

Assembling Çatalhöyük

Edited by Ian Hodder and Arkadiusz Marciniak

Themes in Contemporary Archaeology

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Cover image(s): *Left*: Ochre hand prints on the north wall of Building 77; *Middle*: Bucrania and horned bench associated with the northeast platform of Building 77 (both taken from Taylor pp. 127–50, this volume); *Right*: The incised panel above burial 327 in TP Area (taken from Marciniak et al., pp. 151–66, this volume).

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CHAPTER 13

The End of the Neolithic Settlement Çatalhöyük and its Neighbours

SERAP ÖZDÖL-KUTLU, TRISTAN CARTER, LECH CZERNIAK AND ARKADIUSZ MARCINIAK

INTRODUCTION

The occupation of the mega-site at Çatalhöyük gradually came to an end in the final centuries of the 7th millennium cal BC. This process was marked by significant social and economic transformations, including different settlement layout, architecture, burial practices, plus pottery, and chipped stone manufacturing traditions. Whether these changes were the outcomes of internal processes or external influences remains unknown. That said, major transformations have also been recognized throughout Anatolia at much the same time (e.g. Özdoğan, 1999, 2010, 2011, 2013; Özdoğan et al., 2012a, 2012b). The pace and nature of these corresponding changes has never been systematically studied on a regional basis.

The study aims to systematically contrast developments at Çatalhöyük in this period with those in central, western, and northwestern Anatolia. It also asks the question as to whether Çatalhöyük East in the last five hundred years of occupation retained its preeminence, and cultural/technical/economic frame of reference for neighbouring communities, or did its inhabitants fail to keep pace of developments in the larger region?¹

These objectives will be achieved through reference to architecture, pottery, and lithics from Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük and its contemporaries. Such an approach also provides a hitherto unexplored perspective on the character of Çatalhöyük East during its last centuries of its occupation.

Undertaking such a comparative study proves challenging, due to the different levels of detail, modes of recording, excavation techniques, and distinct scholarly traditions that drive each project's research agendas. Thus, at a more general level, the paper shall discuss some difficulties in implementing an approach advocating an assembling of different datasets in a context where such data are produced in an incommensurable way.

¹The work of Arkadiusz Marciniak was carried out in the project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision DEC 2012/06/M/H3/00286).

ÇATALHÖYÜK IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 7TH MILLENNIUM CAL BC AND ITS NEIGHBOURS FROM CENTRAL, WESTERN, AND NORTHWESTERN ANATOLIA

The last half of the century of the Çatalhöyük East occupation corresponds to the Mellaart Levels III-0, South P-T, North G-J Levels, Summit, KOPAL, IST, TP M-R, and TPC (see Hodder, 2014: figure 1, table 1). These are dated to the period of *c.* 6500–5950 cal BC. However, a correspondence between these different excavation areas (1960s and 1993–2000s) has not yet been systematically scrutinized. The most coherent dataset for discussing Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük is the TP Area as it provides an uninterrupted occupation sequence of around four hundred final years of the settlement occupation; it is this material that the study will focus on (Marciniak & Czerniak, 2007, 2012; Marciniak et al., 2015b) (Figure 1).

The Neolithic was already well established before 6500 cal BC in the Lake District (southwestern Anatolia) and with the following centuries after a short period of interruption witnessed a continued occupation of a range of well-established sites, such as Hacilar, Bademağacı, Höyücek, Kuruçay (see Duru, 2012). In central-western Anatolia, some settlements such as Ulucak show uninterrupted occupation throughout the 7th millennium BC (Çilingiroğlu, 2012; Çilingiroğlu et al., 2012; Çilingiroğlu & Çakırlar, 2013). Aceramic settlements were also found in Keçiçayırı near Eskişehir (Efe et al., 2012) and Çalca near Çanakkale (Özdoğan, 1999, 2013). The Aceramic settlement in Süberde marks the beginnings of occupation of the Beyşehir-Suğla basin, directly west of Çatalhöyük. Around 6600/6500 cal BC many sites emerged in the region, including that of Er Baba (Bordaz, 1973; Bordaz & Bordaz, 1976, 1982; Özdöl, 2012a).

This period also witnessed the proliferation of new settlements, such as Pendik, Fikirtepe, Yarımburgaz, Aşağı pınar, Hocaçeşme (Özdoğan, 2013), Aktopraklık (Karul, 2011; Karul & Avcı, 2013), Mentеше (Roodenberg et al., 2003), Barçın (Gerritsen et al.,



Figure 1. Map of excavation areas on the East Mound at Çatalhöyük. Figure created for the Çatalhöyük Research Project by Camilla Mazzucato.

2013a; 2013b), Yenikapı (Kızıltan & Polat, 2013), Uğurlu (Erdoğu, 2013), Yeşilova (Derin, 2012), and Ege Gübre (Sağlamtimur, 2012) in western and north-western Anatolia. It further saw the inhabitation of different ecological zones, such as the Latmos region in western Anatolia (Peschlow-Bindokat & Gerber, 2012).

In the Niğde-Aksaray and Karaman regions, the Tepecik-Çiftlik settlement has been uninterruptedly occupied since the beginning of the 7th millennium BC (Bıçakçı et al., 2012). The Aceramic sites of Can Hasan and Musular appear to have been abandoned in the period 6500–6000 cal BC. In this period, Pınarbaşı was re-occupied (Baird, 2012) and a new settlement at Köşkhöyük (Öztan, 2012) was established (Figure 2).

In general terms, the second half of the 7th millennium cal BC can be divided into two phases. It has been recognized by studying the TP sequence at Çatalhöyük and has recently been summarized by Özdoğan (2015: figure 6). The first of them is dated to c. 6500–6200 and is represented by a range of settlements such as Bademağacı EN I (7–5)–II, Höyücek ESP–ShP, and Hacılar IX–VI in the Lake District, Ulucak Ve–b, Yesilova III 8–6, and Çukuriçi IX in Central-west Anatolia, Hocaçesme IV, Uğurlu V, Pendik (Archaic Phase), Fikirtepe (Archaic Phase),

Aktopraklık C, Mentеше III (basal-middle), and Barçın (VI-d–c) in Northwest Anatolia as well as Tepecik-Çiftlik (the end of Level 4 and Level 3) in Cappadocia. The second part of this period is dated to c. 6200–5900 cal BC. It is represented by Bademağacı EN II–LN?, Hacılar V–III, Höyücek SP, and Kuruçay 13–10 in the Lake District, Ulucak Va–IVg–k, Yeşilova III 5–3, Çukuriçi VIII, and Ege Gübre IV in Central-west Anatolia, Fikirtepe (Classic Phase), Pendik (Classic Phase), Yenikapı, Aktopraklık B, Ilıpınar, X–IX, Mentеше (Upper), and Barçın VIb–a in Northwest Anatolia region as well as Tepecik-Çiftlik (Level 2) in Cappadocia (see Özdoğan, 2015: figure 6).

