in Chapters 6-7 been referred to as house-fabric deposits: potentially ritual items embedded into the shell of the house itself. In 2B/Structure 7, a group of obsidian blades were found, and some animal bones that however do not seem to have been in anatomic

position (French 1965:90); this is described by Düring (2006:276) as a cache. In a wall of 2A/Structure 6, an infant skeleton was found (French 1968:46, and see 1998:49) for an identification of this structure being 2A/Structure 6). Since most walls and floors of Level 2B were not removed, more burials or other house-fabric deposits might have been present in those structures, only they were not found. Under a floor in Level 4, two dog skeletons were found (Düring 2006:271; French 1998:Pl.4.2, 5.1).

Ritual house abandonment: Fourth, it might be possible to recognise house abandonment rituals in some structures. Of Level 2B, Structures 1, 2, 3 and 10 were burnt to varying degrees, with 2, 3 and 10 being affected the most (Düring 2006:272; Table 48; Structure 6 is interpreted by French to have been burnt long after abandonment, passively through the re-use of the area). French (1962:31, 1966:117) seems to envisage the fire as an accident, a fire starting in Structure 3 and then spreading to other buildings. Düring (2006:272-273) has suggested the alternative interpretation that buildings might have been ritually burnt, based on the observation that all burnt structures burned in very different manners, and therefore probably also at different times.

A number of other arguments can be named to support Düring's view that house fires might have been intentional. First, accepting the basements as storage spaces, the fact that not more charred food, or non-food items, were found might indicate that this fire was planned. Please note that the other way around, seeing the fire as accident/arson calls into question an interpretation of basements as storage units. Second, also seems possible to argue that buildings were prepared for abandonment and fire: Wood does not (always) seem to have been removed, since impressions of wood has been recorded from Structure 10 (French 1998:38), but maybe some wall plaster was removed, given that Structure 2 had no any wall plaster, and Structure 3 only patches (Table 51). It even seems possible to interpret two deposits as laid down in preparation for abandonment: On the floor of Structure 3, several broken human figurines, a large open and painted pottery vessel, a copper bracelet and a human skeleton were found "In a well-defined deposit, which included pottery, grain and bones, from the south end of the West Room" (French 1963:36, also 2010:75). This deposit and the skeleton are associated by French (2010:167) with the accidental burning and collapse of the building, but if the fire is considered ritual, these objects and the deceased person might somehow be related to an abandonment ritual. In a bin in Structure 7 were found 120 sheep mandibles and around 30 amphibian skeletons, probably toads (French 1966:118). Düring (2006:276) compares this deposit to the 'commemorative deposits' found at

Çatalhöyük (Russell et al. 2009, 2014), which preserved the memory of important events of the life of the house and the people connected to it. The find of toads is a little unusual, however; at Çatalhöyük it was cattle, sheep, goat, or wild boar, equids or deer that were used for commemorative deposits (Russell et al. 2009, 2014).

And third, Structure 2 was deliberately filled with mudbricks after the fire, around the charred posts: “The structure, as excavated, had been completely filled with mud-bricks, neatly stacked over the whole area occupied by the interior of the structure” (French 1998:31; also Düring 2006:272-273).

Deciding whether the Canhasan 2b buildings were burnt intentionally or by accident is of central importance for many issues discussed here: ritual house abandonment, warfare; but also for example for the question of upper stories and collapse (see above, Upper stories) or for the discussion of how representative the buildings as found are of the buildings as used in the past: for example, I have postulated that wall plaster might have been removed, and other features or mobile inventory might have been removed likewise. A more detailed review of the evidence on house fires is not possible here; but since French (1998:31-42) provides details of which parts of buildings were more heavily burnt than others, it might as suggested by Düring (2006:273) be possible for a specialists in forensic fire investigations to reconstruct some of the ways that the buildings were burned in order to evaluate whether the fires were intentional (e.g. Harrison et al. 2013).

Building continuity: And fifth, it seems possible to postulate the existence of building continuity at Canhasan. Although Düring (2006, 2009), who most comprehensively researched building continuity, does not consider Canhasan Level 2 an example of building continuity, the ‘insertion’ could be interpreted as a form of building continuity, because it left intact some of the old house and the new house replicated some featured of the old, like its alignment. There might also have been form of building continuity as defined in Chapter 6, although maybe less strictly observed: Some of the walls of 2B/Structure 7 were erected on the walls of an earlier Level 3 structure (French 1967:173, 1998:25-26, 38, Fig.41-44). Whether more Level 2B structures followed the footprints of older structures is not clear: only Trench R21 with 2B/Structure 7 was dug lower than Level 2, the other Level 2B structures were not dug below the floors.

In conclusion, it remains unclear whether any of these five architectural features

actually should be considered as ritual, but if assuming that some or all of them had a ritual aspect, then up to seven buildings of Canhasan 2 can be described as ritually elaboration, and four 2B buildings stand out in particular: Structures 2, 3, 7 and 10 as having three or more potentially ritual features. House-related ritual elaboration appears asymmetrically distributed in the village (#86, #87). Building continuity (#88) might have been present, as might ritual house burning (#31), although it cannot be asserted whether this was socially used in the way encapsulated in **Theme 5/#31**, as a breaking with a ritual past. House abandonment ritual, if above reconstruction is accepted, was idiosyncratic (#22).

	wall paintings	house-fabric deposits	mobile inventory	abandonment/ infill / building continuity
2B/Structure 1				burnt
2B/Structure 2			from roomfill: one human figurine	burnt interior filled with stacked mudbricks
2B/Structure 3	fragments of painted wall plaster in roomfill		from floor: bead necklace, five figurines, copper mace head, copper bracelet from roomfill: two square ceramic 'offering tables'	burnt skeleton of a young woman on the floor together with copper bracelet and other objects (French 1963:36, 2010:75)
2B/Structure 5			from roomfill: one animal figurine	not burnt
2B/Structure 7		below floor: a number of obsidian blades and animal bones (French 1965:90)	from floor: one female figurine, one fragment of copper from bin: 120 mandibles of sheep, 30 skeletons of amphibians from roomfill: a small female figurine	erected on walls of earlier Level 3 building not burnt
2B/Structure 10	fragments of painted wall plaster in roomfill		on floor: one female figurine on the floor in front of a buttress one copper bracelet	burnt
2A/Structure 6		““An infant skeleton was found		not burnt

in the
middle of
the wall of
the house”
(French
1968:46)

Table 52 Canhasan 2: potentially ritual items found in houses; see Table 53 for sources for the mobile inventory, and Table 48 for burning.

Settlement layout

Canhasan 2 was a densely clustered settlement (**#47**; Düring 2006:265, 2011c:141), and its roofscape is reconstructed as a busy activity, storage, socialising and transport area (Düring 2006:278; French 1998:68), even though no actual roofs, and therefore no direct evidence of roofscape activities was found (Düring 2006:278). Within the exposed area, no spatial patterning was observed whereby houses formed distinct groups (**#49, #50, #51**). Düring, accepting French’s reconstruction that the western part of the 2B settlement within the excavation area was removed by ‘terracing’ in phase 2A (see above, Settlement development), therefore does not reconstruct this area as an open area within the settlement, but postulates that such areas must have existed, and possibly separated house clusters: “As far as can be ascertained, these buildings seem to be surrounded on all sides by other buildings. Open spaces, be they peripheral to the neighbourhood or internal to it, have not been found. This absence of open spaces is probably determined by the limited size of the excavated area at Canhasan I” (Düring 2006:265). Thus expecting that open spaces existed somewhere in the settlement, but were not found, Düring (2006:265) describes the excavated Level 2 house cluster as one neighbourhood of probably several. This reconstruction, however, relies on the interpretation of Canhasan 2B was a relatively large settlement, covering most of the area of the mound (as Düring 2006:278 does); if it was smaller than expected, it might have been manageable also without breaks between houses. Terraces, reconstructed by Düring (2006:278) based on the fact that the floor of 2B/Structure 10 is much lower than that of surrounding structures, could be breaks in the house landscape that separated social groups from each other (see Hodder 2014b:8 who suggests this for Çatalhöyük), but that is all speculative.

French (1998:69) tentatively postulated that Level 2A might have moved to a less densely clustered layout than 2B (**#32**). That is possible, but cannot be seen as certainty because 2A is so poorly preserved, and also because it is not actually known which of the Level 2 buildings functioned together contemporarily (see above, Settlement development).

Unroofed space

An understanding of which settlement areas functioned as unroofed areas within the house cluster is impaired by the security as to which houses were actually contemporary (see above, Settlement development). Having stated above that most Level 2B and 2A buildings were actually roughly contemporary instead of representing two subsequent phases, there was no area within the trench that was not built up: French's plan (1998:Fig.23) showing both 2B and 2A together attests that actually the entire part of the trench that was excavated down to Level 2 was taken up with Level 2 houses. My section above on Settlement development also stated that probably Level 2 represented an organically growing village, therefore it is quite possible that within this dense house cluster not all buildings were in use at the same time, but that some areas functioned as open spaces for periods of time; but in absence of a finer stratigraphic/ radiocarbon sequence, this cannot be verified. As already mentioned, both French (2010:167) and Düring (2006:265, 278) expect that unroofed spaces existed somewhere in the Level 2 settlement outside of the excavated area.

The only evidence for unroofed activity areas that French (1998:50) himself reports is dated to the very end of 2A. I agree that the architecture-less deposits that were found over most 2B houses and assigned by him to this latest episode of 2A (French 1998:Fig.23) are strongly suggestive of an unroofed midden-like area. The reports describe 2A deposits overlaying 2B houses as having the artefact-rich, finely layered nature that was characteristic of midden/ activity areas for example at Çatalhöyük (Shillito 2011): "The deposits consisted, as before, of brick debris, dust, sand, gravel and ash lines; since there is a large quantity of bones and sherds in these thin lines, it is clear that they are the refuse or rubbish from a settlement of the Middle Chalcolithic period" (French 1966:115, similarly 1965:89, 1998:43). Many artefacts from these deposits are listed (e.g. French 1965:90, 1966:116, 1967:165), and the section drawings that show 2A deposits from the then-unroofed areas above 2B building (French 1998:Figs.41-44) confirm that these deposits were finely layered. The 1967 report (French 1967:167) seems to mention surfaces and a hearth found in one of these latest 2A deposits in the southeastern area of the trench (Trench S25a). Further, burials seem to have been found in these late-2A unroofed areas: two infant skeletons in S25a (French 1967:169), and adult buried with an infant in the baulk between S24c and S25a (French 1968:45-46). Further, a group of 12 individuals in a secondary burial that was upon excavation first described as stratigraphically belonging to 2A/Structure 5 (French 1968:50), but later French (2010:167) reassigned this burial to "an accumulation above Layer 2B, [associated

with] undifferentiated fill (?from Layer 2A)".

An interpretation of this seemingly busy activity and refuse area is however prevented by the fact that it remains unclear whether any buildings were contemporary to this large midden area, and if yes, which. French (1998:50) did not make any connections between any Level 2 buildings and this large midden. And indeed, the above outlined uncertainty about building stratigraphies prevents an understanding of which of the houses could have belonged to the phase of this midden. Since most '2A' structures were found on the same height as '2B', i.e. under the level of these thick deposits, none of the Level 2 houses might be contemporary to the midden. If most of the Level 2 structures predate the large midden, it could either be postulated that buildings existed elsewhere on the mound; or maybe that no permanent built structures existed during this period, which because of its pottery can be dated to roughly the same time period as Level 2 (note that French assigned them to 2A), and therefore here the Early Chalcolithic (Appendix 1).

In conclusion, there is no evidence that the Level 2 buildings functioned together with any unroofed activity area (**#80, #81, #82**), although there seems to be a general expectation by French and others that such spaces must have existed.

Non-residential buildings

None of the Canhasan 1 buildings was interpreted as a non-residential building in any of the sources consulted here.

Conclusions

Overall, Canhasan Level 2 carries strong indicators for household autonomy, while community integration is less strong in the evidence. Household independence is indicated by the idiosyncrasy of house construction, including layout, sizes (**#38**), building materials (**#10, #11**), the non-sharing of party walls (**#12**), and individual modifications (**#39**).

Unfortunately, only fragmented and indirect evidence remains about the relative distribution of cooking and storage installations between houses. The only certain indicator of community integration is the clustering (**#47**) of the village; but the

roofscape represent the only evidence for any space that was not private residence until the very end of Level 2, when much of the excavated area is turned into a midden. There is more ritual elaboration of houses than anticipated and than reconstructed by French, but its interpretation in terms of household autonomy is ambiguous; there might be building continuity (#88) and ritual elaboration seems asymmetrically distributed (#86, #87), but there are also signs of idiosyncrasy in ritual expression.

French himself recognised the juxtaposing of independent building with clustering; one of his rare comments on the social organisation of the site: “One aspect which has not been discussed in the final report, Canhasan Sites I [French 1998], nor in Düring's interpretation [Düring 2006], is perhaps somewhat elusive: the individuality of the Layer 2B structures – some relatively small, some relatively large – as opposed to the communal integration of the structures [#47] (Düring's “clustered corporate residence”), cp. the careful accommodation or adaptation, of the SW corner of Structure 6 with the NE corner of Structure 4. Do we have here individuality combined with community?” (French 2010:167). Overall, there seems to be a balance between household independence and community integration, but more different pieces of evidence can be found for autonomy as compared to integration.

Social competition and stratification

Social competition

It is possible to recognise in the architecture of Level 2 elements of social competition between households based on productivity and hiding-displaying; but in absence of data on the economy of the site (studies of animal and botanic remains), this needs to remain tentative. With a few exceptions (Structure 5, Structure 6), houses were large (#98), at least some were two-storied (#99), and Structures 1, 3, 4 and 10 also had several rooms on ground level (#100): they would have been ideal for households striving for high economic productivity, and the ability to hide some of it in the generously sized lower stories. Upper stories probably existed at Canhasan since Level 3 (Düring 2006:269; French 1998:66, 67), and Düring (2011c:144) as well has suggested associating their emergence with the

need for additional storage or workshop (i.e. production) space. Maybe this development should be dated to the start of Level 3, ca. 6000 BC.

