GENDERED LIFEWAYS IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA IN THE NEOLITHIC AND THE EARLY CHALCOLITHIC PERIODS (8500 – 5000 BC)

By

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To *my family*

ABSTRACT

Gender is an important part of every person's identity. This study aims to investigate how gender roles changed from the beginning of the Neolithic to the end of the Early Chalcolithic in Central Anatolia. Although gender has been a topic of discussion at some sites, such studies have mainly remained site-based interpretations. The supra-regional perspective taken in this study investigates long term changes over several millennia in Central Anatolia enabling new interpretations and insights. The research concentrates on mortuary practices including burial treatments, skeletal analyses and grave goods as well as visual representations of humans by incorporating the data from figurines, wall paintings and relief decorated pottery. Studying mortuary practices gives us extensive information about the way people lived, their diet, habitual activities and illnesses as well as the way how they may have been regarded by the societies in which they lived in. Anthropomorphic representations, on the other hand, shed light on how certain genders were stereotyped in the makers' minds. Based on the results of the study, there seems to be equality in terms of gender in the earlier periods across the various sites selected. Female representations and burials become more predominant towards the end of the Neolithic, after 6500 BC, and this predominance increases in the subsequent Early Chalcolithic period.

Keywords: Neolithic period, Chalcolithic period, Gender theory, prehistoric settlements, Boncuklu Höyük, Aşıklı, Çatalhöyük, Köşk Höyük

ÖZET

Cinsiyet herkesin kimliğinin önemli bir parçasını oluşturur. Bu çalışmanın amacı İç Anadolu Bölgesi'nde Neolitik dönemin başından Erken Kalkolitik dönemin sonuna kadar toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin nasıl değiştiğini incelemektir. Bu bölgedeki kimi yerleşim yerlerinde cinsiyet konusu ele alınmışsa da, bu çalışmalar yerleşim yeri odaklı yorumların ötesine geçmemiştir. Bu tez çalışması konuya daha geniş bir perspektiften bakarak İç Anadolu'da birkaç binyıl gibi uzun bir zaman dilimi boyunca yaşanan değişiklikleri inceler. Bu da, toplumsal cinsiyet konusuna yeni yorumlar ve bakış açıları ile eğilmemizi sağlar. Araştırma iki farklı alandan verileri bir araya getirir. Bir yandan ölü gömme şekilleri, iskelet analizleri ve mezar hediyeleri de dahil ölü gömme adetleri incelenirken, bir yandan da figürinler, duvar resimleri ile kabartma desenli vazolar gibi görsel araçlar üzerindeki insan betimlemeleri ele alınmaktadır. Ölü gömme adetleri incelenen kişinin nasıl yaşadığını, beslenme şekillerini, sıklıkla tekrarladıkları hareketleri, hangi hastalıklara yakalandıklarını ve toplum tarafından nasıl görüldüklerini açığa çıkarır. İnsan betimlemeleri ise, belli başlı cinsiyetlerin bu betimlemeleri yapan kişilere göre nasıl stereotipleştirildiği ile ilgili ipuçları verir. Araştırmanın sonuçlarına göre erken dönemlerde cinsiyet açısından "eşitlik" göze çarparken kadın mezarları ve betimlemeleri Neolitik dönemin sonlarına doğru giderek öne çıkmaya başlar. M.Ö. 6500'den itibaren görülmeye başlayan bu artış Erken Kalkolitik dönemde de artarak devam eder.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Neolitik dönem, Kalkolitik dönem, Toplumsal cinsiyet teorisi, tarihöncesi yerleşimler, Boncuklu Höyük, Aşıklı, Çatalhöyük, Köşk Höyük

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Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF APPENDICES

1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to assess alterations in gender roles from the beginning of the Aceramic Neolithic and until the end of the Early Chalcolithic periods in Central Anatolia by asking "How did the gender roles change in Central Anatolia from the beginning of the Neolithic around 8500 BC when domestication of animals and plants were minimal to the Early Chalcolithic until 5000 BC when domestication became the main source of the mode of living?" Explained in this introductory section is why we should address the issue of gender in this context and why the Central Anatolian Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic was selected as the case study region.

The Neolithic is a period of change in the way of life in terms of economy, technology, society and ideology. However, the main focus of discussion about the agricultural origins in the Near East usually concerns increase in the population, changes in climate when the Holocene started, changes in resource availability, social differentiation and feasting, and the appearance of symbolism (Hodder 2012b: 195). Although the term "Neolithic Revolution" was used earlier in discussions, currently "Neolithization" has taken up its place because the transition to sedentism, agriculture and animal domestication was a gradual process that continued over a long time.

Much concerning the Neolithic period has been mainly concentrated on the male roles in settlements. The roles of women and children in the Neolithic societies have often been neglected and sometimes are presented as analogous to the modern day gender roles. According to some scholars women must have been involved with the invention of cultivation of plants and the spread of agriculture because they were the

gatherers in the hunter-gatherer societies (Watson and Kennedy 1991; Ingold 1996: 17; Haaland 1997: 378; Ehrenberg 1989; Hastorf 1998). Studying gender roles is important because in this transitional stage of human history where food sources are changing one would also expect changes in the daily activities of both men and women and the roles they fulfill in society.

There is still an ongoing debate about gender roles in this period. On the one hand, there are some scholars who envisage the Neolithic period as a prehistoric heaven where women and men led a peaceful life in harmony (Gimbutas 1989: xx). They believe that the maternal roles of women were the main sources of their social significance and ritual power and the female figurines were the markers of a such world (Peterson 2010: 249). On the other hand, some scholars see the changes in the Neolithic period as the end of sexual equality (Engels 1978[1884]: 736).According to Engels agriculture causes the end of primitive communism, because it leads to surplus production, private property, and the patrilineal kin structures, leading to the oppression of females for the first time in history (1978[1884]: 736). These two completely different scenarios raise a lot of questions about gender roles in the society at this transitional time.

Neolithic phenomenon evolved in a vast area in the Near East. Several core regions including Central Anatolia developed with interaction, but each region also had independent culture histories (Düring 2011: 49). In fact, Central Anatolian Neolithic is culturally distinct from that of the Fertile Crescent (Düring 2011: 51). Central Anatolia is geographically encircled by forested mountains ca. 9000 B.C. onwards (Schoop 2005: 42). The Konya plateau was a grassland suitable for hunting wild animals that move in large flocks such as aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), mouflon (*Ovis orientalis orientalis*) and wild horses (*Equus ferus*) and gathering wild plants that

were later domesticated such as einkorn wheat (*Triticum boeoticum*), lentil (*Lens culinaris*) and bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*) (Schoop 2005: 42).