ASSEMBLING ÇATALHÖYÜK AND ITS NEIGHBOURING SETTLEMENTS

Comparing settlement layout and domestic architecture

The domestic structures Çatalhöyük in the Early Neolithic (South H–N—Mellaart XII–VI- and North F–G—Mellaart VIII–VI) were commonly built of mud-brick and clustered in streetless neighbourhoods,

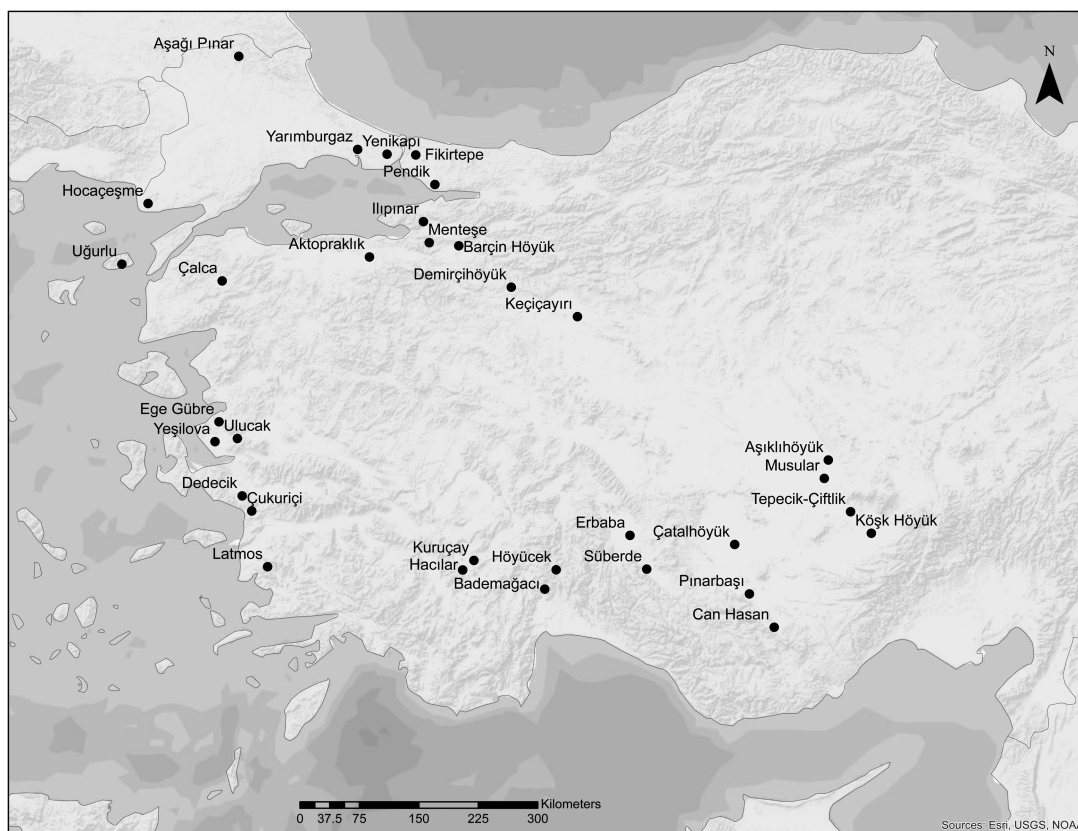


Figure 2. Late Neolithic sites in central, western, and west-northern Anatolia.

Figure created for the Çatalhöyük Research Project by Serap Özdöl-Kutlu and Camilla Mazzucato.

separated from each other by alleys and open spaces. Many of them embodied a great degree of continuity, being rebuilt on the same location, with the same proportions and interior arrangements for up to six building levels (Hodder, 2006). In the start of the Late Neolithic, around the mid of the 7th millennium, some areas of the site were abandoned while some others appear to have been less intensively occupied. As a result, the settlement became more dispersed and fragmented. This process was marked by the abandonment of the previously evident pronounced building continuity. The repetitive and highly structured domestic architecture was replaced by a new type of succession where houses follow each other less directly in space and time.

Some houses in the upper levels in the North and South Area became larger with a large main room with central hearth, which is usually surrounded by a number of smaller rooms and open space. This period is further marked by the appearance of street-level exterior entrances, which made the houses more easily accessible than before (Düring, 2001; Marciniak & Czerniak, 2007: 118–9). These developments are particularly clear in the TP Area where houses were composed of a series of small, cell-like spaces surrounding a larger central ‘living room’ and lacked symbolic elaboration. Similarly, B.67 from North H

consisted of a complex of seven spaces. In the South Area, B.65 had a door through the north wall from the main room platforms into the Sp.314 yard or midden outside area. We also witness the appearance of external ovens, hearths, and yards in both the South Area from Level P onwards and the TP Area. This indicates that not only did houses get larger, but they also became part of productive complexes that included yards, outside ovens, hearths, and middens on which activities took place.

While compared with contemporaneous developments in other parts of Anatolia, an interesting pattern emerges. The prevailing form of architecture in the neighbouring Lake District included free-standing buildings leaving empty spaces, courtyards, storage areas, and alleyways between them, with floor-level entrances. At Bademağacı there were also some individual storage silos constructed individually outside or between houses (Duru, 2012). The open space adjacent to the house had numerous hearths indicative of its continuous use. Similar dwelling structures were also identified at Hacılar (IV & III) (Mellaart, 1970: 24). Different spatial arrangements characterized settlements in western Anatolia. The architecture is typified by free-standing wattle and daub houses within a quadrangular plan with internal ovens, storage bins, and working places in single room houses, as seen at Ulucak

(Ve-b) (Çilingiroğlu et al., 2012: Figures 25–26). Turning to northwestern Anatolia, all domestic structures were made of houses of different types, open spaces with ovens and food preparation areas with storage facilities (Özdoğan, 2015: 43). Doorways and large open courtyards were present after 6500 cal BC. Interestingly, they had horned benches and installations, which make them similar to Early Neolithic Çatalhöyük. Despite reporting idiosyncrasies, structurally and conceptually constructed sites from these parts of Anatolia display commonalities with Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük.

Dwelling complexes made of large houses, usually subdivided into a number of smaller rooms, with associated empty spaces and courtyards were also revealed in at Tepecik-Çiftlik in western Cappadocia. For example, a 100 m² complex in Level 4 (c. 6650–6400 cal BC) was composed of large 75 m² building (structure AK) with accompanying small rooms (AY and BA) (Bıçakçı et al., 2012: Fig. 28). Adjacent to the complex, was an open area which contained a concentration of burials and the remains of fireplaces. However, irrespective of the fact that longitudinal apsidal structures in the following Levels 3 and 2 towards the end of the 7th millennium cal BC were significantly different from the architectural standpoint, there were composed of open space with storage chambers and ovens. Largely homogenous forms of dominant dwelling structures across different parts of Anatolia imply that households appear to become more autonomous and independent.

Individual arrangements within these complexes, however, were largely heterogeneous, in particular in terms of the construction techniques and house shape. This is indicative of an increasing differentiation of local communities and emergence of local traditions. The dominant building technique in the Lake District comprised kerpiç walls on stone foundations (Duru, 2008: figures 42, 45). Solid buildings in this technique are reported from EN II Levels of Bademağacı (4A, 4B, 3A, 3, 2,1), in Höyücek Shrine Phase, Kuruçay 12, and at Hacılar IX-VI (Duru, 1994: figure 30, 2008: 28–34, 2012: 24). Mudbrick structures with stone foundations also appeared in western Anatolia, e.g. at Ulucak (IVg–k), Çukuriçi VIII, and Ege Gübre IV. The second tradition in the region was circular structures, recognized at Ege Gübre IV (Çilingiroğlu et al., 2012: figure 6; Horejs, 2012: figure 4; Sağlamtimur, 2012: 199). Two distinct architectural traditions also developed in NW Anatolia: (1) quadrangular wattle and daub houses from Barçın and Menteşe (Gerritsen et al., 2013a: figures 6 and 7; Roodenberg et al., 2003), and (2) round-planned wattle and daub huts with semi-subterranean floors, as seen at Aktopraklık, Fikirtepe, Pendik, and other coastal settlements (Karul & Avcı, 2013).