Since upper stories are not preserved, the part of the house is missing that presumably saw more formal and informal visits from members of other households, since it was the first room to enter through the rooftop entrances and presumably featured hearth/oven. If these stories indeed were as large as the ground floors, maybe without buttresses (**#101**) and had cooking installations (see above, Upper stories), they would have been suitable for hospitality. The fragments of painted wall plaster (see above, House-related ritual) should be considered in this context: it is not certain that they belonged to the upper stories of the buildings they were found in (Structure 3, Structure 10), but they presumably are from some walls in Level 2; if they are not of ritual nature, they might still have played a role in social display (**#102**). Düring (2006:280, 2011c:131, 144; French 2010:159) seems to see a more indirect relation) has pointed out similarities in the wall painting and pottery painting motifs at the site. This is a very important observation given that decorated pottery presumably played a role in competitive hospitality during the Early Chalcolithic (Chapter 3.3.3). Wall plaster, especially if located in upper stories, might then have played a role in competitive hospitality. Overall, there is relatively strong evidence for social competition at Canhasan 2.

Elite residences

While there are indications for social competition, it is difficult to argue that any one building particularly stands out as a potential residence for a particularly powerful household (French 1998:68): there is range of building sizes, but not one or two that stand out due to their size (cf. **#106**). All buildings might have had upper stories (cf. **#108, #109**). There is a variety of building materials, but it is not apparent that any mudbrick type, size or colour should be related to socioeconomic status (cf. **#110**). The evidence on house furnishing is incomplete since the upper stories are missing; comparing installations in the lower stories (Table 50), no building stands out (**Theme 19.3**).

The only possible evidence for status differences comes from some mobile items found in Structures 3, 7 and 10. I have argued above (Roomfills) that presumably most of what was found in the roomfills was not originally part of the house inventories. Table 53 therefore lists items from the floor separately. I need to stress that also items found on the floor can have come there through any number of

different formation processes (see below, Çatalhöyük West: middening into houses), but there might be a pattern to the finds from thee Structure 3, 7 and 10 floors: Both Structure 10 and 7 had one figurine and one copper bracelet each on their floors; Structure 7 additionally featured an animal bone cluster in a bin, and one under the floor together with obsidian. In Structure 3, four figurines and a stone bead necklace were found on the floor and additionally a separate deposit that included a copper artefact, pottery and the skeleton of a young woman. There is therefore a recurring theme of depositing figurines and copper artefacts on the floor; this provides some reassurance that these items might actually be in primary position. So are most probably the obsidian and bone cluster under the Structure 7 floor, and the many animal bones found in its bin. These items could have connotations of either ritual importance (**#120, #122**; also Düring 2006:276 observes that Structures 3 and 7 stand out due to their potentially ritual mobile inventory) and in the case of the copper artefacts maybe also of prestige (**#119**) since these were relatively rare and imported items: Yalçın (1998:287) researched the composition of one of the copper artefacts, the mace head from Structure 3, and concluded that the nearest possible source of this native copper is at least 100km away. Structure 7 also was a building continued from Level 3 (**#124**), and Structure 3 and 10 were burnt (**#128**)—this might indicate additional ritual charge.

Since Structures 3, 7 and 10 represent three of the eight buildings that were excavated more or less completely in Level 2, it might be better to interpret the evidence outlined in this section as additional evidence for social competition, which then also included competition for ritual and imported items, rather than postulating that three of eight buildings were elite residences.

Elite influence on settlement layout

From what is presumably a relatively small area excavated in the centre of a larger settlement, there is no evidence for a structuring of the site according to status differences.

Conclusion

I have recognised relatively strong evidence for social competition at Canhasan, and possibly some evidence for emerging social stratification, but it would be better to have a larger sample of houses before labelling some of them as elite residences.

structure	finds	source
2B/Structure 1	Finds on floor/installations: none reported	French 1963:42 French 2005:13
	Finds in roomfill: at least one painted pottery vessel Grade 1 pottery from "floor of upper storey": two jars pottery from Batch 279: 12 large painted pottery fragments	pottery from Batch 279: French 2005:35, 73; Figs. 55.09, 64.02. 65.01, 67.06, 75.04. 82.15, 140.07, 143.03, 143.07, 145.07, 147.19, 149.13
2B/Structure 2	Finds on floor/installations: none reported	French 1962:33 French 2005:13
	Finds in roomfill: one human figurine Grade 1 pottery from "floor of upper storey": one painted jar	
2B/Structure 3	Finds on floor/installations: a necklace of 325 small white stone beads on the floor: "One collection of small, white beads (Fig. 56.1) was found in situ, on the floor of Structure 3, Layer 2B. The original string is now almost entirely lost but one small group of the beads (Fig. 56.1 a) retains the original copper(?) wire on which the beads had once been strung" (French 2010:57) four human figurines on the floor of the west room, one on the floor of the east room deposit of carbonised grains on the benches Mace head made from native copper found "In situ, on floor" of the west room (French 2010:140) "in the burnt debris between the two buttresses against the north wall" (French 1962:33) In 1962, several broken human figurines, a large open and painted pottery vessel, a copper bracelet and a human skeleton were found "In a well-defined deposit, which included pottery, grain and bones, from the south end of the West Room of House 3" (French 1963:36); this deposit is later described as having been located on the floor: "The bracelet (fig. 57.2) was found in association with the skeleton of a young woman lying of [sic] the floor of the West Room, Structure 3" (French 2010:75, also compare 2010:140)	French 1962:31, 33, 40, Pl.2, Fig.8 French 1963:35-36, 42 Yalçın 1998:283, Tab.2 Düring 2006:276 French 2005:13 French 2010:41, 57, 75, 105-106, 122, 125, 127-128, 139-140

	<p>Finds in roomfill: Grade 1 pottery from “floor of upper storey”: 7 painted jars and one incised bowl</p> <p>several fragments of wall plaster with red-on-white geometric painting, some with a second coating; some pieces are not flat and might be from the frames of doors or windows</p> <p>two fragments of pottery bases with reed mat impressions fragments of two square pottery vessels referred to as “offering tables” in west room one clay object described as “plug” in west room one clay pot stand in east room, one in west room bone points (possibly on the floor, compare French 1962:33 and Düring 2006:276)</p> <p>animal bones in western room</p> <p>one human figurine (1961)</p> <p>At least one painted pottery vessel found in 1962, and in 1962 “a few relatively complete pots from the fill of the West Room of House 3 including an incised bowl with bull-head protomes” (French 1963:35)</p> <p>pottery from Batch 62: not mentioned in 2005 book pottery from Batch 71: 6 large pottery fragments, some painted pottery from Batch 79: 3 large pottery fragments, some painted and some incised pottery from Batch 369: 6 large pottery fragments, some painted and some incised</p>	
<p>2B/Structure 4</p>	<p>Finds on floor/installations: none reported</p>	<p>French 1963:36, 42 French 2005:13 French 2010:123</p>
	<p>Finds in roomfill: animal bones spindle whorl Grade 1 pottery from “floor of upper storey”: 6 painted jars/bowls, one burnished bowl</p>	
<p>2B/Structure 5</p>	<p>Finds on floor/installations: none reported</p>	<p>French 1962:40, Pl.1, Fig.9 French 2005:13, 72, Pl.1b French 2010:114, 127</p>
	<p>Finds in roomfill: one animal figurine two incised pottery bowls at least 6 painted pottery vessels one clay pot stand</p> <p>Grade 1 pottery from “floor of upper storey” (Batch 30): 29 painted and unpainted pottery fragments or whole vessels</p>	

2B/Structure 6	Finds on floor/installations: none reported	French 1963:35
Finds in roomfill: Large samples of carbonised wood and of other carbonised plant matter from inside and above the building		
2B/Structure 7	<p>Finds on floor: one female figurine one fragment of copper</p> <p>Finds in the bin in the southwest corner: “Behind the partition at the south-west corner of House 7 was found an unusual deposit consisting of over 120 mandibles (mainly left) of sheep and about 30 skeletons of amphibians (? small toads). These definitely date from the Early Chalcolithic period but whether the presence of toads is intentional or accidental, it is not possible to say” (French 1966:118)</p> <p>[note that Düring (2006:276) understands this deposit to be behind the northwest wall, i.e. a deposit within the house fabric; but French (cited above) seems to instead clearly refer to the bin-like structure in the southwest corner]</p> <p>Finds below floor: animal bones and a group of long obsidian blades in between the second and third of three floor layers [assuming that is meant by “latest floor”]</p> <p>Finds in roomfill: Animal bones At least one painted pottery vessel A small female figurine small quantity of charred grains and seeds found by sieving the infill</p> <p>pottery from Batch 189: six large pottery fragments, some painted</p>	<p>French 1963:36, 42 French 1965:90 French 1966:118 French 1967:172-173 Yalçın 1998:Tab.2 Düring 2006:276 French 2005:73 French 2010:3, 140</p>
2B/Structure 8	no finds reported	
2B/Structure 9	no finds reported	
2B/Structure 10	Finds on floor/installations: one female figurine on the floor in front of a buttress one copper bracelet	<p>French 2005:13 French 2010:105, 140, 159</p>
Finds in roomfill: Grade 1 pottery from “floor of upper storey”: 2 vessels		

	Wall plaster	
2B/Structure 11	no finds reported	
2A/Structure 1	no finds reported	
2A/Structure 2	Finds on floor/installations: none reported	French 1963:35 French 2005:74
	Finds in roomfill: A large quantity of animal bones pottery from Batch 366: 15 large fragments of pottery, some painted pottery from Batch 373: 2 large fragments of pottery, some painted pottery from Batch 383: 45 large fragments of pottery, some painted	
2A/Structure 3	no finds reported	
2A/Structure 4		
2A/Structure 5	Finds on floor/installations: none reported	French 1968:47, 50
	Finds in roomfill: animal bones “a large quantity of grain” from the western room a total of 89 charred wood samples from western and eastern areas of the building [compare French 1998:48-49 for a statement that this building was later labelled 2A/Structure 5]	
2A/Structure 6	Finds on floor/installations: Grade 1 pottery: one vessel from “early floor”, one vessel from “latest floor”	French 1968:46 French 2005:14, Pl.1a
	Finds in roomfill: A large quantity of animal bones	

Table 53 Canhasan 2: artefacts found in buildings

Listing only finds mentioned for specific buildings, and listing finds found directly on top of floors or installations separately. Finds are treated as “from roomfill” unless it is explicitly mentioned that they are from the floor.

Mobility

Canhasan I Level 2 has neither the signature of a campsite, nor of a pastoral base settlement, for which it seems too densely built up (cf. #157, #158, #159, #160; French 1998:66)—keeping in mind, however, that only a relatively small part of this large site was excavated.

Warfare

Preparing for warfare

No enclosures or protected entrances were found (French 1998:68), but the edges of the Level 2 were also not excavated. French (1998:68) does not see any evidence for a defensive aspect of the architecture of Canhasan. The only one to suggest a defensive aspect to the Canhasan Level 2 architecture was Cutting (2005b:80): “Finally, the settlement could have been a defensive one with early buildings in the centre of the mound built in such a way that their thick walls [#177] constituted a barrier similar to that of a continuous wall [#165 or #166]”. The clustering of the site is indeed the only potential sign for warfare preparations, but as already pointed out multiple times, there could have been a number of other reasons for choosing this settlement layout, which by this time was already an established settlement style in central Anatolia (Düring 2006).

The results of warfare

The burning of 2B/Structures 1, 2, 3 and 10 as well as the skeleton of a woman found among other items on the floor of Structure 3 is associated by French (2010:167) with the accidental burning and collapse of the building, and I have above suggested a potentially ritual interpretation (cf. #179, #180).

Çatalhöyük West

Introducing excavation projects on the Çatalhöyük West Mound

The site of Çatalhöyük is visually separated into two mounds; the West Mound has received less extensive research attention than the East Mound. Between 1961 and 2013, architecture was excavated in three different trenches across the mound, but none has reached deeper than the uppermost building level. In all trenches with the exception of Trench 8 (Erdoğu 2007:136), Chalcolithic remains were disturbed by the Late Roman-Byzantine cemetery that existed on the mound in historic times (Biehl and Rosenstock 2009a:475; Gibson and Last 2000, 2001; Last 1998b).

Upon starting work at Çatalhöyük in 1961, Mellaart's team spent a very short season excavating a trench (Trench 1) at the summit of the West Mound (20m x 5m x 2.15m), where they uncovered an unroofed area; and a sounding (Trench 2) the southern slope (10m x 8m), finding what Mellaart interpreted as an open area, and a midden/pit area that disturbed the remains of a fragmented house (Mellaart 1965a:136-137). Under the umbrella of the Hodder project, three teams have excavated on the West Mound between 1998 and 2013. The Mellaart trench at the summit of the mound was re-opened and widened by a British-led team in 1998, 2000-2001 and 2003 (Trench 1). This team discovered in Mellaart's old trench traces of at least one mudbrick building not recognised in 1961 (Gibson et al. 2000): "According to Mellaart (1965, 135) there were no structures in Trench I, but we discovered walls preserved at different levels in the section and base of the trench, suggesting they had been truncated by the original excavators, who had failed to recognize them" (Last 1998b). In a larger trench next to the Mellaart trench, they uncovered next to the Mellaart trench dense architectural features that they interpreted parts of one very large building (B.25, including all spaces shown in the plan except Sp.218) which could not be completely uncovered (Gibson and Last 2003a, 2003b:63). In their first season in 1998, this team also excavated a small sounding next to Mellaart's Trench 2, and two further soundings (Trenches 3-4) at the edges of the mound, all of which did not yield clear architecture and were discontinued after the first season (Last 1998b).

In 2006, four new trenches were opened on the West Mound (Biehl et al. 2006). Trench 8 was positioned at the very western fringe of the mound by a team from Trakya Üniversitesi (University of Thrace) at Edirne under the direction of Burçin

Erdođu and excavated over five seasons an area of ca. 10x15m to a depth of ca. 1.8m, investigating two buildings more or less completely (B.78, B.94) and cut sondages through the floors of B.78 and of B.94, exposing parts of two older buildings underneath (Sp.363 under B.78, Sp.481 under B.94; Erdođu 2009c, 2012).