It is possible to say that the Early Neolithic of the Central Anatolian Plain had unique characteristics with its own traditions (Schoop 2005: 45; Matthews 2002: 96-97). However, there was intensive interaction with other core regions in the Near East that can be traced especially with obsidian trade that continued for more than 4 millennia (Balkan-Atlı et al. 1999; Binder 2002; Özdoğan 2005: 18). In fact, while at the end of the 7th millennium there was a widespread crisis that led to a breakdown of the Neolithic tradition, we see the idiosyncratic way of life continuing in Central Anatolia mostly uninterrupted until the beginning of the 5th millennium (Schoop 2005: 45).

Keeping the question of how gender roles changed from the beginning of the Neolithic until the end of the Early Chalcolithic in mind, the thesis will concentrate on figural representations of humans, including figurines, wall paintings and relief decorated pottery, and mortuary practices such as burial treatments and skeletal analysis in various sites in the Central Anatolia dating from the beginning of the Neolithic approximately 8500 BC until the end of the Early Chalcolithic period around 5000 BC.

The sites that I chose to concentrate on are Boncuklu Höyük, Aşıklı Höyük, Çatalhöyük and Köşk Höyük. Boncuklu Höyük, occupied between 8500 and 7400 BC, has several intramural burials and some anthropomorphic figurines. While Aşıklı, occupied between 8500 and 7500 BC, lacks figurines, the results obtained from the anthropological analysis of burials are very important. Çatalhöyük, occupied from 7400 to 6000 BC, is an exceptional site where extensive research has

been done for many years. The anthropomorphic figurines, wall paintings and burials have been studied by many scholars (Mellaart 1967; Hamilton 1996b; 2005b; Voigt 1991; 2000; Nakamura and Meskell 2006; 2009; Meskell et al. 2008; Meskell 2008; Hodder and Meskell 2011) and essential interpretations have been published with different opinions concerning the life of its inhabitants (Mellaart 1967; Hodder 2006: 207-219). Köşk Höyük, occupied from the end of the Late Neolithic until 5000 BC, also has many anthropomorphic figurines together with relief decorated pottery, plastered skulls and burials (Silistreli 1985; 1986; 1988; 1989a; 1989b; 1989c; Bonogofsky 2004; Öztan 2003; 2007; 2010; 2012; Özbek 2009). These four sites give a long term perspective spanning from 8500 BC to 5000 BC to the Central Anatolian Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic making Central Anatolia among the most suitable areas for a gender-oriented research with a long term perspective in the Neolithic and the Early Chalcolithic periods.

Mortuary analysis in archaeology sheds light on how people lived in prehistoric societies. Bio-archaeological study is one of the main sources of analysis in gender-oriented research because our skeletons give extensive information about our diet, the habitual activities we do throughout our lives and our illnesses (e.g. Pearson 2013; Redfern and DeWitte 2011). By studying grave goods and the position of the skeleton archaeologists can identify exceptional or gender diverse individuals. Skeletal modifications can inform us about gendered activity patterns and division of labor and sometimes the health of individuals (Cohen and Bennett 1993: 275). Stable Isotope Analysis yields evidence for diet and migration which can be used for comparisons between males, females and even gender diverse individuals (Pearson 2013; Boric and Price 2013).

Anthropomorphic representations on visual media is another area of concentration. Figurines and other human representations are one of the most widely analyzed and discussed archaeological finds by gender theorists (such as Bailey 1994, 2005, 2013, Daems 2008, Hamilton 2000b, Knapp and Meskell 1997, McCoid and McDermott 1996, Meskell and Joyce 2003, Tringham and Conkey 1998). Visual imagery gives clues about how the people perceived gendered individuals, or what stereotyped gendered groups such as females or males looked like. Although these images/figurines themselves are interpretations of a given reality or an idea in the maker's mind (Garcia-Ventura 2012: 505), they have been useful in gender oriented research because they give us clues about how gender roles were perceived in the earlier periods.

The main questions I would like to explore in my thesis are as follows.

- How did the inhabitants perceive gender in the Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic periods in Central Anatolia?
- Do the representations of gender change over time in Central Anatolia between 8500 BC and 5000 BC? If so, how?

I believe that there *is* change in the perception of gender in this period. We do see this change towards the end of Çatalhöyük East, around 6500 BC after Level VI (Düring 2002: 221). This means that Çatalhöyük incorporates two different phases. The following chapters focus on answering the questions that I ask here.

The second chapter is divided into two sections. The first section aims to give a literature review on the development of gender theory, and then elaborate on the bioarchaeological approach and figurine studies in archaeology. The second section presents an overview on Neolithization in the Near East, and how Neolithization

happened in Central Anatolia. Chapter 3 provides background information about the four Central Anatolian sites that I use in my thesis. Chapter 4 concentrates on the data including burials, figurines and other figural representations that I have obtained from my research. The fifth chapter presents an interpretation on the data that I provide in Chapter 4.This chapter incorporates my own interpretations together with the interpretations of other scholars.At this point, I need to underline that any interpretation by anyone is filled with their own preconceptions, categorizations and taboos because no one can be totally objective. The conclusion gives a final summary of the thesis and my interpretations.

2. CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

2.1.GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY

As it is important to understand the development of theoretical perspectives of this topic, first I provide a historical background to gender archaeology and thereafter elaborate on the use of bio-archaeological studies when considering gender. Bio-archaeology is one of the main sources of a gendered approach since human body gives archaeologists a great amount of information about how people lived, what they ate, and what they did regularly. This way it becomes easier to make assumptions about gendered lifeways in earlier periods. My thesis also makes use of bio-archaeological approaches and analyzes the mortuary data from the Central Anatolia when available.

After that, I discuss figurine analysis and its impacts on gender archaeology. I especially examine the mother goddess theory that dominated archaeological interpretation of female figurines until 1980s. This theory has been disputed by many scholars (eg. Ucko 1968; Fleming 1969; Tringham and Conkey 1998), yet there is still a contingent who supports this idea and proposes that women's ritual power and importance in the society stems from their biological roles as birth givers (eg. Roller 1999; 31; Çetin 2008). As in much gender oriented research, I make use of figural representations including figurines, wall paintings and relief decorated pottery because they show us the gradual change in the society in the Central Anatolia.