The remarkable differentiation in the settlement layout across different parts of Anatolia towards the end of the 7th millennium cal BC is also reported. Some settlements appear to have been encircled by walls, as seen in the Lake District settlements at Kuruçay 11 and Hacılar IIA as well as in Ege Gübre III and Yesilova VIII2–1 in western Anatolia (Derin, 2012; Sağlamtimur, 2012: figure 2; Özdoğan, 2015: 48). Settlements from northwestern Anatolia got transformed into well-organized villages constructed within a circular plan serving as public areas, for example at Ilıpınar VI–VA, and especially Aktopraklık B. Houses at Barçın Hoyuk were built in rows (Roodenberg et al., 2003; Karul & Avcı, 2013).

Numerous settlements made of large dwelling complexes were accompanied by a new type of sites. Ceremonial structures began to appear from the beginning of the second half of the 7th millennium cal BC, in particular in the Lake District. Höyücek (SchP) is believed to have played a special role as a cult-centre (Duru, 2012: 26), as manifested by a complex of adjacent, quadrangular buildings (Duru & Umurtak, 2005). Interestingly, B. 3, identified as a ‘Temple’, from this complex reminds similar forms from Bademağacı and Hacılar.

Comparing pottery production and use

The Çatalhöyük pottery can be divided into three phases: (1) the Early Tradition (c. 7000–6700/6600 BC), (2) Middle Tradition (c. 6700/6600–6400/6300 BC), and (3) Late Tradition (c. 6400/6300–6000 BC) (Özdöl, 2006, 2012a). The Late Tradition corresponds with the Late Neolithic period (the second half of the 7th millennium BC) in a wide geographic area. The Late Neolithic pottery at Çatalhöyük was recovered from the old and new period excavations of the top of the South Area (Mellaart Levels III-II, South P-T, IST, Summit, TP, TPC), the North Area (H-J), and the KOPAL Area (Figure 1). Due to a large number of ceramics from a carefully dated stratigraphic sequence, of particular significance is the TP Area.

The character of pottery production and use at Çatalhöyük in relation to traditions in other parts of Anatolia is best revealed by looking at procurement strategies of clay sources, fabric, pottery forms, and different ways of decoration.

There are two basic clay sources at Çatalhöyük: (1) local (silty, sandy, marly) and (2) non-local (volcanic and metamorphic) (Last et al., 2005; Özdöl, 2006, 2012a; Akça et al., 2009; Doherty & Tarkan, 2013). The former were used throughout the Neolithic, while the latter began to be exploited from the Middle Tradition onwards. A similar raw material

procurement strategy was recognized in Erbabā in the Beyşehir-Suğla basin. The two exploited clay sources comprised (1) probably non-local colluvial ‘Gritty Clay’ (special to Levels III-I) and (2) local ‘Gastropod Clay’ (special to Levels II-I) (Bordaz, 1973; Bordaz & Bordaz, 1976, 1982). The latter is identical to the non-local clay with volcanic minerals from Çatalhöyük (Özdöl, 2012a).

The use of two different clay sources led to two distinct fabric groups: (1) non-local Dark Gritty Ware (volcanic) (Figure 3: 1–2), and (ii) Light Local Ware (Figure 3: 3–7) (Özdöl, 2012a, 2012b; Özdöl & Tarkan, 2013). Dark Gritty Ware, most of which is dark in colour, was associated with food cooking. Light Local Ware was characterized by buff-coloured fabric and mostly with light-coloured surfaces and slip. In the second half of the 7th millennium cal BC, frequency of both groups varied significantly in

different parts of Çatalhöyük. In Mellaart’s materials, Dark Gritty Ware made up 75 per cent of the assemblage in the Middle Tradition (Levels VII-IV) and got reduced to *c.* 23 per cent of the total in Levels III-II in the Late Tradition period. Changes in the proportions of Light Local Ware were reverse (Özdöl, 2006: 209, 2012a). A comparable frequency of fabric groups is reported from the TP M-R sequence with Light Local Ware (62 per cent) dominating over Dark Gritty Ware (Czerniak & Pyzel, in print; Pyzel, in preparation). Interestingly, Dark Gritty Ware continued to be dominant in contemporaneous levels in both South and North sequences (Yalman et al., 2013: 149; figures 9.42, 9.49, 9.63, 69–71). This may imply an existence of two distinct traditions of pottery production in different parts of the settlement. Due to limited availability of relevant datasets, the fabric frequency can only be compared with that of the Erbabā



Figure 3. Examples of Dark Gritty Ware (1–2) and Light Local Ware (3–7) from Mellaart’s Levels III–II.

settlement. Dark Gritty Ware in the Late Tradition was reduced to one-third of the assemblage, and this decline corresponds with that of the TP and Mellaart III-II at Çatalhöyük (Özdöl, 2012a). A new 'Gastropod Ware' group, made of clay sources in the close vicinity of the settlement, was introduced (Bordaz & Bordaz, 1982). This seems to be indicative of a shift to local resources in different parts of Central Anatolia towards the end of the Neolithic. It further corroborates a pattern towards procurement of local resources, as has already been recognized in case of clay for mudbrick production, wood for both timber and fire, as well as husbandry practices (Marciniak et al., 2015b).

Pottery forms provide the most comprehensive material for the comparison of the Late Neolithic at Çatalhöyük with neighbouring areas. Two major forms of vessels were (1) jars (holemouths) and (2) bowls. In the Mellaart materials from Level III-II jars made up 24 per cent of all forms (Özdöl, 2006, 2012a). Almost identical proportion (*c.* 25 per cent) is reported from the TP Area in comparison with bowls (*c.* 75 per cent) (Pyzel, in preparation). Interestingly, a frequency of holemouths in the TP Area and Mellaart Levels III-II is apparently lower than in the upper levels in South and North Areas, where jars continued to outnumber bowls (Yalman et al., 2013: figures 9.60, 9.67).

The most common jars were globular bodied classic/typical straight-profiled forms with a deep globular body and vertically perforated lug (see Özdöl, 2006: figure 120–140) (Figures 4). They were also encountered in a wide range of sites including Mersin-Yumuktepe (without lug) (Garstang, 1953; Mellaart, 1961; Balossi-Restelli, 2006; Caneva, 2012), Erbaba (Bordaz & Bordaz, 1982; Özdöl, 2012a; Özdöl-Kutlu, in preparation), the Beyşehir-Suğla basin settlements (Mellaart, 1961; Özdöl, 2012a) as well as Demircihöyük (Seeher, 1987), Barçın (Gerritsen et al., 2013a; 2013b), Mentеше (Roodenberg et al., 2003), Pendik (Özdoğan, 2013), Fikirtepe (Özdoğan, 2013), Yenikapı (Kızıltan & Polat, 2013), and Aşağı Pınar (Özdoğan, 2013a; 2013b). A small number of this classic jar form of Çatalhöyük was also present in the Lake District and western Anatolia. To the east of Çatalhöyük, the jar typology is not clear in the light of current publications.

The second most common form comprised evolved jars, often referred to as S-profiled and collar-necked deep jars (Figure 7: 8). Its number is significantly lower than the classic holemouth jar. It increased from 3 per cent; in the preceding period to up to 10 per cent of all jar forms in TP Area and 23 per cent in Mellaart III-II (Özdöl, 2006; Pyzel, in preparation). A frequency of these 'S profiled and collar necked deep jars', often referred to as the 'jar with everted rim' or 'jar without neck' (Çilingiroğlu, 2012; Plate



Figure 4. A typical holemouth jar from Mellaart's Level III.

18), is significantly higher than at Çatalhöyük at other settlements from *c.* 6400–6000 BC. This was the case at the EN II settlements in the Lake District (Duru & Umurtak, 2005, 2008; Duru, 2008, 2012) such as Hacilar IX-VI (Mellaart, 1970), Barçın VI d-b (Gerritsen et al., 2013a; 2013b) in northwest Anatolia and Ulucak Va and Vb in western Anatolia (Çilingiroğlu, 2012: 221, Appendices and 266, Plate 18). This tendency is also evident at Erbaba, whose ceramic tradition is the closest to that of Çatalhöyük, where *c.* 55 per cent of the jars have an S-profile (Özdöl-Kutlu, in preparation). A frequency of S-profiled jars in Cappadocian sites has not been established to date.