A joint project by SUNY Buffalo (Peter Biehl) and FU Berlin (Eva Rosenstock) opened Trenches 5, 6 and 7 on the very eastern fringe of the West Mound. Trench 7 was a sondage positioned in the slope of a large modern canal dug into edge of the mound where virgin soil was reached in 2008 (Biehl and Rosenstock 2008). This provided an impression of the depth and nature of cultural layers in this part of the mound, which have been radiocarbon-dated to 6050–5550 cal. BC (Biehl et al. 2012b). With the exception of an architectural fragment of a wall with floor, Trench 7 yielded only what seemed to be activity areas or erosion layers on the settlement fringe (Biehl et al. 2012a:61). Trenches 5 and 6 were intended to expose and investigate contexts on a larger area (10m x 10m each). After the initial season in 2006, work in Trench 6 was discontinued after removal of the topsoil as it turned out that the expected prehistoric levels were overlaid and disturbed by a deep stratigraphy of classical and medieval graves rendering exposing the Early Chalcolithic more time-consuming than anticipated. Work focused on Trench 5 (14m x 14m), which was excavated until 2013. In Trench 5, a cluster of houses was excavated down to a depth of up to 3.2m below tops of walls, of which the outlines of five (B.98, B.105, B.106, B.107, B.126) were fully defined, but the infill of the southern room in B.126 was not excavated. Parts of three other buildings or rooms (B.127, Sp.447, Sp.446) were excavated, but since these buildings were only partly inside the trench, they are less relevant for this analysis. Walls along the trench borders indicate that all buildings were surrounded by more buildings outside the trench borders. A small part of B.125 was reached in a sondage under B.98.

It is mostly Trench 5 that gives insight into social organisation, because only here was a cluster of several houses excavated that were probably roughly contemporary: radiocarbon dates indicate that these buildings were used in a relatively narrow time span between 5900 and 5800 BC. B.25 in Trench 1 is around a little earlier (6000-5900 BC) and cannot directly be compared with any contemporary building in the same trench (Orton et al. in prep). Trench 8 has not been dated; all trenches will be treated here as analytical units, since otherwise the Trench 1 building could not be compared to any contemporary building, the two Trench 8 buildings only to each other. The trenches are too far apart from each other to reconstruct any connection between the architecture. Although it had worked well on the East Mound, surface scraping on the West Mound (three

squares of 10 x 10 m) in 1994 did not reveal well-preserved architecture (Gibson et al. 2000; Last 1994, 1998b; Matthews 1996:99).

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Figure 45 Çatalhöyük West: plan of B.25 (Gibson et al. 2003:Fig.41).

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Figure 46 Çatalhöyük West: plan of buildings in Trench 8 (Erdoğan 2012:Fig.6.2).

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Figure 47 Çatalhöyük West: plan of buildings in Trench 5 (Biehl and Rogasch 2013:Fig.5.1).

Reconstructing houses: building units and upper stories

Building units

Distinguishing buildings from each other is relatively straightforward on the West Mound; with the exception of B.25, as pointed out above, all other buildings were distinguished through having one single entrance (through the roof) entrances: all areas enclosed by walls were interpreted as a building. In most cases, each building also has its own set of walls, and all have their own set of buttresses. It should maybe be doubted whether B.25 is actually one single building given that its many, often small, spaces are not all connected and that it is made up from so many small, individual wall features of which many are not contemporary (Gibson et al. 2000)—but it will be researched here as one buildings, as reconstructed by the excavators. All buildings were interpreted as houses with the exception of B.78 in Trench 8, which will here however also be researched as a residence (see below, Non-residential buildings).

Upper stories

The building on the West Mound probably were two-storied. An upper floor collapsed into the basement was found in B.78 in Trench 8. The floor of the upper storey must have slumped down during a slow erosion/ collapsing process; when found, its surface was heavily sloping towards the centre of the building, between the buttresses which were also partially collapsed. In the upper storey a wall seems to have collapsed into the room. The upper storey of B.78 did not have buttresses, and therefore a more open floor plan as compared to the basement (Erdoğu 2008, 2009a:139, 2009c). The parts of houses excavated in Trench 5 are relatively small and compartmentalised by thick buttresses. The few installations that were found can be related to food processing or storage, but cooking installations were absent (Table 55). While this is only indirect evidence for an upper storey, the Trench 5 buildings should probably be reconstructed as the storage-basements to upper stories used as living areas. The excavators of B.25 interpret also this building as two-storied because the many small spaces that formed part of it could not otherwise have been entered from Sp.194 (Gibson and Last 2003b:63); but I have already pointed out that maybe the reconstruction of all the small spaces as one building is faulty. The possible existence of an upper story to B.25 shall not be excluded here, though. With the exception of B.78, then, the buildings as found represent only the lower half of houses whose living floor was not preserved.

Building formation processes: house abandonment and roomfill

There seem to have been very different house abandonment practices on the West Mound as compared to the Neolithic East Mound, where buildings were routinely ritually buried. On the West Mound, it might be possible to identify a number of different house abandonment practices.

First, a practice of cleaning the house of at least its mobile inventory, and then abandoning it without further interference: B.78 in Trench 8 must have been cleaned of much of its at least mobile inventory, since none or few artefacts were found in primary position (Erdoğu and Ulubey 2011:6), and then apparently was left to collapse. When first found, the excavators interpreted an episode of fire destruction in B.78 (Erdoğu 2007:137), but since this is never mentioned afterwards, it might have been an error caused by the orange colour of some of the roomfill (Erdoğu 2007:Fig.96; in which the walls do not appear burnt). More recently, Erdoğu (Erdoğu and Ulubey 2011:6) has interpreted a several pottery fragments carrying the painted image of a human figure with raised arms as an intentional deposition in the upper storey during abandonment; the season reports do not, however, explicitly mention where exactly these sherd was found (Erdoğu 2007:139-140, 2009c:52, Fig.57) and given that this floor is cracked and slumped, it seems difficult to imagine a sherd found directly on it. However, a similar sherd was found on the floor of B.94 (Erdoğu 2012:104).

A second, and more common, practice was to remove mobile inventory and maybe also parts of the building itself before using houses as midden areas. Buildings in Trench 5 carried traces of feature removal before abandonment; erosion of abandoned buildings; and middening into abandoned buildings. Buildings B.105, B.106 and B.107 in Trench 5 each had two wall phases. Not dissimilar to the building continuity observed on the East Mound, the upper walls were built onto lower walls; but some details of this practice as well as its social meaning seem to be quite different. For example, in B.105 and B.106 the upper phase changed slightly in layout, with thinner walls and buttresses. In B.106 and B.107, we removed the upper walls to expose the very irregular surfaces of the lower walls onto which the upper walls were built. The irregularity of these surfaces was interpreted to mean that the lower walls were exposed to a period of erosion before the new set of walls was constructed (Biehl and Rogasch 2013:102). Other buildings in the trench might have been treated similarly, but only in these two cases was the evidence so clear, because the overlying walls sealed the surfaces of the lower ones. What might be a fairly thick deposit of collapse was found at the bottom of B.105 (Biehl et al.

2012b:83), but no collapse was identified in the other buildings, maybe indicating that the upper parts of the houses were removed during abandonment, or in any case before the houses collapsed due to lack of upkeep. In Trench 5, the team considered that wall and floor plaster might sometimes have been removed during abandonment: many walls were found without plaster only with only patches preserved (Biehl et al. 2012b:84); and in B.105 and B.107 no floor was found at the base level of the upper wall phase. Most walls in B.25 also were found without plaster (Gibson et al. 2000). It is possible that there never was plaster on the walls or floor, but the possibility that it was removed should be considered; and other features (installations) might have been removed as well.

After abandonment, all Trench 5 buildings were used as midden areas. This was interpreted by the Trench 5 team based on the many successive small to medium-scale deposits that filled these buildings. Most of the roomfill consisted of pot sherds, animal bones, other broken (but also some complete) artefacts, and sediments probably representing disintegrated building materials; these middens are therefore quite different in makeup from the typically ashy middens of the East Mound, which contained fewer and more worn artefacts and attest to different practices around refuse disposal. Between the refuse deposits, also primary deposits and burials were found in Trench 5 roomfills that will be discussed below (Biehl et al. 2012b:92-96; Rogasch et al. in press). The three buildings in Trench 8 other than B.78 might show abandonment processes closer to those characteristic of Trench 5: B.94 was built onto Sp.481, but with slightly different footprint and there is a pocket of roomfill between the base of the northern buttress of B.94, and the top of the buttress of Sp.481 under it which seems to have accumulated between the abandonment of the one and the construction of the other (Erdoğu 2012:104, Fig.6.4). Most wall surfaces in B.94 also did not have plaster (Erdoğu 2009a:138, 2012:103-104, Fig.6.4). Many artefacts are reported from the roomfill of all houses (Erdoğu 2007:137, 2009a:140, 2010:50): “There was an abundance of pottery. A total of c. 3200 shards were found only in the debris of the second storey [of B.78]”, so that an interpretation of the roomfill as midden, similar to Trench 5, can be suggested. Some roomfill descriptions in particular read very similar to the Trench 5 roomfills, for example “The room fill [of Sp.363 under B.78] was particularly rich in burnt debris and lots of burnt construction materials with pottery sherds, animal bone and obsidian implements. The room fill also contained numerous small fragments of hard white lime plaster with traces of red paint. The material assemblage was notable including 3 polished stone axe heads, 5 clay balls, 6 worked and unworked horns and antlers, 4 bone awls, a potstand, a malachite piece and a shell bead native to the Mediterranean Sea” (Erdoğu 2009c:52). Only

few artefacts in Trench 8 seem to have been from building floors (Erdoğu 2008:107, 2009c:52; 2012:104), and even those might represent middening rather than original inventory. An interpretation as middens is not suggested by the Trench 8 team, but they also do not offer an alternative comprehensive interpretation of roomfill formation; a few remarks seem to suggest that they conceptualise the roomfill as a mixture of collapse and intentional infill of sediment (e.g. Erdoğu 2007:137-138, 2009a:140).

In comparison with Trench 5, I suggest that Trench 1 spaces also seem to have been used for refuse disposal post-abandonment: The roomfill descriptions (Gibson and Last 2003b:62-63; Gibson et al. 2002b, 2004; Last 2000) are very reminiscent of the Trench 5 roomfills, containing a jumble of artefacts, ash and building materials; some particularly artefact-rich deposits are mentioned, but these never seem to be on the floor. The excavators (Gibson and Last 2003b:64-65) seem inclined to define clusters of pottery sherds, of well-preserved animal bones or special artefacts, for example a bone dagger and antler in a corner of Sp.221 (Gibson and Last 2003b:62), as ritual closure deposits, however failing to outline exactly how a closure ritual is envisaged that leaves ritual deposits at different points in the vertical infill sequence, between other deposits whose formation is not explicitly interpreted, but referred to with terms such as 'dump', 'midden-like dump' and 'discard' (Gibson and Last 2003b:64; Gibson et al. 2002b, 2004), i.e. apparently interpreted as refuse. A possible exception is the large central Space 194, apparently having less pottery-rich deposits: "There was a clear distinction between the assemblages from the small spaces, which included dumps of large potsherds, and the fills of Space 194, which did not exhibit this phenomenon" (Gibson and Last 2003b:64). But this might simply indicate less artefacts or less pottery being dumped into the space (although animals bones and lithics were found in Sp.194, Gibson and Last 2003b:65, 67); in Trench 5 as well, there was one building (B.107) whose content seemed to be mostly disintegrated building materials, i.e. still refuse (Biehl et al. 2012b:94). There might therefore be a third abandonment practice that included ritual deposition, but the evidence might have been misinterpreted. The Trench 1 team first formulated the notion of intentional deposition of artefact-rich deposits in the very first excavation season (Last 1998b), when little overall was known of West Mound architecture, and then continued this interpretation. In comparison with Trench 5, a re-interpretation seems necessary.

A number of conclusions can be made. First, house abandonment practices on the West Mound were different from earlier traditions at Çatalhöyük, and a relation of this conclusion to house-related ritual will be discussed below. Second, the houses

as found are not representative of how the houses looked like while being houses as houses. The upper storey is in most cases missing, and in the basement plaster and installations might have been removed; maybe the basements were also left open to erode. And third, nothing mobile found in the interiors seems to belong to the original building use. No deposit found in the infill of Trench 5 buildings was interpreted belonging to the original use of the house as a residence. Reading the excavation reports, the Trench 1 team as well does not seem to interpret any artefacts found inside the buildings as original inventory. In Trench 8, the Erdoğan team does not actually seem to regard the finds from roomfill as part of the original inventory, but they still use it to draw conclusions about the social use of the house (e.g. Erdoğan 2009a:140).

Household autonomy and community integration

House layouts

Between all excavated West Mound houses, and also more specifically between the roughly contemporary houses of Trench 5, there is a large variety of sizes and shapes (#38); not two buildings have the same footprint, although they all resemble each other in being rectangular with internal buttresses. They were also often modified (#39; Table 54).

building	Modifications
Trench 2	the hearth/oven had a renewal phase (Mellaart 1965a:136)
B.25	<p>Sp.194: three at least three subsequent floor levels between the same set of outer walls, each with a renewed phase of platforms around the edges of the room; a layer of infill at least between the second and third floor layers (from the bottom) (Gibson and Last 2003b:62)</p> <p>There are also several phases of the central oven mentioned, but it is not clear how these relate to the floor levels (Gibson and Last 2003b:62)</p> <p>Sp.189, Sp.190, Sp.193: two wall phases, also two floors in Sp.189 (Gibson et al. 2000)</p> <p>Sp.193/ Sp.190: doorway blocked (Gibson et al. 2000)</p>

B.78	northern buttress F.2952 in the lower storey had thick plaster, made up from several subsequently applied layers of plaster (Erdoğu 2008:105, 2009c:51-52) on the floor of the upper storey, five separate layers of red plaster are visible with the naked eye (Erdoğu 2008:105)
B.94	The doorway in the south might have been blocked by bench F.3802 (?) (Erdoğu 2012:Fig.6.2)
B.98	two subsequent wall phases three subsequent floor levels bench built against northern buttress (F.3334)
B.105	two subsequent wall phases
B.106	two subsequent wall phases potential remains (U.18349) of an otherwise removed floor level in the northeast corner a floor patch with up to 9 subsequent plaster layers in the southern space (Sp.454)
B.107	two subsequent wall phases
B.125	---
B.126	northern space (Sp.345): two subsequent layers of plastered floor no on level with wall bases, midden-like fill below and under this floor
B.127	none apparent
Sp.446	several subsequent wall phases, short wall features built over or against others
Sp.447	none apparent

Table 54 Çatalhöyük West: modifications to buildings. Trench 5 information compiled from Biehl and Rogasch 2013; Biehl et al. 2011, 2012b.