2.1.1. The History of Gender Archaeology

Anthropological studies that concentrate on women, power and early states started as early as the 1970s and it became clear that it was necessary to understand women in

ancient history in order to understand women's roles in history (Hutson et al. 2013: 45). Archaeological research on gender and sexuality developed thereafter in the 1980s under the general approaches of post-processualism and interpretive archaeologies (Croucher 2012: 155; Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Gero 1991; Claassen and Joyce 1997; Voss 2000: 181; Spencer-Wood 2000: 113; Spector 1996: 485; Sorenson 2004: 75).

However, gender theory in archaeology and anthropology take their roots from much earlier theories. The origins of the discussion go back to the hypothesis in Engels' 1884 book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Influenced by the post- enlightenment theories, Morgan and Bachofen (see Hamilton et al. 1996a for a brief summary), Engels proposed that there is a steady social development in human evolution, and matrilineal and matriarchal societies were the original but the earliest social organizations (Hamilton et al. 1996a: 282; Engels 1997[1884]: 12).

Engels (1997[1884]: 14) discusses that in the earliest period of human civilization not fathers, but mothers were highly esteemed because it was not possible to determine the biological father. However, with the increase of wealth, men became more important than women in the family. He says "The overthrow of mother right was *the world historic defeat of the female sex*." (Engels 1997[1884]: 14, *italics in the original*). With the appearance of monogamy, the first division of labour (childbearing), and the first class oppression by males onto the females began (Engels 1997[1884]: 16).

Starting with the critique of Engels' theory, the feminist movement in anthropology and archaeology gained pace. The first well-known conference on women in prehistory entitled *Were They All Men* was held in Norway in 1979 and published in

1987. It aimed to establish a better understanding of the individual in prehistoric societies, to move beyond the male-oriented views of the past, to acknowledge the roles of women in past societies and to examine the roles of children in prehistory (Bolger 2013: 5). Many conferences and papers followed this successful conference.

In 1984, Conkey and Spector wrote 'Archaeology and the Study of Gender', underlining that there is androcentrism in archaeological and ethnological research. They criticized the archaeological approach to female roles as females are less visible and regarded as separate from males (Conkey and Spector 1984: 6).

It was generally accepted that universal laws of behavior dictated male and female roles and relationships. In many cases, although archaeologists did not think of women and gender, they were making assumptions or claims about their roles, positions, and status in prehistoric societies. While making these assumptions, they made use of western ideas about gender roles and treat women as stable parts of the cultural environment. In doing so, these archaeologists had a tendency to think of women as unchanging beings. Therefore, women could never be agents in changes or cultural developments (Wylie 1991: 33). At the end of the 1970s feminist archaeology aimed to increase the visibility of women in the past societies. In order to do that, they started challenging the essentialist assumptions concerning gender roles and gender relations, defied the idea of unchanging genders and explored the origins of female oppression (Bolger 2013: 5). They also wanted to make gender inequality in present archaeology visible as it was the main factor for belittling women's roles in the past (Bolger 2013: 5).

The development of post-processual archaeology challenged the past approaches that tried to achieve universal laws of behavior and accepted that there is room for the

individual behavior in archaeological research. The addition of the individual together with feminist thought and critique led many archaeologists to recognize that they were in fact studying the people in the past and not whole cultures, and these people, especially women, had been transformed by archaeologists, as Tringham calls them, into ‘faceless blobs’ (Tringham 1991: 97).

For example, in 1975 [1971] Sally Slocum [Linton] wrote her critique of ‘Man the Hunter’ concept which was developed by Washburn and Lancaster in 1968. In this critique she underlined that the academic discipline of anthropology has been advanced at a certain period of time in history by Western males, resulting in their subjective interpretations and preconceptions becoming part of the discipline (Slocum 1975: 37).

The ‘Man the Hunter’ model was based on the observation of non-human primates, especially baboons. The fact that the baboons form male-bonding and hierarchies was thought to explain the evolution of weapon making and hunting (Washburn and Lancaster 1968: 301). However, many other primates that are closer relatives of humans such as chimpanzees do not tend to develop such bonds, but rather a mother-infant type bonding is seen among them (Slocum 1975: 45). These primates have been observed using simple tools such as sticks and pounding stones in order to locate food, and forming a mother-infant relationship (Fedigan 1986: 40-41). This shows that different primates develop different types of bonds, and suggests that early humans may not have had bonds similar to baboons.

’Woman the Gatherer’ model would serve a more accurate model for early human life ways on the African savannahs. This model was supported by the ethnographic studies of modern hunter gatherers. Richard Lee studied 58 hunter-gatherer societies

and concluded that on average hunted food provided only 30-40 per cent of their diet and the rest 60-80 per cent was sustained by gathered food collected predominantly by women (Lee 1968: 40). Women in these communities were active, productive and autonomous participants of their societies (Lee 1979; in Gilchrist 1999: 21).

However, engendering the past is not only discovering men and women in archaeological contexts. It is also a way of understanding how gender works in terms of ideology, gender roles and relations especially for the construction of social lives (Conkey and Gero 1991: 14).

The most important contribution of the early feminist research to gender studies in archaeology is the distinction between sex and gender. If they were the same, we would be talking about unchanging gender inequality in history (Scott 1986: 1055). While **sex** stands for the biological features distinguishing males and females, **gender** means a range of social, cultural and mental traits that can be related to or compared with masculinity or femininity according to certain social contexts (Lindsey 2011*:* 4). Gender can be defined as the lifestyle of an individual, or the way a person defines himself/herself. Sex emphasizes the differences in our genetic construction and anatomical features, but gender is an essential part of social relations and is based on culturally constructed differences and similarities between and among males and females (Conkey and Gero 1991: 8).

Until the 1990s the archaeological investigations on gender roles mainly aimed to make women's inputs to past societies more visible, to make investigations on the relative status of women and men, and to investigate how women's roles were affected by patriarchy and social complexity in the earlier cities (Bolger 2013: 6). But, these investigations did not focus on the differences between women in terms of

ethnicity, class, age, sexuality and religion, or the existence of ambiguous multiple genders.