Equally interesting pattern emerged in case of bowls—another major form of vessels in the Late Neolithic. They are divided into three major groups: (1) inturned rim (2) straight walled (Figure 7: 1–2), and (3) open bowl forms (Figure 7: 3, 5) (Özdöl, 2006). Particularly interesting were curvy/S-profiled forms (Figures 5: 1 and 7: 6–7, 9) whose frequency increased up to 18 per cent in the Late Tradition when compared with only 2 per cent in the Middle Tradition. It is well manifested in both the Mellaart III-II assemblage and TP Area. These forms became more developed with thinned lip and everted rim and without a sharp carination, when compared with the preceding period. The available literature makes it impossible to carry out a systematic comparative analysis of their frequency. However, at Erbaba, S-profiled bowls made up 28 per cent of the assemblage (Özdöl-Kutlu, in preparation), which is significantly higher than in contemporaneous levels at Çatalhöyük. It is even higher in the Höyücek Shrine Phase (Duru & Umurtak, 2005).

While looking at the frequency of different pottery forms in the region, the ceramic assemblages at different sites were getting increasingly differentiated when compared with the Çatalhöyük tradition. While



Figure 5. Red slipped bowl with basket handle and relief (1) from Mellaart's Level II, red painted sherd (2) from TP P (Pyzel, in preparation) and base fragments (3–5) from Levels III–II.

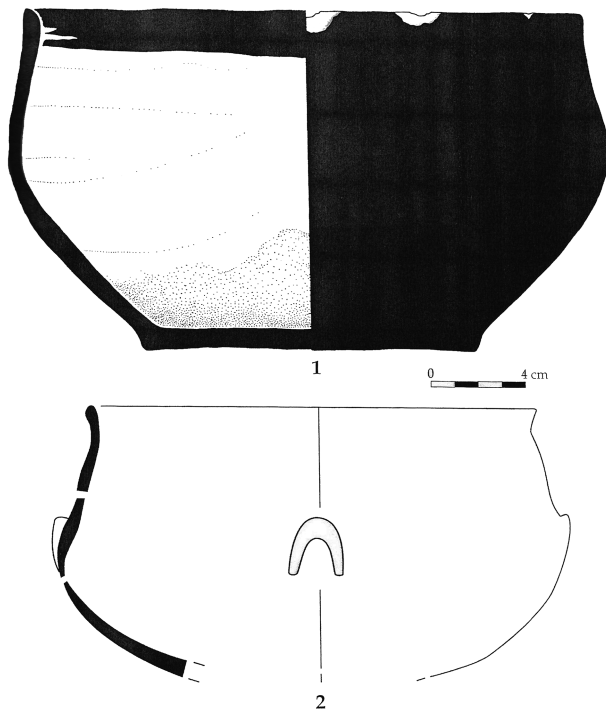


Figure 6. S-profiled developed bowls from KOPAL Area (Last et al., 2005: figure 5.25).

pottery from the Beyşehir-Suğla basin and northwest Anatolia was the closest to Çatalhöyük, it adopted many elements from the tradition of the Lake District in due course. This is well manifested at Barçın where ceramics of the Çatalhöyük tradition from the earliest level VIe got replaced in VIId–VIb levels by an increasing number of prolific S-profiled vessels that are more likely reminiscent of the pottery tradition from Lake District. Another striking departure from the Çatalhöyük tradition is the appearance of long cylindrical or outturned necked jars at Erbaba, in the Shrine Phase of Höyücek, and at Hacılar and Bademağacı.

The pottery applications, in particular the handle and lug additions, offer another valuable comparative perspective. Their number and variety at Çatalhöyük decreased when compared with the Middle Tradition (Özdöl, 2012a) but the vertically perforated lugs continued to be the most common form (Figure 8: 2–4). This tendency was not followed at Erbaba where this classic lug type from the Middle Tradition got largely replaced by vertically perforated loop handles, vertically perforated tubular lugs, and vertically perforated handles. The new form of vertically perforated lugs,

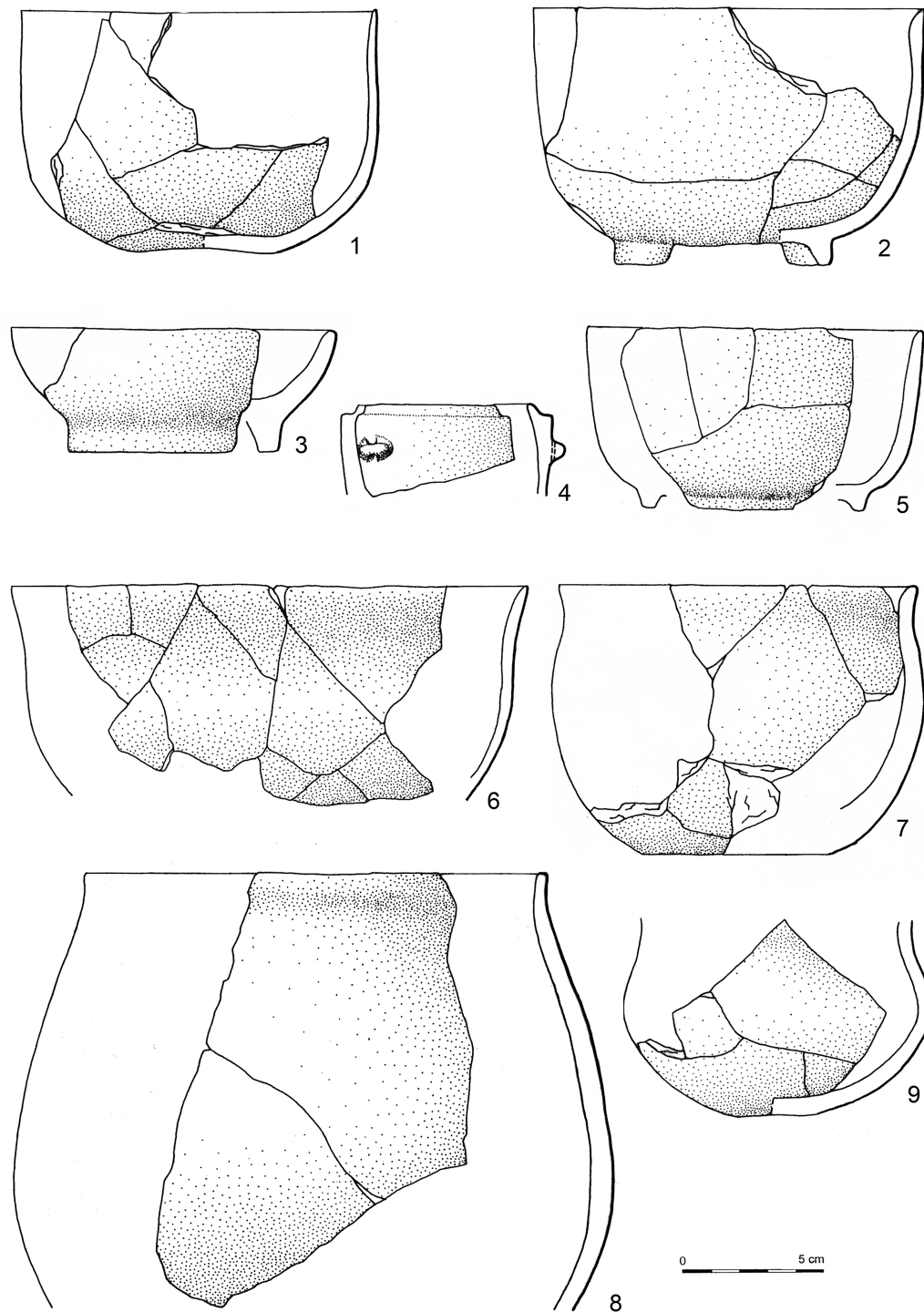


Figure 7. Examples of bowls and jars: 1—TP N, 2—(slipped) TP N, 3—TP M, 4—TP M, 5—TP O; and S-profiled: 6—TP O, 7—TP M, 8—TP N, 9—TP R (after Czerniak & Pyzel, in print).

also referred to as handles, appears to be related to the pottery making in the Lake District and northwest Anatolia. Large and strong handles only appeared at Çatalhöyük in a very small number (Özdöl & Tarkan, 2014; Czerniak & Pyzel, in print).