House furnishing

A real interpretation of West Mound house furnishing (**Themes 1, 8, 13**) is prevented by the fact that the houses as excavated represent only a distorted image of how they would have been furnished originally: houses were probably two-storied, and the upper stories are not preserved with the exception of B.78; and I have argued above that house components might have been routinely removed upon abandonment. Among the preserved installations, the lack of cooking installations in all houses but the Trench 2 house and Sp.194, the main or central space of Building 25 (Gibson and Last 2003b:62), is noteworthy. It supports the interpretation as two-storied in the case of all Trench 5 houses and B.94. The lack of clearly recognisable cooking installations in B.78, including its upper storey is more perplexing; in the lower storey, circular burnt areas were found (Erdoğu 2008:107, 2009a:52), that maybe originally belonged to some otherwise removed

fire installation. The remaining installations (bins, benches, basins) found throughout West Mound houses can maybe be associated with storage or food processing, but actual food remains were only found only in a bin in Sp.192. Altogether, the impression remains that cooking was mostly done on the upper stories; and that basements might have been used for storage (Biehl et al. 2012a:55, Düring 2011c:134), but either not in constructed installations, or these were removed.

building	Installations
Trench 2	a possible storage installation a hearth or oven (Mellaart 1965a:136)
B.25	Sp.194 platforms around the edges of the room a large central oven and a small hearth in the southeast corner Sp.218: a niche in the southern wall (Gibson and Last 2003b:62, Fig.41) Sp.192: “a series of poorly preserved plaster bins and ovens”, grain found in one of the bins (Gibson and Last 2003b:62; Gibson et al. 2000) Sp.195: a possible bin Sp.191 a bench in the earlier phase (Gibson et al. 2000)
B.78	traces of phytoliths on the floor of the upper storey, northwest corner (Erdoğu 2009c:51-52) = mats? “No features such as oven and hearth were evident on neither floors, but circular features, measuring up to 0.8m in diameter and attached to the northern wall, may have been a fire place” (Erdoğu 2008:107, 2009c:52) [seems to refer to the lower storey] narrow bench along the eastern wall [in lower storey?] (Erdoğu 2008:107)
B.94	bench (F.3801) in northeast corner bench (F.3802) in southeast corner (Erdoğu 2012:Fig.6.2, 104)
B.98	shallow basin (F.3391) in northeast space (Sp.452) on second floor shallow basin (F.3385) in southwest corner on third/last floor possibly poorly preserved bins in northeast space (Sp.452) related to third/last floor phase bench against northern buttress (F.3334) postdating third/last floor
B.105	none found

B.106	none found
B.107	none found
B.125	none found
B.126	none found
B.127	none found
Sp.446	none found
Sp.447	none found

Table 55 Çatalhöyük West: installations in houses. Trench 5 information compiled from Biehl and Rogasch 2013; Biehl et al. 2011, 2012b.

Building materials and construction techniques

From the published evidence, Trench 1 and 8 seem to have featured a degree in variety of building materials; in Trench 5, materials and techniques were documented more systematically (Table 56) and the cluster of buildings excavated there exhibits an astounding variety of construction materials and techniques, even between subsequent phases of the same building (**#10, #11**). The two buildings in Trench 8 did not share walls; in Trench 5, Sp.447 used the east wall of B.126 and B.127 the east wall of B.98 (**#54**), but otherwise each building has its own set of walls (**#12**). In Trench 1, it is impossible to tell.

building	materials	techniques
Trench 2	mudbrick, greenish-yellow wall plaster clay floor (Mellaart 1965a:136)	
B.25	Sp.194: white plastered walls and several phases of plaster plastered floors Sp.218: beaten earth surface Sp.219: beaten earth surface (Gibson and Last 2003:62) Sp.189, Sp.190, Sp.192 and Sp.193: fragments of trodden earth surface Sp.190, Sp.193 fragments of white wall plaster (Gibson et al. 2000)	

B.78	<p>grey to dark greyish-brown silty mudbricks (Erdoğu 2007:136-137); two mudbricks from the same wall in T8 with slightly different colours had however similar composition (Doherty 2009)</p> <p>mortar layer 4-10cm thick</p> <p>walls plastered white (Erdoğu 2007:136-137)</p> <p>the northern wall F.2962 is built with differently sized bricks compared to the other walls (Erdoğu 2008:105)</p> <p>floor of upper storey made from very compact white plaster, 25-30cm thick</p> <p>wall plaster of upper storey painted red; floor plaster of upper and lower storey painted red (Erdoğu 2008:105, 2009c:51-52)</p> <p>northern buttress in the lower storey had thick plaster, made up from several subsequently applied layers of plaster (Erdoğu 2008:105, 2009c:51-52)</p>	<p>difficult to discern individual bricks</p> <p>walls were slight concave, as was the floor (Erdoğu 2007:126)</p>
B.94	<p>patchy wall plaster (Erdoğu 2010:50)</p> <p>floor made from compact whitish clay (Erdoğu 2012:104)</p>	<p>Uneven floor (Erdoğu 2010:50, 2012:104)</p>
Sp.481	walls and buttress have white plaster (Erdoğu 2012:104, Fig.6.4)	
B.98, lower walls	<p>grey mud</p> <p>some white (marl?) wall plaster</p>	wet mud technique
B.98, upper walls and F.3334	grey brick and light grey mortar	mud and mortar layers, features bonded
B.105, lower walls	<p>dark grey, crumbly brick with white (marl?) mortar</p> <p>some white (marl?) wall plaster</p>	bricks, walls bonded
B.105, upper walls	<p>dark grey, crumbly brick with white (marl?) mortar</p> <p>some white (marl?) wall plaster</p>	bricks, walls bonded
B.106, lower walls	grey brick with light grey mortar	bricks, wall bonded?
B.106, upper walls	<p>dark grey and red brick with white mortar</p> <p>patches of white (marl?) plaster</p>	bricks, features bonded
B.107, lower walls	grey brick and light grey mortar	bricks, wall bonded?
B.107, upper walls	grey brick with hard, crumbly, reddish-grey mortar	bricks, walls bonded
B.125	<p>grey brick, no visible mortar</p> <p>white (marl?) wall plaster</p>	wet mud technique?

B.126	grey brick with light grey mortar	bricks, wall bonded?
B.127	grey brick with light grey mortar	bricks, wall bonded?
Sp.446	grey brick with light grey mortar a second wall with yellowish brick and brown mortar a non-brick feature from grey earth	bricks, wall bonded? / wet mud technique
Sp.447	grey brick with light grey mortar	bricks, wall bonded?

Table 56 Çatalhöyük West: building materials and techniques. Trench 5 information compiled from Biehl and Rogasch 2013; Biehl et al. 2011, 2012b.

House-related ritual

There is evidence for house-related ritual in many West Mound houses, but its evaluation for the autonomy-community question is difficult. Erdoğan (2009a:139-142, 2009b:137-138, Erdoğan and Ulubey 2011) has suggested that the red paint on the floors and upper storey walls in B.78 represent ritual elaboration, citing a range of archaeological and ethnographic evidence that associate the colour red with violence and protection. He seems to suggest that B.78 was more ritually elaborate than other buildings on the West Mound (**#86**), but in fact other pieces of evidence for different types of house-related ritual have also been found in other buildings. I have argued above that the B.25 deposits within the roomfill sequence that were originally interpreted as special (ritual) deposits probably represent middening, as well as the sherd on the floor of B.78; but it cannot be excluded that they are evidence for abandonment rituals which are in this form not found in other West Mound houses. Trench 5 might have evidence for two house-fabric deposits: there was a cluster of clay balls deposited along a section of the south wall in B.98 between the second and third floor layers (Biehl and Rogasch 2013:95); and under what might represent the preserved corner of an otherwise removed plaster floor in Sp.310/B.106 (U.18349), a cluster of two goat frontlets (horns with attached skull part) and other animal bones was found (Orton 2011:50-51). Subfloor burials were not found on the West Mound, also noting that not all floors were removed, however. The only prehistoric burials excavated on the West Mound were two neonates deposited next to wall features in the upper part of the B.105 midden in Trench 5. The first example (U.16835) was placed in the northeastern corner of the

building, very close to the corner of two walls. The second skeleton (U.18333) was placed alongside the facade of a well-preserved buttress, over the stump of another buttress of a lower building phase. The bodies were not placed in pits, but apparently simply placed onto other deposits—with the skull of skeleton U.18333 perhaps intentionally covered by a ground stone (Biehl et al. 2012b:85).

As mentioned above (House abandonment), several of the Trench 5 buildings featured walls stacked on top of each other, maybe representing a type of building continuity, although some details of the practice were importantly different; and this particular form of building continuity might not be related to a suprahousehold sphere of ritual (**#88**). Different from East Mound building continuity, houses did change their layouts slightly between phases, and in B.106 and B.107 there might have been a phase of erosion before the erection of the upper wall phase. There was no intentional infilling of the lower houses (instead middening), and the treatment of the house during abandonment might have been more invasive, for example removing floor and wall plaster as tentatively suggested above. And not all houses were continued: B.98 had a rather different layout/location compare to B.125 under it (Biehl and Rogasch 2013:97-99); B.78 was left to collapse. B.94 was built onto Sp.481, but with slightly different footprint and there is a pocket of infill between the base of the northern buttress of B.94, and the top of the buttress of Sp.481 under it which seems to have accumulated between the abandonment of the one and the construction of the other (Biehl et al. 2012b:104, Fig.6.4). Some walls of B.25 also had two phases on top of each other (Gibson et al. 2000), but no details of this are discussed in any later report.

It is difficult to observe synchronic or diachronic patterns in the distribution of ritual elaboration since the sample of houses is so small, and not always dated. Overall, the impression is that what house-related ritual there was on the West Mound was rather idiosyncratic (**#16, #22**).

Settlement layout

Çatalhöyük West was a clustered village (**#47**): no open spaces between houses were found in Trench 5. Most of the area excavated in Trench 1 can probably be interpreted as a cluster of several partially excavated houses. In both Trench 1 and Trench 8, midden spaces near buildings were identified, attesting that the house cluster was occasionally interrupted by middens. From the limited excavated area, no patterning into sectors is apparent (**#49, #50, #51**). Given that abandoned

houses were routinely used as middens (below, Unroofed Spaces), it might not seem impossible to suggest that the clustering that seem apparently from the trench plans might not actually represent the use pattern in the past: within a cluster, individual houses might well have been in different states of abandonment and midden-use, breaking up the house landscape. The Trench 5 team is currently trying to devise a strategy to test this idea through high-resolution radiocarbon dating.

Unroofed space

Probably two types of outdoor spaces existed at Çatalhöyük West: unroofed areas between buildings, used for refuse and activity ('middens'); and abandoned buildings that were used like middens (#80). Mellaart (1965a:136) found in Trench 1 what he interpreted to be unroofed area with a hearth installation (#82); but because of the bad preservation and cursory excavation, it is not secure that this area was not part of a house. A very small corner of a probable external, ashy midden was uncovered next to B.25 (Gibson and Last 2003b:63, Fig.41). In Trench 8, the in the narrow area excavated west of B.78 were midden deposits characterised by finely layered deposits of ash, charcoal, high quantities of animal bones, obsidian and pottery; and pits that were cut into these layers and then also filled with refuse (Erdoğu 2007:138). Also south of Building B.78 and B.94, there was an unroofed space interpreted by the excavators as a midden. It was cursorily excavated in the 2009 and 2010 seasons, and contained "an oval oven and a deposit containing lots of burnt construction materials with EC II pottery as well as objects such a stone vessel with a carved crayfish figure, a spondylus bracelet and two vessels with painted human figures [...]. Several phases of ashy midden deposition have been identified" (Erdoğu 2010:51). Other finds from the area were a stone bowl and animal bones. Next to the oven (#82) was a short and low wall feature (Erdoğu 2009:51).

Given that no such unroofed spaces were found in Trench 5, and only a small area in Trench 1, it is possible that Trench 8 contained larger midden spaces because it is located more on the outskirts of the settlement; maybe there was more open space between and around houses at the village outskirts, including also the area excavated in Trench 7. Maybe the center was built up more densely. No unroofed space was attested anywhere in Trench 5. As summarised above (Roomfills), Trench 5 team has suggested that after they fell out of use as living areas, buildings were

used like open areas on the East Mound: as a midden-activity area. In between the refuse deposits, at least two primary deposits were also found within West Mound houses that attest that these areas were also used for production/storage activities. First, in the lower part of B.105, a complete grinding slab (31224.x1) was found partially embedded into a small, square piece of mudbrick wall that was lying inside the B.105 infill on its flat side (Biehl and Rogasch 2013; Brady 2013b:190; Rogasch et al. in press). The piece of wall, of the same makeup as the construction features of B.105, was an exceptional find that with its neat rectilinear shape, horizontal position and undamaged nature suggests intention. The slab and wall piece may have functioned together as a grinding installation (similar to **#82**). The slab had been heavily worn through smoothing and grain removal on its main use surface and the edges had been modified to form an unusually slim grinding surface. This is one of only two unbroken grinding slabs found in Trench 5, and is the only slab to be found with the use face up, in a usable position. The soil matrix around the slab contained substantial amounts of phytoliths and hackberry remains that might be connected to the use of the installation. Second, in the southeast corner of Building 98, a heap of over one thousand clay balls (U.15343) was found between refuse deposits (Biehl et al. 2010:48; Franz 2010:79-80; Rogasch et al in press) that probably represents stored rather than abandoned or discarded objects. This amount clay balls might have been too voluminous to be stored inside an inhabited building, so it was informally stored in a midden area (**#81**). Another possible case was a small cluster of six larger obsidian pieces (U.18325) in the Building 105 fill (Ostaptchouk 2009:122), but this might as well represent refuse.

In other words, there were pockets of midden and activity areas between the densely clustered houses at Çatalhöyük West (**#80**, **#81**, **#82**), but without more detailed analysis of their assemblages, it seems difficult to interpret these spaces in terms of the autonomy-community question. It does not seem impossible that some of these areas were 'yards' (**#46**) belonging to individual households. The attested unroofed midden areas were relatively small, although that also represents a lack of larger excavations. In Trench 5, an important question for future research is the temporal relationship of individual in-house-middens to each other to clarify whether the entire area was abandoned and then used as a midden area at the same time, i.e. representing a rather large area that is more likely to have been communally used; or whether some houses were in use while others were midden, in which case there were several small midden pockets between houses, which makes a reconstruction as household-specific yards more likely (**#46**).