With the development of Third Wave feminism[1] in the 1990s, one of the main goals of gender studies in archaeology has been to bring out the connection between gender and other aspects of social identity mainly because the past cultures constructed gender differences not only between men and women but also by many means such as class, ethnicity, age and religion (Bolger 2013: 6). The second main focus of the research is to leave the binary division of gender categories male/female or man/woman and find out whether there is evidence for or gender diverse individuals in prehistory (Bolger 2013: 6).

Gender archaeology has been highly influenced by social theories such as Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory and concept of *habitus*, Michel Foucault's (1978) work on sexuality, and especially Judith Butler's (1990; 1993) work on sex, gender and body which caused the earlier approaches to gender, especially the sex/gender dichotomy, to be re-evaluated in a rather radical sense (Bolger 2013: 6). Butler sees sex not as a part of biology but as a product of discourse that is created in time through repeated actions as people behave in particular ways (Butler 1990; 1993). Those who are influenced by Butler's work are against seeing sex as biologically determined at birth, but instead they see sex as something that can be manipulated, and the perception of a person's body can be changed (Sofaer 2013: 229). Her concept of sex as a social construct has influenced considerable amount of research on gender ambiguity, multiple genders, sexuality and queer identities (Bolger 2013: 6). In the late 1980s and early 1990s an expanding literature on the social and political conditions of various sexual minorities who were identified as 'queer'

[1] For a detailed definition of the third wave feminism see Snyder 2008.

including lesbians, gays, bisexuals, sex workers, transsexuals and others have been published (Voss 2000: 183-184). The development of queer theory within feminist theory has been most influenced by Butler's (*Gender Trouble* 1990; *Bodies that Matter* 1993) as well as Sedgwick's (*Epistemology of the Closet* 1990) and Warner's (*Fear of a Queer Planet* 1993) work on queer identities. These topics were rarely investigated by gender archaeologists before.

A wide range of theories have been adopted by gender archaeologists in the recent years and all of them had equal weight among the scholars. This can be linked to the anti-hierarchical nature of feminist research and its tolerance and promotion of unorthodox opinions (Bolger 2013: 7).

2.1.2. Bioarchaeological Analysis in Gender Archaeology

Since the human body is the most direct evidence of past people, the bio-archaeological study of the human body has a very crucial part in gender archaeology. By studying human remains, it is possible to understand how people lived and whether there has been any change between and among males and females in terms of occupation, lifestyle, eating habits and dietary intake or status.

With the methodological developments in human osteology and social studies of mortuary context, bio-archaeological study of gender emerged (Sofaer 2013: 226). The development of an 'Archaeology of Death' in the 1980s led to an increase in the categorization of the person in mortuary contexts especially in terms of sex and age and helped archaeologists to infer about rank or wealth (Sofaer 2013: 227). In the early 1990s biological sex could be determined by osteoarchaeologists and gender could be examined through the socially gendered grave goods with an ethnocentric point of view. However, only from the late 1990s did gender become a main area of

investigation in osteoarchaeology. As Joanna Sofaer discusses in her article (2013: 227) there are two reasons for this. First of all, there was growing interest in the skeletal biology of sex differences and an awareness of theoretical currents within archaeology. This led people to be irritated by use of the term "gender" only in biological contexts. Also, a bio-cultural approach within physical anthropology that studies the interaction between biology and behavior developed at the end of the twentieth century. Bio-cultural approach aims to find out the effects of social relations on human biology with the underlying principle that human skeletal and dental tissues are sensitive to events and lifeways and respond to those in biologically predictable ways (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011).

Recent bioarchaeological analysis has identified gender as a key axis of investigation (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011: 9). However, there are abundant references to sex than gender in articles about osteology and biological sex is still regarded as one of the basic considerations in this area (Sofaer 2006 in Sofaer 2013: 228).

In order to investigate gender in bio-archaeological research, the first thing to do is to divide skeletons into two groups, male and female on the basis of sex identifications. Humans show differences in form between males and females on the basis of morphological characteristics of the skeleton; especially the skull and pelvis make it possible to determine sex. The second step of gender investigation is examining the skeletons in terms of cultural influences such as musculoskeletal markers, illnesses or diet and compare them according to sex (Sofaer 2013: 228).

Using DNA analysis for sex identification is also an improving field of research. New methods that reduce the possibility of error in determining sex in ancient skeletons are developed and being tested on ancient remains (e.g. K. Brown 1998; T.

Brown et al. 2000; Parton et al. 2013; Hanna et al. 2012). In fact, DNA analysis is very helpful especially when the physical anthropologists are dealing with infant skeletons because sex is usually impossible to distinguish by using traditional metric criterion. A DNA-sex based identification of the infant remains in a Roman bathhouse that might also have worked as a brothel in Ashkelon (Israel) showed that infanticide was commonly practiced in the Roman society (Faerman et al. 1998: 864). The infants were thought to be the offspring of prostitutes that served in the baths. Out of 19 specimens, 14 were males and five were females (Faerman et al. 1998: 863). The high frequency of males suggests that there was a selective preservation of females. This might be related to the idea that some of the females could eventually be trained to become prostitutes while the rest were discarded (Faerman et al. 1998: 865).

Some bio-archaeologists underline that an *a priori* division of male and female directly assumes that sex is the most important criterion for analysis. Instead, the archaeologists should seek for the relative importance of gender to societies by looking into specific data patterns and try to understand how they relate to sex (Agarwal n.d. in Sofaer 2013: 229). The binary division of male/female has also been criticized for making it difficult to access a gender spectrum or multiple genders (Hollimon 1996 in Hollimon 2011: 150).

Bioarchaeological investigations of gender cover a wide range of issues. These have been summarized by Sandra E. Hollimon (2011) in six major themes:

Mortuary analysis: Typically, the main focus of gender investigation has been to provide sex determinations of skeletons to allow comparisons in gendered treatment patterns through the sex associations of grave goods, position and orientation of the

body. The main focus of this research is on how differently individuals are positioned and whether and how their identities in life were important in treatments after death (Sofaer and Sorenson *in press,* in Sofaer 2013: 232). This study helps to identify exceptional individuals and also third or fourth gender individuals if discrepancies between biological sex and grave goods are observed.