A similar discrepancy appeared in the case of unperforated lugs, known as unperforated hooked lugs. They were found in a small number in the

Mellaart, South, TP, TPC, and KOPAL Areas (Figure 3: 1–2). However, their frequency was significantly higher at Erbaba (Özdöl-Kutlu, in preparation) and different sites at northwest Anatolia such as Barçın, Fikirtepe, and Yenikapı, where they had a form of a larger ledge handle. At the same time, animal knobs from Çatalhöyük (see Özdöl & Tarkan, 2014) of some kind of symbolic meaning, were unknown at



Figure 8. Examples of horizontally (1) and vertically perforated (2–4) lugs from Mellaart Levels III–II.

Erbaba and in northwest Anatolia settlements. However, they come on the scene in contemporary settlements in the Lake District and at Hocaçesme in Thrace. These also became popular in the final Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic levels at Köşkhöyük and Tepecik-Çiftlik.

Equally informative is the pattern of distribution of rare vessels. Miniature vessels, barrel-like bowls, cornered boxes, the twin pot, the face pot, oval vessels, and lids made up a unique vessel repertoire of the Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük. A frequency of these forms differed significantly in other regions. Some of them were particularly common in the Lake District and northwestern Anatolian sites such as Barçın and Fikirtepe. The most prominent assemblage of these forms originated from the Höyücek Shrine Phase and was made of antispash jars, kidney, shoe, and bird form vessels, all found in what appeared to be a special purpose building (see above). The Erbaba assemblage

is almost devoid of unique vessels except for a footed and lidded box form and a table/plate form (Özdöl-Kutlu, in preparation).

Çatalhöyük pottery had incised, relief, dotted, burnishing, incrustated, and painting decoration (Figure 5: 2) (Özdöl & Tarkan, 2013). Particularly informative is incised and painting decoration. The frequency of incised decoration in the TP Area is very low (c. 0.2 per cent; (Figure 9) (Czerniak & Pyzel, in print; Pyzel, in preparation). It formed horizontal, usually triple, incised and grooved lines, usually right below the rim. One of the grooved ornaments was made of triple lines with superimposing triangles while the other was composed of perpendicular lines and some kind of lines inscribed into a triangle. The motif of lines inscribed into a triangle known from Çatalhöyük became very popular in Chalcolithic in different parts of Anatolia (Schoop, 2005). A distribution of incised technique across the region varied significantly. It was common at northwest Anatolian settlements such as Fikirtepe and Yenikapı as well as in Cappadocian settlements of Tepecik-Çiftlik and Köşkhöyük. Pottery from the latter sites was decorated with spectacular narrative reliefs and used the innovative and demanding wiped-back technique. The incised decoration was unknown in the Lake District, but local pottery was decorated in the form of animal reliefs as well in the painted and grooved technique.

Particularly striking is a lack of painted pottery at Çatalhöyük East. Altogether, only one painted fragment was found in the TP Area in the TP P level in addition to a small number of sherds from mixed units on the surface. This stands in a distinct contrast with other regions (Figure 4). Painted vessels emerged towards the end of the 7th millennium cal BC in the Lake District, in particular at Hacilar VI (Mellaart, 1970) and Bademağacı EN II (Duru, 2012: fig. 65). They developed rapidly throughout the region. At Hacilar, from 20 per cent in Layer V Hacilar, to 45 per cent in Layer III, they reached 60–70 per cent in later periods (Mellaart, 1970: 100). However, similarly as at

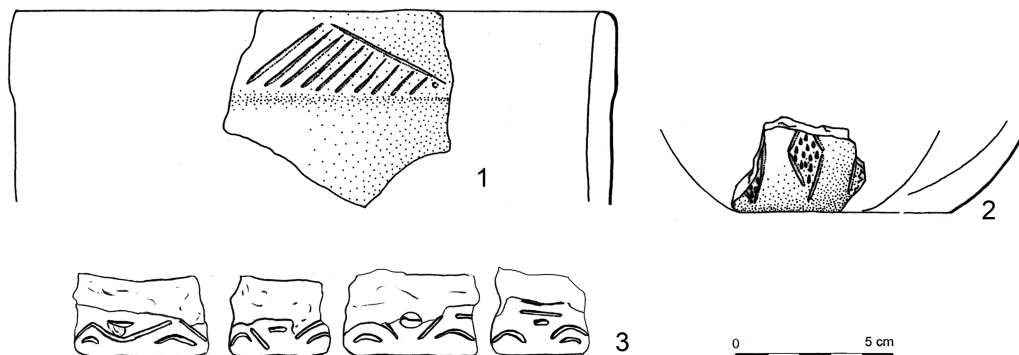


Figure 9. Examples of incised decoration from TP. 1–2—TP Q, 3—TP M (1–2 after Czerniak & Pyzel, in print; 3—after Pyzel, in preparation).

Çatalhöyük, painted pottery was sporadic in central-west Anatolia and was totally absent in northwestern Anatolia in this period (Özdöl, 2011; Özdoğan, 2015: 48).

Comparing lithic procurement and production

We turn now to the chipped stone industries of the later 7th millennium BC at Çatalhöyük (TP Area), considering first their relationship to earlier lithic traditions at the site, after which we contrast the material with assemblages from contemporaneous sites in central and western Anatolia.

Over a few generations in the middle of the 7th millennium BC, a major change was witnessed in Çatalhöyük's dominant chipped stone manufacturing traditions (c. South M-P). This involved a shift from a relatively simple household percussion blade-like flake industry to a skilled and more exclusively organized pressure blade tradition (Carter & Milić, 2013: 500–2). In a related vein, the community also changed its long-term raw material choices, from a reliance on Göllü Dağ obsidian, to the preferential procurement of Nenezi Dağ products; these sources are situated only 7 km apart in southern Cappadocia (Carter et al., 2008). In turn, the primary form of early weaponry, namely large bifacial points, was replaced by the manufacture of spearheads made on long, thick opposed platform blades (Carter & Milić, 2013: 501). The Late Neolithic chipped stone assemblages of the latter three centuries of the 7th millennium BC show a significant degree of continuity, albeit with some important differences from the practices of the preceding two centuries. The manufacture of skilled pressure blades (Figure 10) continued to be the community's mainstay tool-making tradition, with the inhabitants of Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük also being the habit of procuring preformed cores, the nuclei conceivably having been prepared at quarry-based workshops. In turn, the dominant raw material continued to be Nenezi Dağ obsidian, with the ratio between this raw material and that from Göllü Dağ comprising 63–81:37–19 per cent through TP M-TP R. A small amount of other obsidian source materials are also represented, primarily in the form of imported pressure blades, including obsidian from Acıgöl in northern Cappadocia, plus Bingöl B, and Bingöl A/Nemrut Dağ from the Lake Van region some 650–800 km to the east, the latter being first attested at the site around two hundred years earlier (Carter et al., 2008) (Figure 11).