Non-residential buildings

No non-residential building was identified.

Conclusions

The typical preservation of West Mound houses, which is markedly different from those on the East Mound due to different house abandonment practices, prevents many important features of an analysis of social organisation. Additionally, excavations remained small. Based on the available evidence, indicators for household autonomy much outweigh the two indicators, clustering (**#47**) and the occasional sharing of party walls (**#54**), which indicate communal integration. House autonomy is indicated by the very idiosyncratic construction (**#38, #39, #10, #11, #12**). The distribution of hearths and storage installations cannot be researched, but if the lower stories were used mostly for storage, every house would have had sizeable storage capacities. An interpretation of house-related ritual is difficult, but ritual expression seems to have been rather idiosyncratic by house. The social use of outdoor spaces and its relation to questions of household autonomy and competition requires more research in the future, and must probably concentrate on the roomfill-middens which are more numerous than the few fragments of unroofed spaces in Trenches 1 and 8.

Social competition and stratification

Social competition

It is possible to recognise some evidence for social competition on the West Mound, but this should be further researched and cross-referenced with other areas of research (pottery, food items). There might be competition through higher productivity, and 'deeper' houses that could be used to hide some of this productivity: Compared to earlier East Mound houses, the two-storied houses (**#99**) of the West Mound had more subdivision (**#100**). Counting in the upper stories, many would have been larger (**#100**) than East Mound houses (typically 27m², Düring 2006:245): Apart from B.25, which probably was not one single building (see

above, Building units), the two largest houses on the West Mound are B.98 and B.78, whose basements internally (without walls) both measure ca. 5m x 5m (Biehl and Rogasch 2013:Fig.5.1; Erdoğan 2007:Fig.97), not taking into account the rather massive buttresses that would have reduced the actually available space. With upper stories, these buildings (and also B.105, B.107, B.94) would therefore have been larger than average East Mound house. Because there are also some very small (B.106, B.126) houses, it however seems difficult to unambiguously postulate an overall increase in house size that might indicate productive competition.

Since the upper storey of most houses was not found, and that of B.78 is not preserved in its original state, the half of the house that more likely was used for social display is missing from the record. Hodder (2014b:15, 2014c:19, 2014e:179) refers to B.25's open layout (**#101**) and central hearth (**#104**) when discussing increasing competitive hospitality at Çatalhöyük. Since it has not found in any other building, the B.25 arrangement with a central room and central hearth might not be representative of most West Mound houses and it might be misleading to use this building to postulate a general change towards multi-roomed buildings with central hearths (cf. Erdoğan 2009a:138).

Elite residences

Similar to Canhasan Level 2, while there are indications for social competition, there is no building that particularly stands out as a potential residence for a particularly powerful household: Within the observed variety of building sizes, none is much larger than the others (cf. **#106**, again not using B.25 as one building here). Probably all had upper stories (cf. **#108**, **#109**). There is a variety of building materials, but it is not apparent that any mudbrick type communicates status (cf. **#110**). Mobile and immobile inventory (**Themes 19.3, 19.4**) was probably routinely removed and so cannot be researched here. Several buildings carry different traces of ritual elaboration, and none stands out in particular (**Theme 19.5**).

Elite influence on settlement layout

Since only small windows have been excavated into the mound, there is no information on overall settlement layout.

Conclusion

I have tentatively recognised architectural indicators for social competition on the West Mound, but none for social stratification.

Mobility

Çatalhöyük West was not a campsite, and also does not have the signature of a pastoral base settlement according to the indicator package established here (**Theme 24**), but I have considered (Biehl et al. 2012b:99) whether the frequent modifications observed on Trench 5 buildings, and especially the alternating use as habitation and midden area that is evidenced for B.98, B.106 and B.126, might not indicate some type of residential mobility: In B.98, 15-20cm of refuse accumulated on the floor before the walls were recoated with mud and replastered, leaving out the area around the wall bases that were covered by refuse; this replastering seems to indicate a renewed use of the building shell itself. And maybe at the same time, maybe later, bench F.3334 was constructed against the northern buttress, on top of ca. 40cm of roomfill over the floor. In both B.106 and B.126, floors were found that did not coincide with the base of any walls, and were laid onto midden-fill and then again covered by midden (Biehl et al. 2012b). It remains to be seen whether these potential mobility signatures can be verified against faunal/ artefactual evidence for mobility.

Warfare

No architectural warfare preparations can be recognised. Given that little of the site perimeter was excavated, or also that it is not actual certain where the site ends (Farid 2014:91), potential enclosures might not have been found. No destruction due to warfare was found.

Pınarbaşı B

Introducing Pınarbaşı

Pınarbaşı is a site located at the foot of Karadağ, a mountain and ancient volcano in the Konya plain, 24.5km from Çatalhöyük. Several phases of occupation from the Epipalaeolithic to Roman/Byzantine era were excavated at different places within the site in 1994-1995 and 2003-2004; Late Neolithic levels were excavated in Trench B. Set against the bedrock of a rock shelter, Trench B had an irregular shape of 4m by up to 10m (Baird 2012b:183-184, Fig.3; Baird et al. 2011:380, Fig.4). Within the relatively thin (Baird 2012b:Fig.5) deposits of Late Neolithic Pınarbaşı, the excavators distinguished three phases: a phase of putting probably related with food preparation and consumption (Phase F) was followed by architectural remains, a curved wall, hearth and oven that is reconstructed as a habitation (Phase E I). Only part of it was excavated; based on the plan, it seems possible to reconstruct that the wall might have formed a semi-circle and the habitation been built against the bedrock of the rock shelter. Another stone wall seems to be attached in the south. In a third phase (E II), a mixture of refuse and occupation debris accumulated in the interior of the structure (Baird 2012b:200; Baird et al. 2011:382). The excavators reconstruct Pınarbaşı as a seasonally used campsite visited by groups from Çatalhöyük (evidence for this see below, Mobility).

With part of only one structure uncovered, no analysis of household autonomy/ community integration, social stratification or warfare is possible. Pınarbaşı being a campsite that was lived in only part of the year, and probably by a particular subset of the larger community who came here for particular purposes, makes it likely in any case that household autonomy and social stratification would need to be researched differently here as compared to a large, permanent settlement site. The indicators developed in this thesis are meant for sites containing the entirety of a village community, but at Late Neolithic Pınarbaşı “It is likely that the groups that used the rockshelter were relatively small and perhaps not representative of all components of typical Çatalhöyük families and households” (Baird et al. 2011:391). Based on the fact that wall paintings at Çatalhöyük depicting hunting scene show groups of young to middle-aged males, they suggest it might have been such a gender-specific subset of the Çatalhöyük community that used this place. It would be fascinating to research how the social processes happening at Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük would have translated into; if households at the base settlement were

engaged in asserting their autonomy, and competing for status not least through activities in the landscape—how would that have translated into social relations going on at this campsite? Was this also a place to negotiate status, and does architecture reflect it? Unfortunately, the data is not sufficient to research this.

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Figure 48 Pınarbaşı B: photo of the built structure (Baird et al. 2011:Fig.3).

Mobility

Since the indicator package for recognising campsites was constructed nearly entirely based on Pınarbaşı (with only Canhasan Level 1 as a second site), it should no surprise that the present analysis can confirm that Pınarbaşı B was indeed a campsite. Of the three occupational phases in Trench B, the first and last (Phase F, E II) feature evidence for food processing and consumption activities in form of fire pits and refuse, but no architecture (**#145**; Baird 2012b:201; Baird et al. 2011:382); the area of excavation is however so small that built structures related to this refuse disposal could have existed in these phases elsewhere on the site. In Phase E II, the excavators also read “repeated occupation and abandonment” (**#144**,) from the record, observing many subsequent and alternating layers of deposits indicative of occupation and those indicative of refuse disposal (Baird et al. 2011:382; Watkins 1996:52-53). In the middle phase, a built structure with oven and hearth existed in Trench B that was recognised as not permanently used because of its relatively thin stone wall (**#146**) that carried an organic superstructure (**#147**): “A mass of reed phytoliths and carbonised reed stems suggest an easily refurbishable light superstructure of reeds” (Baird et al. 2011:382, 387; also Baird 2012:201).

The animal bone assemblage confirms that Pınarbaşı B was used seasonally; in addition, plant foods are rare (Baird et al. 2011:386, 389). Faunal studies indicate

both aurochs and equid hunting and the culling of herded caprines (sheep/goat), associated with the large-scale processing of wild and domestic animal carcasses of which some were transported off-site, presumably to provision other sites. Both the age pattern of sheep/goat and the attested migratory bird species indicate use in autumn/early winter and especially in spring, for the purpose of culling herds (Baird et al. 2011:383, 385). The excavators reconstruct Pınarbaşı as a herding/hunting outpost used from the base settlement of Çatalhöyük during the seasons when the surrounding of the latter might have been flooded, and provisioning Çatalhöyük with meat (Baird et al. 2011:381, 383, 385, 389-390; also Hodder 2014b:14). I would like to point out, however, that Canhasan was also occupied at the time (Levels 7-3) and is located just on the other side of Karadağ (35km, Baird et al. 2011:390); some contact must have taken place even if its nature cannot be reconstructed based on the remains. The Pınarbaşı team (Baird et al. 2011:390) presents this as an 'either/or' question: either the groups using Pınarbaşı were from Çatalhöyük, or from another settlement; there is, however, no reason why it could not have been used by different village communities. An unusual artefact category at Pınarbaşı B were the heavily white-plastered bones of both wild and domestic animals found deposited in clusters in unroofed areas (**#162**; Baird et al. 2011:387, Fig.6). They probably were never installed in built structures, and are also otherwise sufficiently different-but-similar to the ritual use of animal parts at Çatalhöyük to suggest that segments of the Çatalhöyük community used this site to perform rituals not observed in this form at the base settlement; maybe this was a specifically male ritual place (Baird 2012:202-205; Baird et al. 2011:390-393).

Köşk Höyük

Introducing Köşk Höyük

Köşk Höyük has seen long-term excavations by the University of Ankara, directed by Uğur Silistreli from 1983 to 1989, and after a hiatus following Silistreli's death excavations were continued in the years 1995-2009, most recently under direction of Aliye Öztan. The site is situated on a hilltop that rises 15m above the surrounding plain and in a fertile region located on a hill. Within the 4.5-6m of cultural deposits, the excavators have identified five prehistoric building levels above bedrock at Köşk Höyük (Öztan 2007:224, 2012:32). Levels 5-2 date to the Early Chalcolithic (Appendix 1) and are analysed here.

Although the total size of the site seems to be 4ha (Düring 2011c:150), Öztan (2012:31, similar to TAY 2016) gives the size of the Neolithic to Chalcolithic settlement as 100 x 90m (0.9ha). It therefore seems to have been a rather small settlement. The area around the prehistoric site was then again used much later during the Late Iron, Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval periods (Öztan 2012:32), and late architecture and burials overlay or cut into the prehistoric buildings (Öztan et al. 2005:Çizimler 1-3). Levels 5 and 4 have been investigated in small exposures, but Levels 3 and 2 were exposed over large areas (Düring 2011c:151; Öztan 2012:32-33) that Öztan (2012:45) judges to comprise the majority of the existing remains from those two levels. The preservation of Levels 5-2 is described as variable; some buildings were preserved really well with walls standing up to 1.5m high (e.g. Öztan 2012:Fig.7; Öztan et al. 2006:Resimler 8, 13); but Level 2 was disturbed by foundations of Level 1, and Levels 5-4 are described as also very disturbed by later architecture (Öztan 2012:32-35). This leaves Level 3 as the best preserved level, which really seems to have been quite well preserved, with many mobile items still found in primary position in the house interiors (Öztan 2012:33-34, Figs.7, 10).

Probably a book publication is currently being prepared; until then, annual and special reports can be used to research architecture. Unfortunately, architectural analysis is hindered by the lack of a plan and more detailed building-by-building descriptions. A comprehensive plan of the Middle Chalcolithic Level 1 has been published (Arbuckle 2012a:Fig.2B; Öztan 2003:Plan 1), but none of the publications contains a plan showing both the settlement layout and details of either one of Levels 5-2¹⁷. Plans published in annual reports show parts of Levels 5-2, but not a

¹⁷ Note that Köşk Höyük Level 1 was dated Early Chalcolithic by Öztan, and Levels 5-2 Neolithic

final plan of all structures excavated for each level¹⁸. Detailed plans are available for one individual building each from Level 2 and 3 (Öztan 2007:Figs.4-5, 2012:Figs.5-6) and the reports contain a number of excavation photos that give detailed impressions of buildings, but these remain fragmentary impressions as long as they cannot be located within the settlement body, i.e. on a comprehensive plan. The only plan showing what seems to be an entire building level was published by Arbuckle (2012a:Fig.2A); it is captioned "EC" and therefore it remains unclear which of Levels 5-2 this plan shows, but it might be Level 3 since Levels 5-4 were excavated on smaller scales and Level 2 not well preserved (Öztan 2012:32-33). This plan, however, does not contain details such as internal furnishing. Without a comprehensive plan of each level which also shows detailed of each building, much of this present analysis becomes impossible. The available descriptions of architecture (summarised in Öztan 2003, 2007, 2012) are also not building-by-building or sometimes even by level; instead, they are rather general descriptions. Even such rather general information as for example how many buildings were uncovered in what level remain open. Without a plan and/or more detailed building-by-building description, it is impossible to research most indicators in this analysis. A fuller analysis must therefore await the book publications.

Based on the available material, a very general analysis of some architectural indicators is possible, treating Levels 5-2 as a unit. For the moment, researching Levels 5-2 together is an acceptable solution, because Köşk Höyük seems to have been an organically growing village without major changes between levels. Both Silistreli (1985b:199) and Öztan (2003:73, 2012:35) mention that Levels 5-2 were similar to each other in terms of architecture and other aspects of material culture (also Arbuckle in Öztan et al. 2008:125). No hiatus or other stratigraphical breaks are reported. Based on the preliminary reports and published excavation photos, it appears that Levels 5-2 had a very complex stratigraphy that is maybe better described as an organically growing village rather than a development in clear-cut occupational levels that are somehow clearly separated stratigraphically. Maybe the difficulty of obtaining a coherent level plan as described above is due to this dynamic stratigraphy. Some photos (see for example Öztan 2012:Fig.4, Öztan and Açıkgöz 2011:Resim 8 for Levels 3-2; Öztan et al. 2009:Resim 4, Öztan 2012:Fig.12 for Levels 5-4; Öztan et al. 2007:Resim 8 for Levels 3-1; Öztan 2012:Fig.16 for Levels

(Appendix 1); plans and photos captioned 'Early Chalcolithic' (e.g. Öztan 2005:Çizimler 1-2) thus refer to Level 1, which is dated Middle Chalcolithic here (see Appendix 1). This includes the article by Öztan and Faydalı (2004), which discussed some Level 1 buildings in detail.