Activity reconstruction, division of labor and occupational specialization: Studies that focus on gendered activity patterns tend to concentrate on gender roles and the division of labor. The study of activity-related skeletal modifications including degenerative joint disease, musculoskeletal markers, trauma and tooth wear are a part of bio-archaeological investigations (Hollimon 2011: 153) that give us an idea about prehistoric activity patterns. For example, Molleson's work on Abu Hureyra skeletons showed that there are injuries related to stress in various parts of the body, including the first metatarsals of the feet, resulting in severe arthritis of the big toe. Interestingly, the majority of those affected were female (Molleson 2000: 314). Molleson (2000: 311-316) suggests that this type of injury could be the result of a demanding activity such as grinding grains on querns. Although the discovery of such artifacts at the site inside the houses supports this hypothesis, we should keep in mind that such grinding artifacts are also found in many other sites, but currently such severe injuries are not visible anywhere else. She also argues that such severe arthritic damage could only have occurred if women were engaged in such an activity on a regular basis for a couple of hours every day. This suggests that women spent a very long time inside their houses doing food preparation tasks (Molleson 2000: 324).

On the other hand, Jane Peterson's (2002) study on over 150 skeletons from 14 sites in the Levant showed different results. Peterson showed that both men and women

were engaged in heavy workloads, but that female activity levels were more stable diachronically than those of males. During the Natufian period significant dimorphic patterns occurred in males that could be attributed to hunting tasks such as spear throwing. These dimorphic patterns resulted in asymmetrical development of arm muscles (Peterson 2002: 143). A similar asymmetry has also been observed in a male skeleton in the Epipaleolithic layers of Pınarbaşı (Baird et al. 2013: 181).

Intentional body modification: Bodily modification can be discussed together with gender roles/manipulated gender identities and examinations of ethnicity and status. It focuses on deliberate acts done in order to change the look of the body such as head binding, foot binding, dental evulsion (Sofaer 2013: 235; Hollimon 2011: 156). Theories related to intentional bodily modification also discuss gender in terms of the materialization of symbolic concepts and social relations as such modifications focus on social difference through bodily difference (Sofaer 2013: 235). For example, in the Chalcolithic site of Şeyh Höyük (Turkey), creating elongated heads through head binding might have been a cultural tradition mostly related to females, because when five adult crania (three female two male) were examined it became clear that while the female skulls show noteworthy artificial deformation, the male skulls show only slight head modification (Şenyürek and Tunakan 1951: 433-434).

Health and disease: This study investigates the influence of gender on health and disease and tries to understand the gendered division of labor by investigating whether men and women were exposed to pathogens or they suffered from nutritional deficiency (Sofaer 2013: 233). So, they sometimes also focus on gender roles. Redfern and DeWitte (2011) compared the health of Late Iron Age skeletons with the ones from the Romano- British period in England using different variables. The results show that during the Iron age there was no sex difference in mortality

rates and the inhabitants were more healthy, but with the Roman conquest, mortality risk increased especially for men (Redfern and DeWitte 2011: 279-280). The researchers think that the male deaths are not related to violence or other risky activities because during to Romano-British period traumatic injuries decreased significantly. They rather suggest that biological differences, such as enhanced immune system of females, the increase in environmental sensitivity in males and genetic differences led to the increase in male mortality rates (Redfern and DeWitte 2011: 279).

Stable isotope analyses: Stable isotopes are used to examine diet and migration. Carbon and nitrogen isotopes differ in classes of foods and they are reflected in skeletons, making it possible to examine the paleodiets (Richards et al. 2003: 67). Isotopic ratios of strontium, on the other hand, differ according to local geology, and oxygen isotopes in rainwater vary according to local climate (Boric and Price 2013: 32998). These isotopes are passed on to human body through food and water, and they can be used to shed light on gender relations. However, it is important to be aware of the ethnocentric assumptions about the relative value of different foods and they should not be imposed onto the past while interpreting relative social status of men and women without additional evidence (Sofaer 2013: 234). For instance, according to the stable isotope analysis on Çayönü Tepesi skeletons, there was a sex-based difference in food consumption during the Cell-building sub-phase (Pearson et al. 2013: 185-187). Males seem to have consumed more pig/boars and/or caprines, gazelle, cattle and cereals than females (Pearson et al. 2013: 187). Human migration can also be tracked with strontium carbon and oxygen isotopes based on the principle that dental tissues do not remodel with age like bone. Isotopic signatures in teeth can be used to locate the local and non-local individuals by comparing the values with a

local control sample. For example, a recent analysis on strontium isotopes from the Danube Gorges in the north-central Balkans showed that there is a significant increase in migration into this region from 6200 cal. BC during the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition (Boric and Price 2013). Moreover, strontium ratios of the females show more variability than males, which suggests that most of the migrants were women coming from Neolithic communities (Boric and Price 2013: 3302).

Violence and warfare: They tend to examine sex differences and the prevalence of traumatic injuries in specific contexts, and over time through gender relations (Hollimon 2011: 159). For example, human remains from La Plata, New Mexico dating from 1000 to 1300 AD showed direct evidence of violence against some women (Stone 2012: 54). These women were haphazardly buried without any grave goods and had multiple cranial traumas. While it was thought that these burials showed violence against women by men, reanalysis of the skeletons showed that these women were probably nonlocals, and that they might have been subjected to woman on woman violence from the local, dominant females (Stone 2012: 55).

Joanna Sofaer adds procreation, breastfeeding and delivery, the roots of gender, and the gendered lifestyles into the issues that can be covered in gender oriented bio-archaeological studies (2013: 232). They often have been used to explain patterns of gendered divisions of labor and the origins of gender. Bio-archaeology has made substantial contributions to understanding these aspects of women's lives through investigations about the traces of these on female body (Sofaer 2013: 236).

2.1.3. The Mother Goddess Movement and Figurine Studies in Gender Archaeology

One of the most widely used archaeological finds that is analyzed by the gender theorists in archaeology is figurines. Until recently, the prehistoric figurine discussion had been dominated by the Mother Goddess theory. When various anthropomorphic figurines started to be found in the excavations in the Near East, Mesopotamia and Europe, they were automatically thought to be the proof of a matriarchy and a religion that centers on fertility, females, sexuality, procreation and motherhood. The female representations were named the Great Goddess/Mother Goddess, and the male representations as her son or lover (Hamilton et al. 1996a: 283). The development of feminist thought in the 1960s affected the development of a new female-oriented version of the past. They used figurines as the archaeological data to support their theory.