While one can talk of significant continuity, Çatalhöyük's Late Neolithic assemblages also embody a number of changes. First, there is a significant decrease in the relative quantities of projectiles, and the size

and form of these weapons (Figure 12). The long spearheads gradually disappear (as does the related opposed platform blade technology), being replaced by a few trapezoidal points, plus a handful of tanged, and barbed and tanged projectiles. The loss of the large spearhead tradition likely relates to the introduction of domesticated cattle and diminished significance of auroch hunting at this time (Russell et al., 2013: 215–6). The appearance of the smaller points arguably relates to an increased importance in archery, though the numbers involved may indicate that archers may have been relatively rare characters at Çatalhöyük. Perhaps most significant in these developments are the rare barbed and tanged arrows, for these weapons tend to be associated with people killing, not hunting, the logic being that the tangs are designed to cause damage when pulled out of a body, something that only humans are likely to be able to do. Thus during the Late Neolithic we witness hunting being replaced by skilled interpersonal violence and conflict as a new form of social distinction and a means of masculinity construction.

Finally we compare the lithic traditions encapsulated in the TP assemblages with those from other Late Neolithic Anatolian communities, starting with Cappadocia. As best as one can tell from preliminary reports, the Çatalhöyük material seems to be *very different* from Cappadocian assemblages, as best attested by the finds from Köşkhöyük and Tepecik-Çiftlik. Here flake and percussion blade industries are dominant, rather than the pressure-blade traditions of Çatalhöyük (Bıçakçı et al., 2012: 98–101; Öztan, 2012: 42–44). In turn, the Cappadocian sites also produce a lot of large spearheads, including many in flint (despite their proximity to the obsidian sources), a raw material we almost never see used for projectile manufacture at Çatalhöyük. Indeed the manufacture of large projectiles on thick opposed platform blades continues as a tradition until c. 5500 BC in Cappadocia (Bıçakçı et al., 2012: 100), suggesting the continued socio-economic importance of hunting in the region, in stark contrast to what we see at Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic Çatalhöyük (TP Area and the West Mound). Significant too is these Cappadocian communities' reliance on Göllü Dağ obsidian, with Nenezi Dağ products in the minority (Bıçakçı et al., 2012: 101); this is the complete reverse of what we see at Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük.

Turning westwards to the Lake District sites of Hacılar (Mortensen, 1970), Höyücek (Balkan-Atlı, 2005), and Kuraçay Höyük (Baykal-Seeher, 1994), we view far closer similarities with Çatalhöyük's technical traditions. This is attested primarily through these communities' common reliance on pressure blade industries, a mode of tool production that is in fact thought to have been introduced to Lake District populations from central Anatolia, potentially via

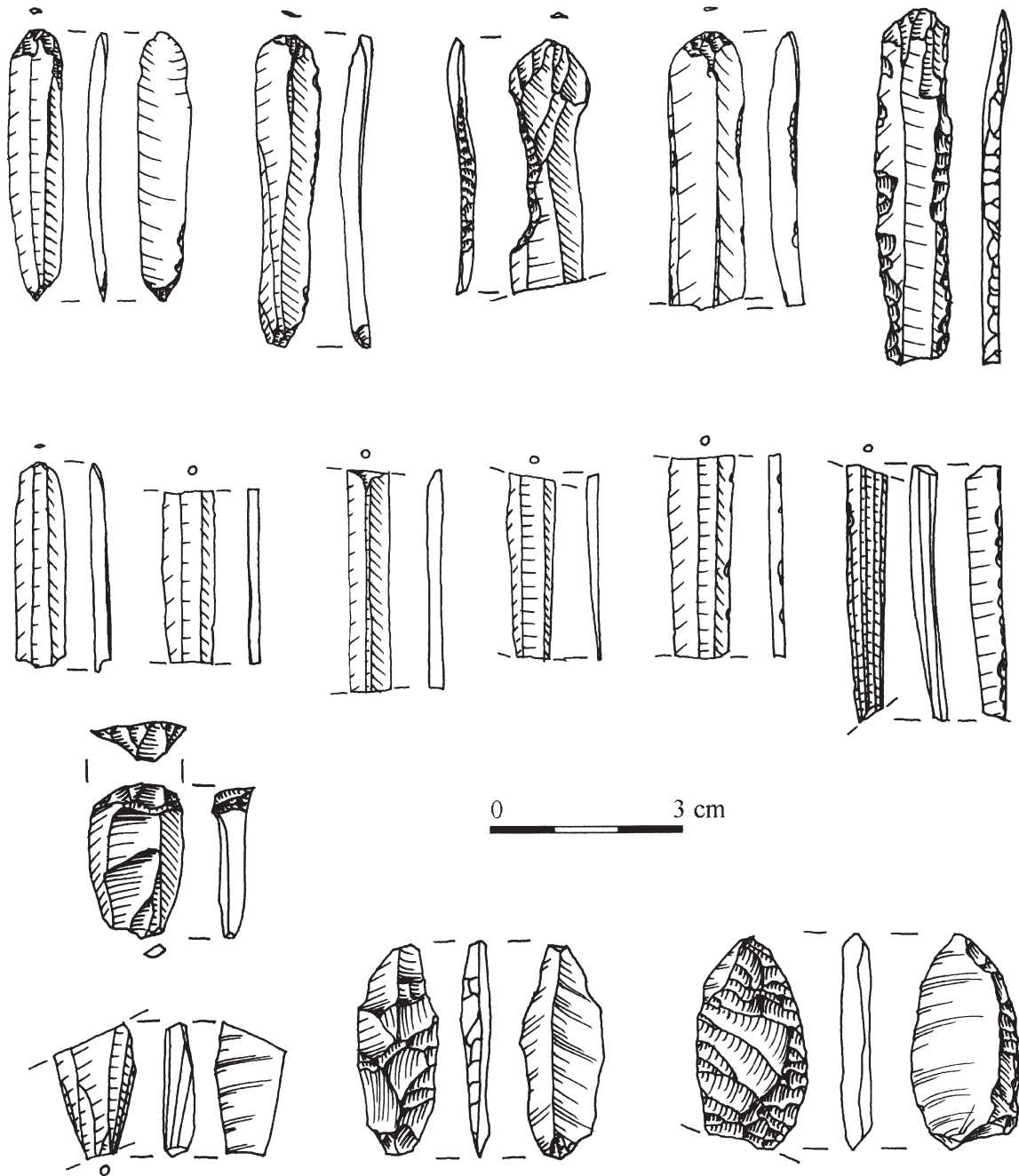


Figure 10. Selection of obsidian pressure blades and other implements from Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük. Figure created for the Çatalhöyük Research Project by Marcin Waś.