¹⁸ Özkan et al. (2002:Plan 1) and Özbek (2009b:Fig.2) show parts of Levels 3-1; Öztan et al. (2005:Çizim 3) shows parts of Level 4-5 as stated in the text (Öztan et al. 2005:107); Silistreli 1986a:Plan 2, 1990:Plan 1, 1991a:Resim 1 seems to show Level 2, or maybe Levels 3 and 2 together.

5-3) as well as architectural descriptions in the annual report indicate that at frequently remains of one level were found directly overlying, or even next to (on the same level as) or in between remain assigned to another level (Öztan et al. 2010:255 with an example from Levels 3-2); or they report that some architectural remains could not be securely during excavation assigned to a level (Öztan and Açıkgöz 2011:138 with an example of Levels 4-3). Also, not in all parts of the mound did all Levels 5-2 actually overlay each other; rather, the excavations report for example mention that in one area Byzantine graves dug directly into Level 5-4 remains (Öztan et al. 2005:107, et al. 2010:Resim 11). In conclusion, Levels 5-2 appear to represent an organically growing as well as contracting, expanding or shifting village in which no major changes of architecture or other material culture, and no stratigraphic breaks are observed other than that Level 3 is much better preserved than the others. When architectural data is published in greater detail, it might become possible to research the development over time better at Köşk Höyük; for the moment, treating Levels 5-2 as a unit is an acceptable solution.

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Figure 49 Köşk Höyük, Levels 5-2: plan of excavated structures (Arbuckle 2012a:Fig.2a).

In discussing building processes, it is also relevant to address the differences in preservation between the levels which are relevant for the below discussion; for example, it is relevant to know whether buildings were burnt which might have preserved them nearly in their original (use) form. It is not mentioned that Level 3 was burnt, and does not look burned on the photos; and yet it is much better preserved than the others and in many cases mobile inventory appears to have been left in primary position on floors and installations (e.g. Öztan 2012:Fig.7; Öztan et al. 2006:Resim 8, et al. 2009:316). In other cases, the roomfills appear to show a jumble of broken artefacts (e.g. Öztan 2012:Fig.10; Öztan et al. 2007:Resim 12, et al. 2008:120) that could represent collapse or intentional infilling of refuse. Greater clarity about house formation processes is relevant for many parts of the below discussion, for example abandonment modes can give insight into house-related ritual (#22, #31) or warfare (#178, #179); also the question of how representative the state that the houses were excavated in are of how they looked like during use is relevant e.g. for the reconstruction of storage capacities or activity areas.

Household autonomy and suprahousehold integration

House furnishing

All buildings seem to be interpreted by the excavators as houses, or at least nothing to the contrary (special-purpose buildings) is mentioned. The interior layouts and features of houses seem to have been idiosyncratic within a shared repertoire (#38). Öztan (2003:73; 2012:33) describes houses as having different layouts, between 2-4 rooms, and benches and platforms in the interior which varied in details of their construction (e.g. Öztan 2012:Figs.5-6). Buildings also seem to have varied in the number of smaller rooms or compartments they contained, and one building in Level 4 had an unusual round storage room (Öztan 2012:34). One Level 3 house had a feature interpreted as a stone staircase, but from the photo (Öztan 2007:Fig.7, 2012:Fig.8) could also instead have been some other kind of installation.

All building had at least one hearth (#4), and all had several clay boxes. Although this is not explicitly mentioned by Öztan, these boxes could have been storage spaces. Additionally, every house seems to have had a very small room in which grinding equipment was found; these also might have been food storage spaces. Level 3 houses additionally had small clay compartments interpreted as storage space for food and non-food items (Öztan 2012:33). In sum, it seems likely that every house had storage facilities (#5). Direct evidence for food storage in form of botanic or animal remains found in such installations is not mentioned; animal bones seem to have been found only in refuse contexts (Arbuckle 2012a; Öztan 2012:44), and it is not specified where the botanic remains were recovered other than that "Oak acorns are found almost in every building level in large numbers" (Öztan 2012:44), but these might not have been meant for human consumption.

As mentioned above, a clear impression of changes in architecture over time (between levels) is impeded by the present state of publications, but Öztan (2012:33) mentions that the Level 3 buildings had more internal subdivision and features, which made them more crowded than earlier buildings. It could be possible to interpret this in terms of an increase of productive space and capacity of the houses (#42, #44), but equally this might be due to the fact that Level 3 was much better preserved than Levels 2 and 4, and therefore a comparison between these levels is difficult. Level 5, although generally similar to 4-2, varied insofar as it used mainly mudbrick, and the mudbrick is different from that used in Level 3. Nearly every house also had pits cut into bedrock in which animal bones were

found, and which are interpreted as rubbish or storage pits (Öztan 2012:32, 35, Fig.17). The excavators reconstructed that the earliest settlers artificially levelled the surface of the hill in order to create three terraces on which to build houses, whereby the central terrace is the highest. Buildings had thick clay floors that served to level out irregularities in the underlying bedrock (Öztan 2012:32).

Building materials and construction techniques

Most houses were built from local limestone, but Levels 5 and 3 had some mudbrick buildings that otherwise resembled the stone buildings in layout. The stone buildings had clay plaster, and some houses had orange or white paint over the clay plaster (Öztan 2012:32-33). It would be interesting to map these variations in building materials and styles (#10, #11) once a house-by-house description becomes available, to check whether any spatial patterning could be interpreted in social terms (#56, #57). Until a comprehensive plan, identifying individual buildings, is published it will not be possible to state whether residences shared walls or not. Based on the plan published by Arbuckle (2012a:Fig.2A) it seems that some residences might have shared party walls (#54) while others did not (#12), although without further discussion it is not clear where boundaries between houses are on this plan. The houses at Köşk Höyük seem to have been modified frequently and in idiosyncratic ways (#39, Düring 2011c:151): Öztan (2012:33) describes that in Levels 4-2 walls were removed or added to buildings, new rooms were appended, and doorways were changed as well.

House-related ritual

One house in Level 3 had a large and well preserved wall painting showing 20 human figures positioned around a horned animal (Öztan 2012:34, Fig.11). That Öztan describes this as “strongly similar to the Çatalhöyük paintings” could indicate some ritual function of the wall painting. This was the only example of any house decoration or ritual elaboration found at the site, but Öztan (2012:34) explicitly stresses that the house is not in any other way different from other houses, and that it is not interpreted as a temple or elite residence. It is possible that other wall paintings existed in other, less well preserved, buildings, but are not preserved. An interpretation of the wall painting for the household autonomy-community question (e.g. #16, #17, #85, #86) is impossible. Houses also contained figurines

(Öztan 2012:40).

A lot of burials were found in Levels 4-2, mostly inside houses under benches and walls. Nineteen human skulls, 13 of which had faces modelled from clay and ochre, were also found buried or collected on benches (Düring 2011c:152; Özbek 2009a, 2009b; Öztan 2012:35-37). When this data is published more completely, reporting exact numbers and locations of burials that can be mapped onto the architecture, it would be interesting to map burials and modelled skulls to check for any patterning that could indicate cross-household ties. Skulls at least sometimes seem to have been found clustering in certain buildings (Öztan 2003:74), Öztan (2012:37) considers the possibility that one building in Level 2 that contained particularly many modelled skulls might have been of ritual significance for several households (#87). Further, the burials under walls might represent foundation deposits, but whether these represent more idiosyncratic (#22) or shared foundation rituals is impossible to say at the moment. Building continuity (#88) does not seem to have been a feature at the site.

Settlement layout

The available plans and descriptions of the settlement layout give the impression of a dense arrangement of houses (#47) with irregularly distributed and shaped open spaces in between that are described as alleys and squares (Arbuckle 2012a:303, Fig. 2A; Düring 2011c:151; Öztan 2003:73, 2012:33). No patterning or sectoring in the house distribution (#49, #50, #51) seems to have been apparent.

Non-residential buildings

Öztan (2012:34, 45; similarly Schachner 1999:47) explicitly states that all buildings are similar and that no non-residential ritual building (#89), administrative building was found. All buildings seem to have been residential. While discussing this, Öztan (2012:45) however also mentions that one building excavated by Silistreli differed in plan from the others; it remains to be seen how the excavators interpret this building in their final publication.

Unroofed space

Öztan (2012:33) mentions hearths, ovens and storage bins found outside houses in Levels 4-2, but seems to describe them as belonging to individual houses, not being for common use (#46). Besides such maybe household-owned outdoor locations, there is also evidence for a regular use of unroofed areas for production activities and refuse disposal (#80). In Level 4, a cluster of beads was found in an outdoor located, and is described by Öztan (2012:34-35, Fig.14-15) as a bead workshop located in unroofed space between buildings. The same area also had ashy deposits and refuse pits, attesting a use for refuse disposal. Arbuckle (2012a:306-308, also Öztan 2012:44) describes that animal bones were found in Levels 5-2 in three different types of contexts: in house fills, in middens next to houses that contained domestic refuse, and in many large but shallow pits in the northwestern area of the settlement that were filled with ash, charcoal and the bones of sheep, goats, cattle and wild equids. Arbuckle interprets these features as roasting pits for the regular large-scale and public consumption of wild and domestic animals. From the distribution of animal body parts, he reconstructs that individual households contributed caprine meat to such communal feasting events, but that entire wild animals were processed in these pits (see below, Social stratification, for a further interpretation of these features). The roasting pits are therefore related to cross-household meat processing and consumption activities. In sum, unroofed space within the village of Köşk Höyük seems to have been busy space for formal and informal socialising across household borders. Additionally, some burials were found in unroofed spaces, some neonate of fetus burials in refuse pits in outdoor areas (Öztan 2010:256), and Öztan (2012:33) also mentioned an area akin to a cemetery outside the house cluster: "A section of the areas outside the housing compounds seems to have been used as a burial place".

Conclusions

Early Chalcolithic Köşk Höyük has indications for both household autonomy and community integration, with signs for household autonomy being stronger based on the currently available evidence. The relatively large and multi-roomed houses each had cooking (#4) and storage facilities (#5), some seemingly also had such facilities in unroofed areas (#46). Building materials show a certain diversity (#10, #11), and houses were built with idiosyncratic layouts (#38) that were also frequently altered in idiosyncratic ways (#39). But a level of community integration is suggested by the

dense clustering of houses (#47), maybe by shared burial ritual and location (#87), and certainly by the busy use of outdoor spaces (#80) for refuse disposal, production activities, burial and feasting. This interpretation of architecture at EC Köşk Höyük seems to find some confirmation in Arbuckle's (2012a:310) reconstruction of animal-related economies at the site. He concludes that sheep management was household-based as was consumption. But there were communal feasts which will be discussed below since they might have had a competitive aspect.

Social competition and stratification

In absence of a plan and house-by-house description of sizes, layout and furnishing, it is not possible to study the synchronic distribution of items that both the recognition of social competition and elite residences (**Themes 17-19**) is based on. No significant differences between buildings in size, layout or furnishing that could indicate differences in social status are mentioned in the publications, including Arbuckle's (2012a) paper that explicitly researches the beginnings of social inequality at the site. Öztan (2012:34) especially mentions that no building stands out, including the Level 3 house with the wall painting: "Up to present, no building at Köşk Höyük has been excavated that could be defined either as a temple or the residence of an administrator". No non-residential buildings or segregation of the site according to status (**Theme 21**) seems to have been found. No enclosure wall was found (**Theme 20**).

There are however emerging status differences at the site that were interpreted by the excavation team based on non-architectural items that could, once the record is published more fully, be mapped onto the architectural landscape in order to study social competition and emerging hierarchies: Öztan (2003:74) has stated that the plastered skulls must have been of people with special status; and although that is not explicitly considered by the excavation team, modelled skulls could maybe also indicate the special status of the houses and households that became safekeepers of these ritual objects; they seem to have clustered in only a few buildings (#121; Öztan 2003:74, 2012:37). Arbuckle (2012a:303) further mentions differences in burial gifts as status markers at the site (#121), and possibly also stamp seals (#119). I will therefore conclude that there are intimations of social competition and even social stratification, but it is not yet possible to verify this through studying either differences between built structures themselves (size, location, furnishing) or the

distribution of different status items (funerary gifts, modelled skulls, stamp seals) throughout the settlement. Another compelling argument for social competition is provided by Arbuckle (2012a:307-308, 310) who recognised in the faunal assemblages from the aforementioned large roasting pits that during large communal consumption events animal parts were provided by and then distributed to individuals and household groups according to an intricate system of social rules which served to negotiate social status in a competitive way, also using decorated ceramic vessels. Since the assemblages from roasting pits cannot any more traced back to individual houses, however, and since the refuse practices of the site do not seem to allow linking particular midden areas with particular houses, Arbuckle's study can serve to demonstrate the presence of social competition, but not be directly used for a study of architecture.

Mobility

Köşk Höyük is not a campsite, but when the record is fully published, it will be most interesting to investigate whether it might have been a pastoral base settlement, given that in the Middle Chalcolithic Level 1 it probably was provisioned by a specialised pastoral sector (Arbuckle 2012a:309). Based on the existing information on Köşk Höyük Level 5-2 architecture, however, no signature for a pastoral base settlement seems apparent (**Theme 24**).

Warfare

No settlement perimeter fortification was found: "there is no evidence regarding the existence of a fortification wall in the settlement. This could be explained by the fact that the place of the settlement is partially a secure area, and, since there was not any outside danger, such a wall was found unnecessary" (Öztan 2012:45). None of Levels 5-2 seems to feature any fire or other destruction (cf. **#178, #179**), and not all skeletons were found under house floors, but all are considered to have been buried (cf. **#180**, Öztan 2012:35). Arbuckle (2012a:303) mentions signs of interpersonal violence from several of the plastered skulls, but this can of course not be seen as evidence for a hostile attack on the settlement as a whole. In short, neither preparation for nor the results of warfare are attested at Köşk Höyük.