The Mother Goddess movement gained pace with Marija Gimbutas, who creates female-oriented uniform and nonviolent cultures that have artistic productions and are related to earth and sea in the Upper Paleolithic and the Neolithic periods in Europe (Gimbutas 1982: 17-18). This peaceful culture of the Old Europe was overthrown by a male-oriented, aggressive, nomadic and pastoral culture, the Indo-Europeans, coming from the Russian steppe around 3500 BC (Gimbutas 1982: 9).

Nevertheless, this theory can hardly be regarded as a part of gender theory in archaeology, because it sees the whole of Europe as a block without any different lifestyles or societies living side by side. Moreover, it does not ask any questions about the gender roles or agencies of men and women (Tringham and Conkey 1998: 23). The Mother Goddess theory ignores the agency of prehistoric people,

homogenizes them and their identities, roles and practices, which is what gender archaeology has been especially trying to avoid. The roles and symbolic position of men and women are regarded as unchanging.

The Paleolithic "Venus" figurines make up of the main database of the Old European religion that Gimbutas has created. In the late 19th- early 20th century authors claimed that these figurines were symbols of fertility, as the large stomach and big breasts implied pregnancy or breastfeeding. Most traditional authors assumed that these figurines were the indicators of male dominance and desire, and that females in these societies were not as central as males in terms of artistic creations, political control, and other realms of ritual and social power. However, those following the Goddess movement think that the fertility interpretation is a positive feature and the cultural significance and supremacy of females in the Upper-Paleolithic and Neolithic societies have been emphasized with this interpretation (Tringham and Conkey 1998: 25). However, neither of these approaches critically evaluated whether the large breasts and stomach really meant fertility. Rice (1981: 403) suggests that many of the Paleolithic figurines are probably images of womanhood rather than motherhood, given that what motherhood itself meant is difficult to assess 20.000 years ago.

The use of "Venus" figurines for supporting the "Mother Goddess" theory ignores the variability in form, decoration and degree of abstraction of anthropomorphic figurines in Europe (Tringham and Conkey 1998: 27). Bailey, for example, emphasizes the importance of the archaeological context of the finds for the interpretation, and interprets the diversity of figurines as a deliberate attempt to represent the individual (1994: 328). McCoid and McDermott have suggested that these figurines might have been produced by females looking downward at

themselves (1996: 320). McDermott (1996: 245) says that a number of Upper Paleolithic female figurines were created by women with regards to physical concern.

The wide acceptance of matriarchal societies in the Neolithic is mainly based on the assumptions that the majority of figurines in the European Neolithic are female, and male representations are few (Bailey 2013: 246). But, this assumption is false because, in fact, most of the figurines from various sites are sexless, neither male nor female, but only remind one of human form (e.g. Meskell and Joyce 2003: 95-127; Bailey 2005; Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 206).

Sexlessness does not necessarily mean genderlessness. Hamilton, for example, suggests that sexless figurines can be regarded as a category representing a third gender, or it could mean that sexlessness might be a structuring principle in the society (Hamilton 2000b: 22, 28).

Sexing anthropomorphic figurines is difficult because most of the time figurines are very ambiguous. Also, we should not assume that male and female concepts are singular, unchanging, or shared within and across communities, because if we do that, we oversimplify the ideas of prehistoric people about identity and what it meant to be human. Since the majority of prehistoric figurines are asexual, or merely human, it is not very easy to think of the Neolithic as a stable period with only males and females. It actually seems that there were more categories and these categories were more flexible, interchangeable and questionable (Bailey 2013: 248). Knapp and Meskell (1997:194) also think that gender should be regarded as a spectrum, a choice that is experienced and expressed as a whole and a part of identity rather than normative categories.

On the other hand, many sexed figurines should not be lost in the great amount of asexual/unsexable figurine corpus. It is possible to interpret them in various ways. Ethnoarchaeological studies have shown that some of the sexed figurines can be divided into different categories according to their function (Ucko 1968 in Voigt 2000: 257). For example, Voigt studied the breakage pattern and disposal contexts of Çatalhöyük figurines and made several propositions in order to explain what they might be used for: cult figures, vehicles of magic, teaching figures and toys (Voigt 2000: 257) (see Chapter 4 Çatalhöyük section for a detailed analysis).

To sum up, gender oriented analysis is possible by using figurines and other figural representations. Although it is much more challenging than bioarchaeological analysis since interpretations of figural representations can be more subjective and it is more difficult to securely sex them, they contribute to the overall interpretation of the lives of prehistoric people. In my thesis, I also look at figurines and how they change through time with the adoption of agriculture.

2.2.THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ON THE PROCESSES OF NEOLITHIZATION

It is important to define what the Neolithic is in order to get a better understanding of the Neolithization in Central Anatolia. While Neolithization can be found in many regions in the world, such as Southern and Eastern Asia, America and Europe, I focus here on the Neolithic in the Near East, because the developments in Central Anatolia at this time are connected to the Near East.

In this section, I first discuss what the term "Neolithic" means. Then I assess the time frame in which this overall transformation takes place. After that, I explore the origins of animal and plant domestication and provide a short discussion on the term

the “Neolithic Package”. Finally, I concentrate on the Neolithization of Central Anatolia. The Central Anatolian Neolithic continues into the Early Chalcolithic since by the end of the sixth millennium settlements become dependent fully on domesticated products.

2.2.1. What is Neolithic?

When the term “Neolithic” was first coined in the 19th century, it was used to refer to a certain technology (Çilingiroğlu 2005: 1). Archaeologists working in Northern Europe distinguished cultural transformations mainly based on technological changes on tools: stone, bronze and finally iron. Later, the meaning of this word was changed into subsistence, but this was still considered by some scholars as insufficient because subsistence-based approaches undermined the hypothesis that social factors lead to technological and economic developments in the Neolithic (Çilingiroğlu 2005: 1).

Until recently, thus, the word “Neolithic” meant the appearance of sedentism, or the adoption of domesticated plants and animals (Özdoğan 2005: 16). However, when fully sedentary sites with no evidence for either plant or animal domestication were discovered, the importance ascribed to food acquisition methods came into question (Özdoğan 2005: 16). Hallan Çemi is among many sites that could be provided as an example; this old sedentary site dating to as early as 10.200 BC, had a subsistence economy based on hunting and gathering that even lacked wild cereals (Rosenberg et al. 1998: 31).