Çatalhöyük itself (Balkan-Atlı, 2005: 136). In turn, all of these communities seem to have procured their obsidian mainly as prepared and part-reduced blade cores, with crested pieces and other preparatory blanks largely absent (e.g. Balkan-Atlı, 2005); that said, there appears to be significantly larger quantities of near-complete nuclei from the Lake District sites (e.g. Baykal-Seeher, 1994: fig. 242; Balkan-Atlı, 2005: Pl. 202, 4), whereas at Çatalhöyük blade cores are almost always found in an exhausted state, suggesting distinctions in storage, and curatorial practices. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given

their relative distances from the raw material sources, obsidian comprises a significantly smaller proportion of the Lake District sites' chipped stone assemblages. While at Çatalhöyük obsidian forms >90 per cent of the Late Neolithic TP assemblages, it constitutes only 42 per cent of the Late Neolithic—Early Chalcolithic material at Hacılar, and even less at Höyücek, and Kuraçay Höyük, at 10 and 12 per cent, respectively. While we can note commonalities, there are also some important differences in these communities' tool-kits, with the Lake District assemblages containing a

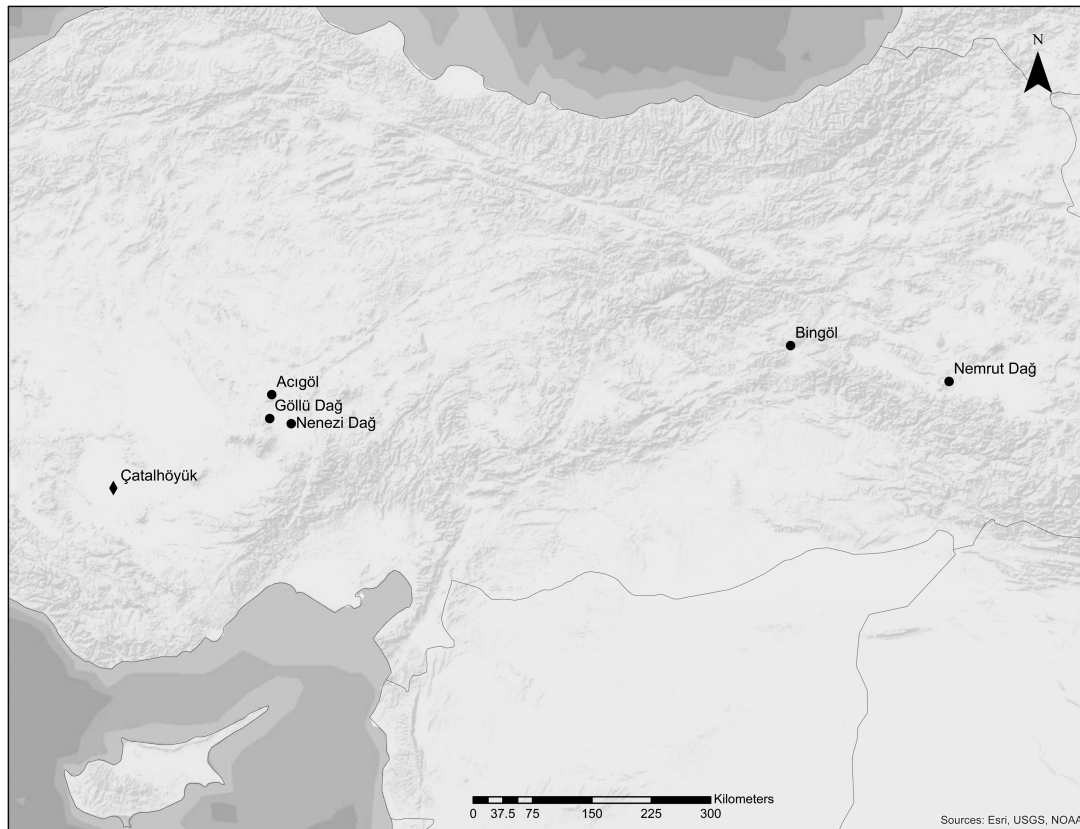


Figure 11. Obsidian sources represented in the Late Neolithic chipped stone assemblage of Çatalhöyük. Figure created for the Çatalhöyük Research Project by Kathryn Campeau and Camilla Mazzucato.

number of large and distinctive scrapers that we do not see in the Konya Plain at this time (Baykal-Seeher, 1994: Figures 239–51; Balkan-Atlı, 2005: Pl. 184–5). Furthermore, while projectiles are also viewed as a rarity at the Lake District sites, i.e. as at Çatalhöyük, the few points that are published from Höyücek and Kuraçay Höyük are much larger and tend to be made

of flint, quite distinct to the small obsidian trapezes, and tanged versions from the Konya Plain (Baykal-Seeher, 1994: figures 238, 7; Balkan-Atlı, 2005: Pl. 193, 3–4).

The western expansion (adoption) of pressure blade technologies did not stop in the Lake District, with pressure traditions becoming the hallmark of

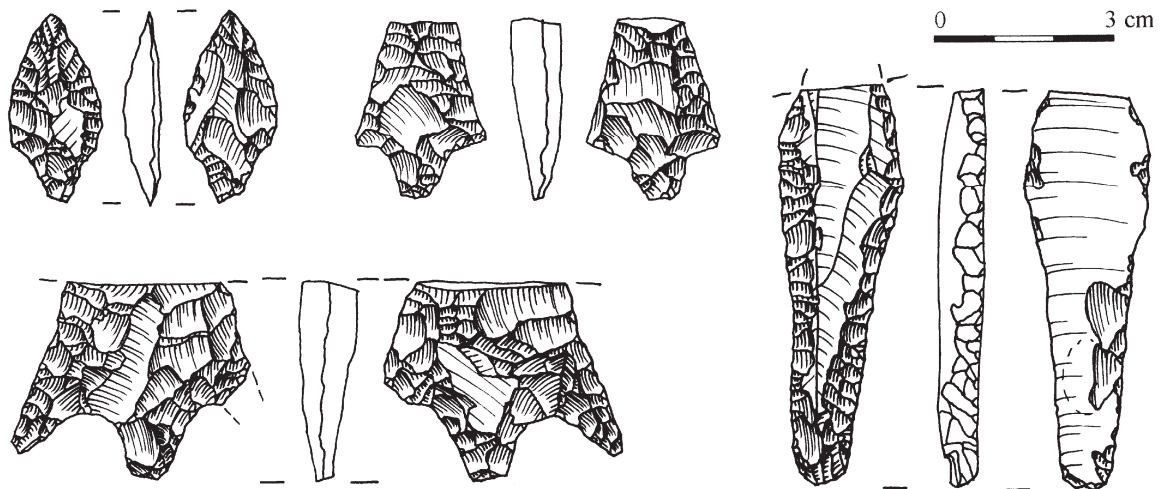


Figure 12. Selection of obsidian projectiles and a retouched chert blade from Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük. Figure created for the Çatalhöyük Research Project by Marcin Waś.

western Anatolian Late Neolithic (Reingruber, 2011: 296), and contemporary (Early Neolithic) cultures of the Greek mainland beyond (Perlès, 2001: 201–7). Without detailed publication of the western Anatolian assemblages, it really does not behove us at present to attempt making any further links with Çatalhöyük. At present one can simply talk of supra-regional technical traditions; for indices of significant inter-community links we need much more detailed reportage.

LATE NEOLITHIC ÇATALHÖYÜK IN ITS REGIONAL CONTEXTS: FINAL REMARKS

The hitherto recognized Late Neolithic developments at Çatalhöyük are marked by integration of farming and pastoral economy, emergence of an increasingly autonomous households, changes in the belief systems, and transformations of the Neolithic imaginary (e.g. Marciniak & Czerniak, 2007, 2012; Hodder, 2014; Marciniak et al., 2015a, 2015b). The analysis conducted in this chapter addressed additional aspects of this important change including settlement layout and architecture as well as pottery and stone tool production and use. It not only aimed to assemble three different datasets but more importantly it represents the first attempt to place the Late Neolithic at Çatalhöyük within a broader regional perspective. This comparative analysis attempted to address two intertwined issues: (1) the character and intensity of relations with contemporaneous settlements in central, western, and northwestern Anatolia, and (2) developments in architecture, pottery, and lithics in the last centuries of Çatalhöyük occupation in relation to their character in neighbouring communities.