Gelveri

The site of Gelveri is located on the eastern edge of Cappadocia, where also Tepecik, Köşk Höyük as well as the Early Neolithic site of Aşıklı Höyük are located (Esin 1993b:Fig.1). It is located on the slope of a small rocky outcrop overlooking the Melendiz River at its exit from the Melendiz Plain. After excavations lasting only three days in 1990 by Ufuk Esin (Esin 1993b), Sevil Gülçur (Gülçur and Kiper 2009; Gülçur et al. 2010) dug the site for one season in 2007, opening four small trenches that all reached virgin soil. The preserved thickness of cultural layers varied between 0.4-2m above virgin soil (Gülçur and Kiper 2009:285-286).

The site has experienced substantial destruction post-Chalcolithic. During the construction of a 19th century church in the middle of the prehistoric site, stones were removed from the prehistoric ruins. More recently, the site has been further destroyed by looting, ploughing with tractors and the construction of two roads (Esin 1993b:47). It can be assumed that the steep slope of the hill already led to natural erosion prior to the more recent destruction events. The degree of destruction, together with the small exposure during excavation, means that we can get only an incomplete image of Gelveri architecture although the buildings that were excavated were well preserved (Gülçur and Kiper 2009:287). Originally, the site might have been quite substantial; prehistoric remains cover the entire slope down to the stream at its bottom. Understanding the formation process of the site is complicated not only by the destruction, but also by the fact that settlements apparently shifted several times, creating a complex stratigraphy further complicated by the slope (Godon and Özbudak in press; Schoop 2005:118; TAY 2016). Three building levels were distinguished during excavation, with a possible fourth one remaining unexcavated in one part of the site (TAY 2016). Complex formation processes were at work at Gelveri that might have deposited later material inside and around Early Chalcolithic buildings (Appendix 1).

Esin (1993b:49) only found diffuse stone arrangement that she interpreted as potential floors or substructures of buildings made with organic materials. The wattle-and-daub buildings led (Schachner 1999:61) to postulate that this was a seasonally used settlement, an interpretation not suggested by the excavators, and an interpretation that can also be rejected here since it is based on the erroneous assumption that wattle-and-daub is not a durable building material (#148, see Chapter 8). What is more, Gülçur's team excavated relatively well-preserved stone buildings, and apparently do not repeat the interpretation of daub buildings. However, since the trenches were small and scattered across the site (Gülçur and

Kiper 2009:Resim 2), only disjointed fragments of stone architecture were documented. These could indicate that the site consisted of an assemblage of multi-roomed buildings and unroofed activity areas with pits or postholes (Gülçur and Kiper 2009:287, Çizim 1, Resimler 3-6), but are not suitable for the present analysis.

Musular

Musular, a small site located across the river from the Early Neolithic site of Aşıklı Höyük is known mainly for its Early Neolithic occupation, but also featured a second occupational phase dated by the excavators to “the very end of the Neolithic and the beginning of the Chalcolithic period” (Özbaşaran et al. 2012:166). This uppermost excavation layer was heavily destroyed by erosion and modern agricultural use; besides fragments of floors and walls, only a part of a large, multi-roomed stone building was uncovered in Trench N (Özbaşaran et al. 2012:166, Fig.14) and dated to around 5800 BC (see Appendix 1). The two occupation levels at Musular, the 8th millennium site and the Chalcolithic site, were stratigraphically difficult to distinguish (Düring 2011c:78). The excavators tentatively suggest the settlement of the pottery phase might have covered 800m² (Özbaşaran 2000:131), presumably based on the distribution of surface finds; without further architectural remains, this remains a hypothesis.

The single building of the Chalcolithic phase was only partially preserved/ excavated and consisted of three small rooms (B, F, H) and one slightly larger room (G) that probably led into another adjacent room, which was however very poorly preserved. The building contained a grinding stone and a polishing stone. Outside the building, pits, rubbish dumps, pebble flooring, parts of a bin and artefacts interpreted as a working area belonging to the same occupational level were found (Özbaşaran 1999:150-151, Plan 3, Figs.3, 7; 2000:131-133). The excavators do not provide an interpretation of this building, stating that its function cannot be assessed (Özbaşaran 2000:131); Düring suggests interpreting the preserved parts as storage areas: “The cells might have been used for storage; they are too small for any other purpose. Alternatively, the floors of these buildings could have been constructed at a higher level, with the cells supporting the raised floors” (Düring 2011c:158). Accepting this, the building could either be reconstructed as a multi-roomed residence or a separate storage building. In any case, with not even one entire building preserved/ excavated, no interpretation of Chalcolithic Musular for this thesis is possible.

Results


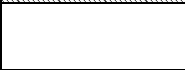


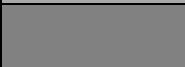
	insufficient data
	no evidence
	slight evidence
	medium-strong evidence
	strong evidence

Table 57 Shading used in Figures 50-56.

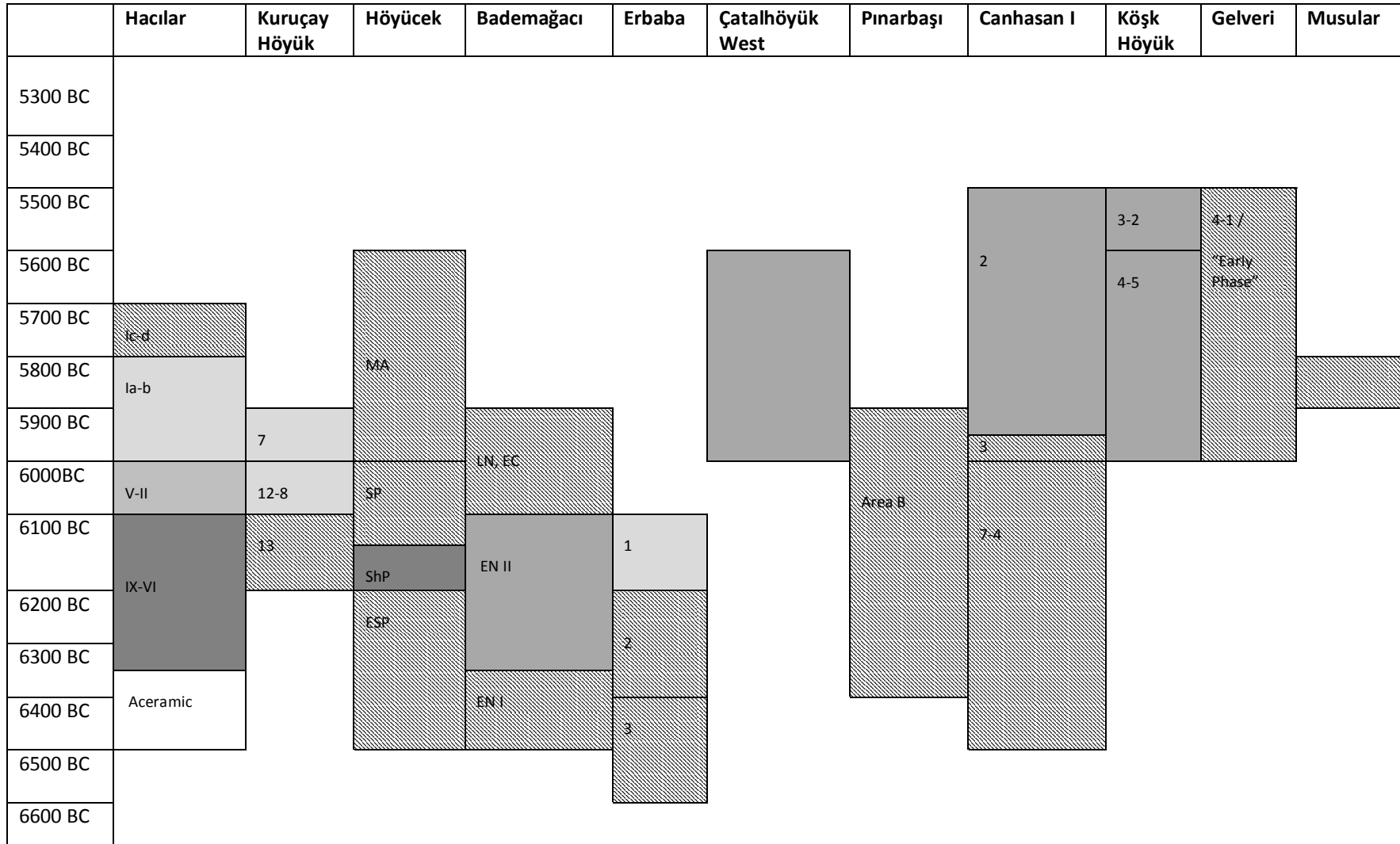


Figure 50 Results: household autonomy.

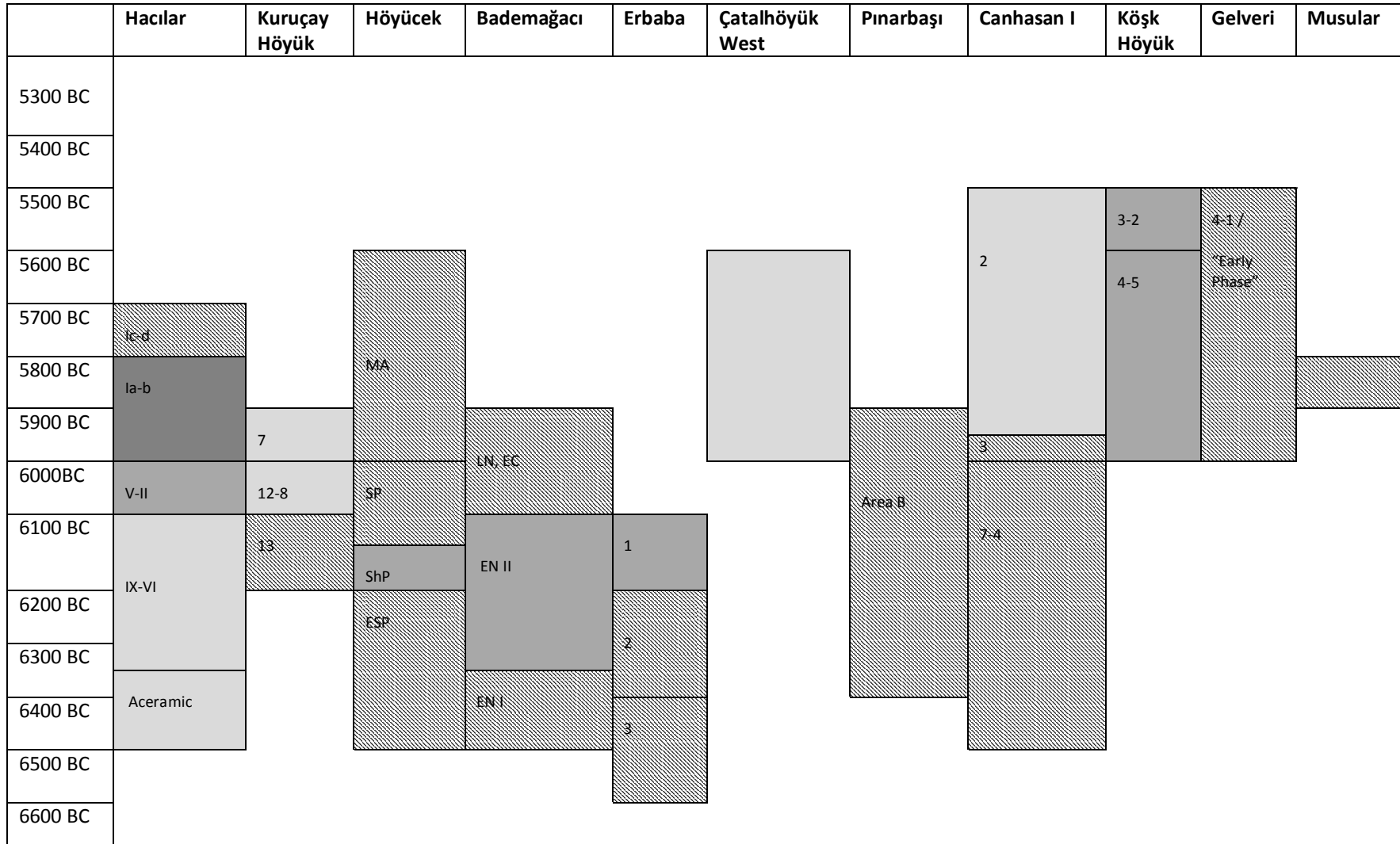


Figure 51 Results: suprahousehold integration.