The term “Neolithic Revolution” was coined by Gordon Childe to describe a period of rapid change in production technologies which resulted in an increase in complex societies (Childe 1929: 42). Even though not the way Childe provisioned, if we look

at it from a general perspective, his model is still valid because the transition to an agricultural economy happened in a relatively short period of time, within a few centuries in a specific region (Düring 2011: 50). But, when we investigate the Neolithic in a more detailed way, we see that the transition to the "Neolithic way of life" was much more gradual; people lived in sedentary settlements in the Near East already several millennia before the emergence of agriculture (Bar-Yosef and Meadow 1995; Bar-Yosef 1998), and early farming communities continued to rely on gathered plants and hunted animals for their subsistence (Fairbairn et al. 2005: 183-184) for a very long time.

Also, not all plants or animals were domesticated at the same time or in the same area. With the development of a molecular genetic approach, the origins of some domesticated crops have been pinpointed. Heun et al. (1997) published their study on the modern wild population of einkorn from the Karacadağ Region as the main ancestors of domesticated einkorn in the Neolithic in 1997. This was followed by several other DNA fingerprinting analyses on other crops. Current evidence suggests that barley was domesticated in both the Israel-Jordan area (Badr et al. 2000), and that emmer was domesticated simultaneously in the southern and northern Levant (Özkan et al. 2011). Yet, these studies have been criticized by Fuller et al. (2011: 630-631) since the technique they are using does not take the hybridizations and multiple domestications into account. Fuller et al. (2011) also underline the fact that domestication of crops was a systematic and strategic shift in the subsistence strategies that took place for thousands of years in the Near East without being confined to specific regions.

One consequently can say that the transition to sedentism, agriculture and animal domestication was a much more gradual process that continued for a very long time.

As Düring points out, if we look at the Neolithic from this perspective, it is very unlikely that the emergence of sedentary life or agriculture was regarded as a major event by the inhabitants in Near Eastern prehistory (Düring 2011: 50-51). Therefore, scholars mostly prefer to use the term "Neolithization" for this transition, stressing the process.

Mehmet Özdoğan defines the Neolithic cultures of the Near East as a "distinct way or mode of living" (2005: 17) including technological, social, ideological and economic aspects of life (Çilingiroğlu 2005: 1), but clearly defining the concept of Neolithization or what we mean by saying a "distinct way… of living (Özdoğan 2005: 17)" is very difficult. The main discussion about the origins of farming in the Near East usually includes changes in climate when the Holocene started around 11.500 BP (Richerson et al. 2001), increase in population (Bocquet-Appel and Bar-Yosef 2008), changes in resource availability (Bender 1978; Belfer-Cohen and Bar-Yosef 2000), feasting and social differentiation (Hole 2000), and the emergence of symbolism (Cauvin 1994; Byrd 1994) (Hodder 2012b: 195). However, such identifications are problematic because in most cases the key elements they underline did not start with the process of Neolithization and already go back to the Upper Paleolithic period. We cannot say that Neolithization was a single event propelled by prime-movers or executed with intention.

Neolithization, hence, is a phenomenon without any central characteristics. Therefore, it is deprived of any real meaning other than a vague term (Zvelebil and Lillie 2000: 60). As Pluciennik (1998) also noted, there is great diversity and variability in the archaeological record leading to the idea that what the inhabitants experienced as the Neolithic was probably different in different regions. Thus, the Neolithization of each region should be investigated within a given region and its

own historical context (Zvelebil and Lillie 2000:60). On the other hand, the vague characteristic of the term does not necessarily make it an unnecessary term to use for defining this period in prehistory. As some consensus exists on the use of this term among specialists and the public alike, this study makes use of the terms Neolithic and Neolithization for defining the time period from 8500 BC to 6000 BC in Central Anatolia.

2.2.2. Origins of Animal and Plant Domestication

Until recently, the most accepted theory on the origins of agriculture in the Near East was based on information stemming from the Levant. The Late Epipaleolithic Natufians in the southern Levant were sedentary hunter-gatherer-fisher groups that depended on wild cereals. They are believed to have started experimenting cereal cultivation during the PPNA between 9500 and 8700 BC, following the cold spell of the Younger Dryas at around 10,600-9200 BC (Henry 1989: 226; Bar-Yosef and Meadow 1995: 65-71; Cauvin 2000[1997]: 61; Bar-Yosef and Belfer-Cohen 2002: 62; Hole 2004: 16).

Nevertheless, there are some problems with this theory. First of all, the wild cereals did not become scarce during the Younger Dryas, which means that there was little need for experimenting on cereal cultivation due to climate change (Bottema 2002: 37). Also, the first domesticated cereals appear in the PPNB period between 8700 and 8200 BC around mainly in sites in southeastern Turkey, not in the PPNA Levant (Nesbitt 2002: 123). Moreover, the initial research was biased because it mainly concentrated on the Fertile Crescent and southeastern Europe where the European Neolithic was thought to have originated (Özdoğan 2011: 416). Anatolia was not an area of interest until 1970s, as the peninsula was long considered a region lacking the

necessary conditions to sustain Neolithic occupation (French 1986; Seton Lloyd 1956).

Discussions considering an Anatolian Neolithic started with the discovery of Hacılar, Çatalhöyük, Canhasan, Süberde and Erbaba. Of interest were the connections these sites had with the Near East and their role as the source of European Neolithic (Özdoğan 2011: 417). Anatolia was thought to be an area of secondary Neolithization and was denied as the progenitor of European Neolithic cultures (Özdoğan 2011: 417). With the excavations of sedentary sites with no plant and/or animal domestication such as Nevalı Çori (Hauptmann 2011), Çayönü (Erim-Özdoğan 2011), Hallan Çemi (Rosenberg 2011) and Göbekli Tepe (Schmidt 2011) in Southeast Anatolia, as well as the Central Anatolian sites Aşıklı Höyük and Boncuklu Höyük the picture has changed.