The second half of the 7th millennium cal BC marks the period of dynamic demographic transformations of the Neolithic communities including their dispersal into different ecological zones, increasing differentiation, and creation of a complicated network of relations between them (Özdoğan, 2010, 2011; Hodder, 2014). Different groups may have spread out of the Konya Plain towards the Beyşehir-Suğla and northwest Anatolia, as indicated by striking similarities between these areas. The former area could also be considered as an intermediate region between the two major centres of the Neolithic, namely the Konya Plain and Lake Region (Duru, 2012: 27; Özdöl, 2012a, 2012b). The increasingly dynamic and multidirectional relations between these migrating groups are well manifested in the technology and use of pottery and lithics. Shared reliance on pressure blade industries was a mode of tool production thought to have been introduced to the Lake District from central Anatolia, and potentially via Çatalhöyük itself (Balkan-Atlı, 2005: 136). As regards raw materials, vessel forms and

handles and lugs on pots, the Çatalhöyük Middle Tradition reveals very close parallels to the Beyşehir-Suğla region, while in the following period they disappeared and the Beyşehir-Suğla basin became linked with the Lake District tradition. At the same time, holemouth jars, unperforated hooked lugs, crescent knobs, and vertically perforated lugs are a shared feature of the pottery industry of Çatalhöyük with Er Baba and northwest Anatolia.

Despite increasing differentiation at the supra-regional level, the major forms of spatial organization at Late Neolithic settlements in central, western, and northwestern Anatolia were strikingly homogenous. Similarly as at the Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük, they were characterized by complex dwelling structures in the form of enclosed areas with open space gradually incorporated into them. However, despite a similar overall concept, these complexes largely differed in terms of building construction, arrangements of individual rooms as well as the character of open space and its relations to dwelling structures. This seems to indicate region-wide changes in the construction of social identities and emergence of autonomous households inhabiting spatially distinct parts of the settlement.

Subsequent areas of the discussed parts of Anatolia developed in a diverse pace and became increasingly separated from each other, in spite of existing contacts and relations. For example, despite intensive trade of obsidian and developed technologies of its production, the character of Tepecik-Çiftlik's cultural sequence diverged in several aspects, ranging from settlement pattern to ceramic production, from other regions the settlement had maintained close contacts with.

The pottery tradition, in particular its forms, decoration, is also indicative of increasing differentiation within the region (Düring, 2012; Özdoğan, 2015; Özdöl-Kutlu, in preparation). The second half of the 7th millennium cal BC brought about intense production and use of pottery, which was in firm contrast with Çatalhöyük. A diversity of pottery decreased, which is to be linked with its changing role. In particular, cooking vessels got significantly reduced while many types of bowl showed an increase. At other settlements, such as Er Baba the vessel forms continued to develop, particularly in Level I, until the end of the 7th millennium cal BC (Özdöl-Kutlu, in preparation). The same pattern emerged in the Niğde-Aksaray region, Beyşehir-Suğla basin, the Lake District, northwestern, and western Anatolia. In particular, red slipped and S-profiled developed vessels came to be the most common and typical forms of pottery in a wide region including the Lake District, Beyşehir-Suğla basin, northwest Anatolia, west Anatolia, and the Aegean shores.

This process is further corroborated in the lithics technology. While we can note a common dominance of pressure blade traditions at sites from southwestern Anatolia, there are some major differences in these communities' tool-kits. In the Lake District assemblages contained a number of large, and distinctive scrapers that we do not see in the Konya Plain at this time. The lithics traditions of Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük are technologically perhaps closest to what one sees among some of the Lake District sites, but with important distinctions in the tool kits. There are major differences with the western Cappadocian communities, whereas at Çatalhöyük we view the gradual loss of spearhead technology, and perhaps only the occasional use of archery with smaller tanged projectiles, and the little trapezes, a type of weapon that one continues to see being employed in the Chalcolithic, not only at Çatalhöyük West, but also at the Öküzini Cave in the Antalya region (Carter et al., 2011: 140), Yumuktepe/Mersin in Cilicia (Garstang, 1953: 50, figure 29), and the Fikirtepe Culture sites of northwestern Anatolia (Özdoğan, 1999: 211–15, figure 4).

While looking from the regional perspective, the Late Neolithic pottery at Çatalhöyük appears to be very conservative. Its large proportion is made up of straight-profiled vessel forms. Although it included certain of the elements of the ceramic tradition seen during the Late Tradition period in a wide geographical area, the amounts are very limited. These comprise individual pieces of developed S-profile, thinned everted rim, well-adhering slip in various tones of red and thick and large diameter vessels. No new forms entered the handle repertoire, only knobs increased. In particular, the perforated cylindrical lug tradition that influenced nearly the whole of the Anatolian Plateau during this period did not impact Çatalhöyük at all. The same applies to the regional tendency of increasing number of richly decorated pottery (incisions, plastic decoration, and painting).

Particularly striking is a lack of painted pottery at Çatalhöyük East represented only by a couple of sherds. In Upper Mesopotamia painted ceramics appear the earliest at sites of the Pre-Halaf and Proto-Halaf stages at the end of 7th millennium cal BC (Cruells & Nieuwenhuyse, 2004). Painted ceramics relatively quickly spread not only to considerable areas of the Near East, but also to Lake District in Anatolia and southeast Europe. It did not occur everywhere, however, even within the range of the Halaf culture itself. In Anatolia, we can observe whole regions that the phenomenon of painting pottery did not reach, for example, in Cappadocia and northwest Anatolia (Özdoğan, 2015). The Konya Plain with Çatalhöyük West is, however, a typical example of region of painted pottery (Franz & Pyzel, in print), but only in the beginning of the 6th millennium cal BC. This is

why, particularly taking into account late dating of the youngest sequences of the TP Area, we might expect, analogously to the nearby Can Hasan (French, 2005), early painted pottery at Çatalhöyük East. Generally, however, there seem to be more similarities linking the Late Neolithic Pottery from Çatalhöyük East with regions with unpainted pottery.

The pottery production at the Late Neolithic Çatalhöyük lacks major developments from the end of the 7th millennium cal BC, such as increased proportion of S-profiled jars and bowls, vertical tubular lugs and crescent lugs, raised and ring bases, and in particular increasingly rich decoration including incised, plastic and painted decoration, some of them of ritual function. There is also a lack of bulk storage vessels. One can argue that the settlement did not keep pace of developments in other parts of central and western Anatolia by refusing new modes of pottery production. At the same time, pottery became to be produced in a number of different ways by groups inhabiting the increasingly smaller settlement.

Interestingly, despite this conservatism, Çatalhöyük reminded a continuous point of reference for the migrating groups. Many symbolic elements originating from it appeared in the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic ceramics of Niğde-Aksaray settlements such as Tepecik-Çiftlik and Köşkhöyük (Bıçakçı et al., 2012; Öztan, 2012). This is manifested in putting some motifs such as bulls, upraised splayed figures, and spiral motifs on movable objects such as pots. These can be viewed as a range of signifiers mobilized out of Çatalhöyük repertoire and believed to be good markers of supra-individual identities (Meskell, 2007: 25). The signifiers being originally a part of the house imaginary and probably manifestations of some kind of the myth began appearing in non-house contexts. Dissociated from their original context and deployed of its referential significance were given a different meaning that itself got transformed in the course of time. They became more likely rationalized and naturalized and presented as representing the inherited tradition.

The presented results seems to imply that despite triggering fundamental changes constituting the Late Neolithic transition (see Marciniak, 2015), the Çatalhöyük settlement in the course of centuries did not keep pace of developments in the region by not adopting new ideas and solutions taking place elsewhere. Consequently, it found itself largely outside the regional trajectories and lag behind the contemporary developments. Instead, it became largely conservative and increasingly embedded in its own traditions. It remains unresolved whether this was due to the regression of the innovative potential of the Çatalhöyük community or caused by its interest in retaining *status quo* of the bygone world.

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