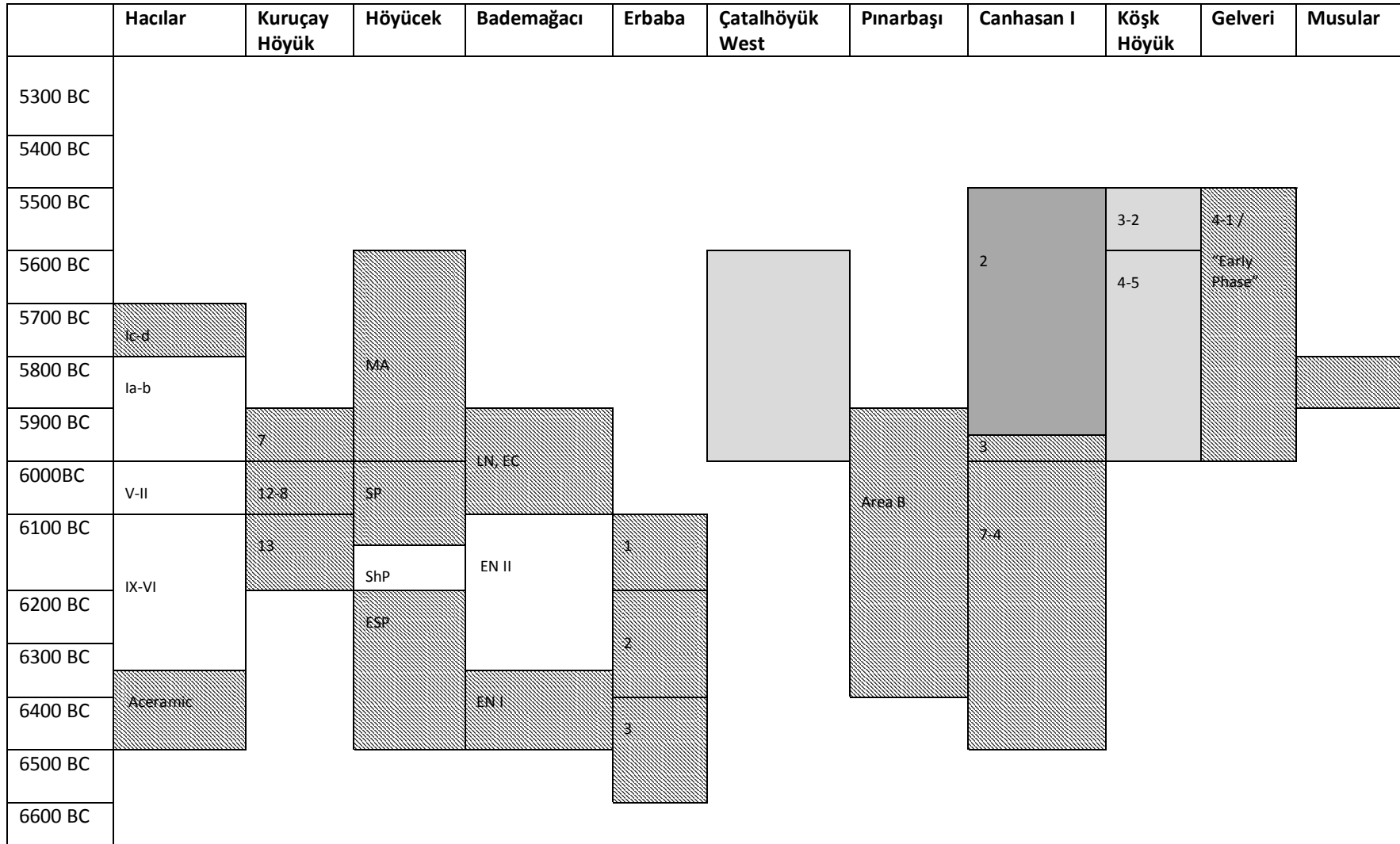


Figure 52 Results: social competition.

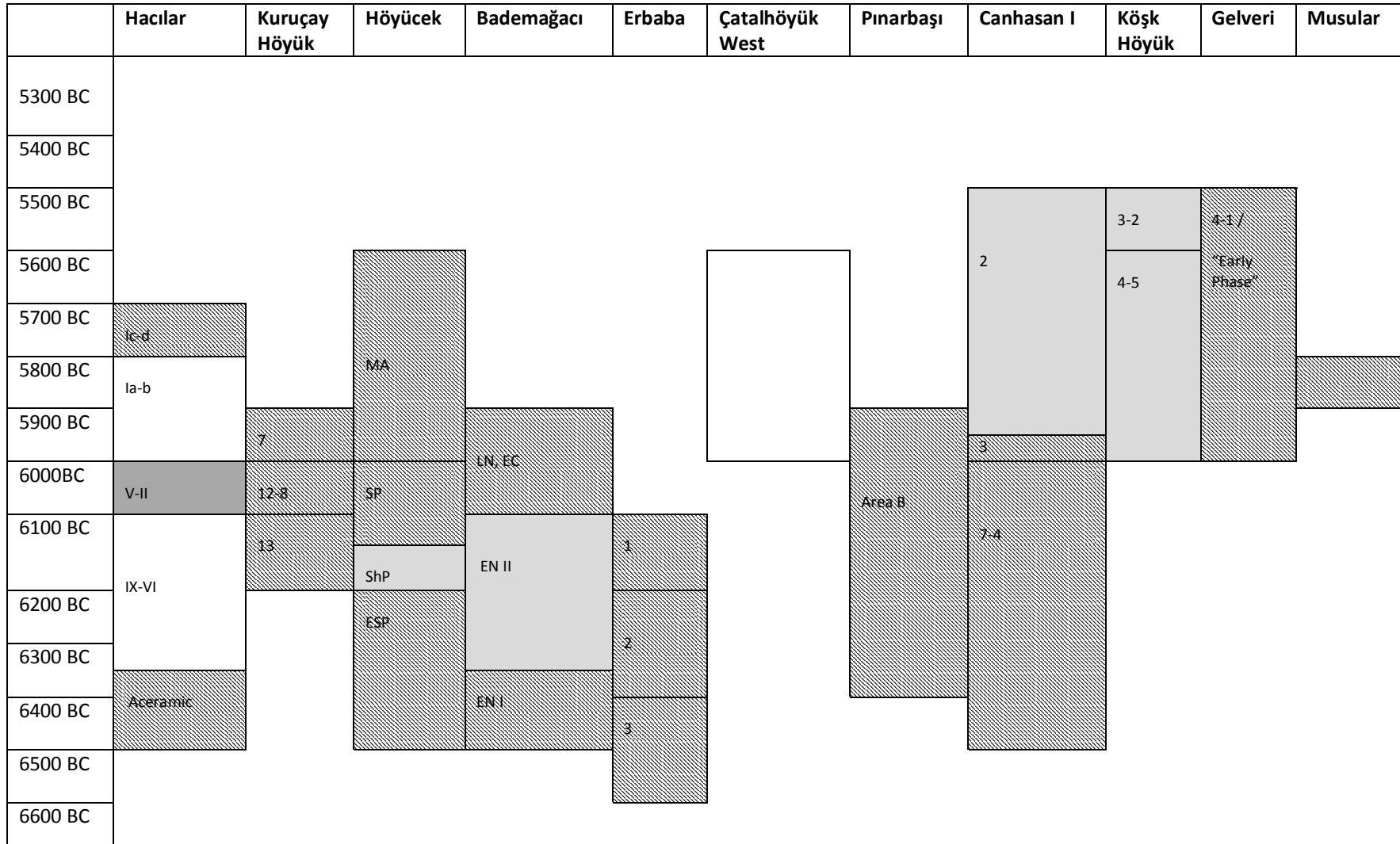


Figure 53 Results: social stratification

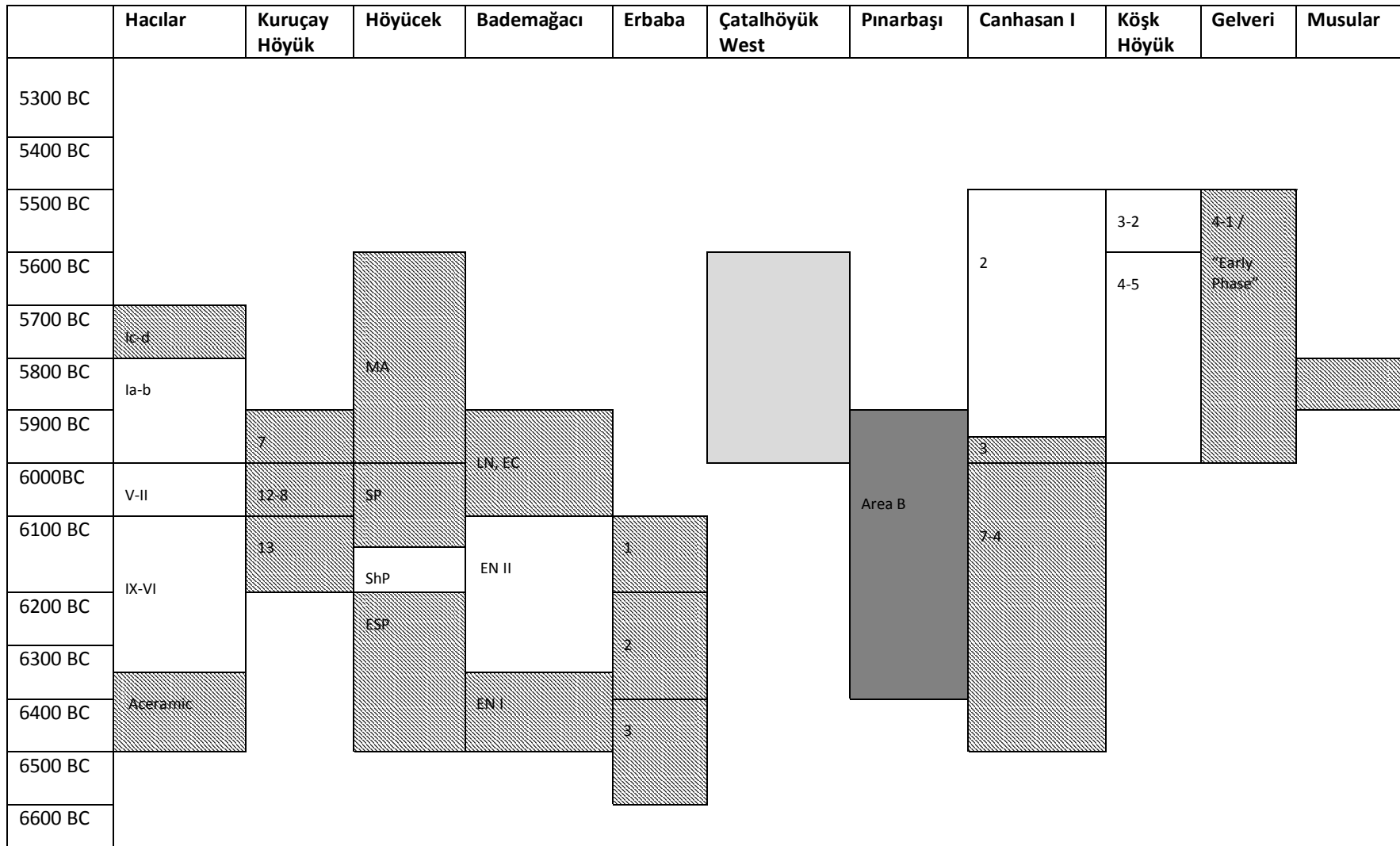


Figure 54 Results: mobility.

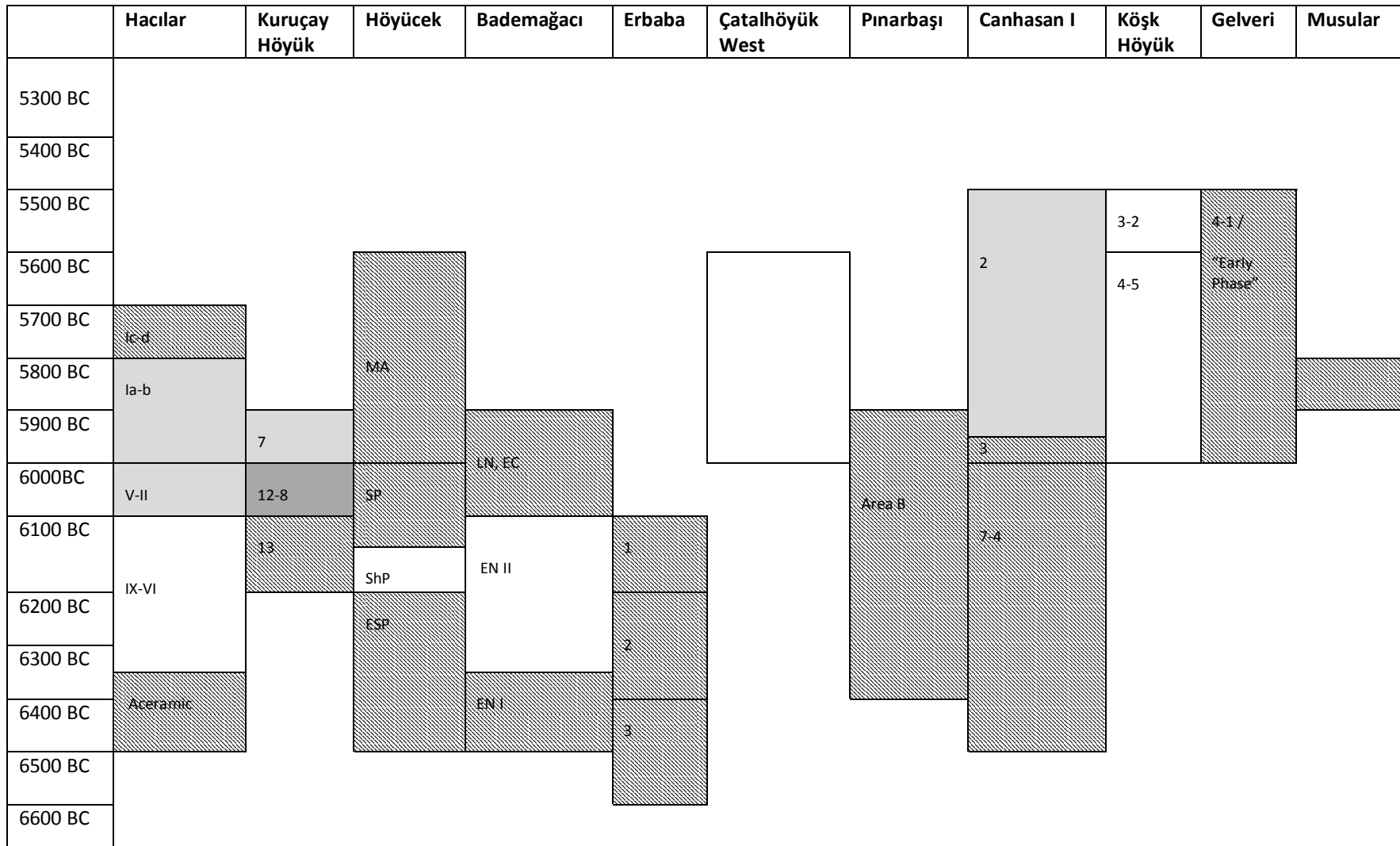


Figure 55 Results: preparations for warfare.

	Hacılar	Kuruçay Höyük	Höyücek	Bademağacı	Erbaba	Çatalhöyük West	Pınarbaşı	Canhasan I	Köşk Höyük	Gelveri	Musular
5300 BC											
5400 BC											
5500 BC											
5600 BC								2	3-2	4-1 / "Early Phase"	
5700 BC	Ic-d										
5800 BC	Ia-b		MA								
5900 BC		7									
6000 BC	V-II	12-8	SP	LN, EC							
6100 BC		13									
6200 BC	IX-VI		ShP	EN II	1						
6300 BC			ESP		2						
6400 BC	Aceramic			EN I	3						
6500 BC											
6600 BC											

Figure 56 Results: results of warfare.