Earlier it was thought that exploitation of wild cereals was necessary for settled preagricultural societies. However, Hallan Çemi proved that wild cereals exploitation was not a precondition, since Hallan Çemi does not depend on wild cereals (Peasnall 2002: 6). Moreover, Hallan Çemi yields evidence for some sort of pig domestication (Rosenberg et al. 1998: 33) rather than sheep and goat. The pig bones belonged to mostly very young males rather than females, a trait that is also seen in sites with domesticated pigs (Rosenberg 1999: 31). The settlement layout and large amounts of animal bones (Rosenberg et al. 1998: 32) and fire-cracked stones in the central open area suggest feasting as a form of strengthening group coherence (Rosenberg and Redding 2000: 44).

Hayden (2001; 2003) argues that resources became abundant during the climatic optimum after the Ice Age, and this enabled individuals to compete through feasts.

These feasts might be a reason for starting domestication. A large amount of food and alcoholic beverages were needed for these feasts (Hayden 2001; Jennings et al. 2005: 276).

Göbekli Tepe, in Southeast Anatolia, is another exceptional site that adds a new dimension to the discussion. This has been interpreted not as a settlement, but as a cultic sanctuary with monumental architecture (Dietrich et al. 2012: 675) dating 9200 BC[2]. The amount of animal bones found at the site are much more than any deposition found in other contemporary settlements, suggesting large-scale feasting (Dietrich et al. 2012: 690). Both the animal bones and plant remains belong to wild species (Dietrich 2012: 690). The feasts at Göbekli Tepe seem to have had a strong cultic significance. The construction of the monumental buildings required people from across a large area to gather together, which in turn suggests that the Göbekli enclosures were meeting places (Dietrich et al. 2012: 691). Göbekli Tepe must have put stress on the economy of the hunter-gatherer groups coming to the site. As a response to this stress, it is possible that food production intensified. This may mean that religious beliefs and practices played a major role in adoption of agriculture (Dietrich et al. 2012: 692).

Since such sites and information is added to the knowledge about the origins of domestication of plants and animals, the general view concerning the subject has changed. It is now thought that the domestication of plants and animals happened in a large region including the Fertile Crescent, the Taurus and Zagros foothills and maybe even Cyprus (Nesbitt 2002: 123).

[2] See Banning 2011 for an alternative hypothesis suggesting that the Göbekli Tepe buildings might actually be ritually elaborate houses.

2.2.3. The "Neolithic Package"

Grouping Neolithic assemblages started as early as the late 19th century and Gordon Childe's writings (eg. Childe 1929). However, the term "Neolithic Package" was first used in the 1970s by British archaeologists (Clarke 1973 in Çilingiroğlu 2005: 2). It was originally used to oppose the idea that some certain Neolithic components such as domestication and monumental architecture came to Britain as separate entities because they were related in terms of their function (Çilingiroğlu 2005: 2).

The term has been criticized but used nonetheless by several archaeologists since the 1980s (Whitehouse 1986; Zvelebil 1989; Chapman and Müller 1990; Thomas 1991; Price 2000; Tringham 2000; Plucecienik 1998; Budja 1999; Zvelebil and Lillie 2000; Kotsakis 2001). What was meant by the "Neolithic Package" has changed over time. There was little consensus about what the term meant and how it could be used. Also, what "Neolithic Package" included is not very well-defined (Çilingiroğlu 2005: 2). It used to mean agriculture, domesticated animals, groundstone artifacts, and pottery, but Özdoğan points out that this definition excluded other essential elements of the Neolithic such as prestige goods or cult objects, architecture, the arrangement of settlements and the way of life (Özdoğan 2011: 419). Moreover, the groundstone artifacts, often suggested as being typical of the Neolithic Period were also found in the Upper Paleolithic sites (Wright 1992). Çilingiroğlu defines the "Neolithic Package" as the recurrent characteristics of the Neolithic assemblages from southeast Europe, Anatolia and southwest Asia in total (Çilingiroğlu 2005: 3).

It seems like there were different types of Neolithic Packages, but they all included cultivated plants, domesticated animals, groundstone artifacts and pottery (Özdoğan 2011: 419). Every region added new elements and removed unnecessary ones from

the contents of the Neolithic package through time. (Çilingiroğlu 2005: 4). Although Çilingiroğlu suggests that there were multiple Neolithic Packages that arrived in the Aegean and the Northwestern Anatolia at different times, the existence of such packages should be questioned. The items in the packages differ from region to region and even from site to site in the same region. Reingruber underlines that if archaeologists want to investigate the existence of the Neolithic Packages, it is essential for them to focus on the earliest layers of the Neolithic levels rather than taking the Neolithic in these areas as one single unit (Reingruber 2011: 294) because some of the elements mentioned in these packages either already exist before Neolithization (for example groundstone tools) or start to be seen at the sites much later than the first adaption of sedentism and domestication.

Whether the migrants brought the items in these packages or the indigenous people chose which items to keep for their own packages is also a question. Considering the Neolithic expansion towards the west as a unidirectional movement oversimplifies the complexity of neolithization (Reingruber 2011: 294).

In this sense, I agree with Reingruber because the idea of the "Neolithic Package(s)" is limited and can only be used as an aid for archaeologists to form their basic knowledge (Reingruber 2011: 295). While thinking about Neolithization of different regions, the Epipaleolithic occupants already living in these areas should be taken into account as they are the ones adapting their lifestyles.

2.2.4. Neolithization in Central Anatolia

From ca. 9000 BC onwards Central Anatolia became geographically encircled by forested mountains. The Konya plateau was suitable for hunting animals such as aurochs, mouflon and wild horses that moved in large flocks (Schoop 2005: 42).

Moreover, the region was a promising land for gathering even before domestication (Woldring 2002: 64) since some of the wild plants that were later domesticated such as einkorn wheat, lentil and bitter vetch are native to Central Anatolia (Fairbairn et al. 2007: 476).

In fact, the Central Anatolian Neolithic is culturally different from the Fertile Crescent (Düring 2011: 51). One of the reasons why the Central Anatolian Neolithic appears as a distinct entity could be that there are no Early Neolithic sites in the area between Southeast Anatolia and Central Anatolia (Düring 2011: 49)[3]. Moreover, cultural continuity, especially in the use of microlithic industries, can be evidenced between the Epipaleolithic groups and the earliest Neolithic in Central Anatolia (Düring 2011: 51-52). Since neither Boncuklu nor Aşıklı, the earliest sedentary sites in Central Anatolia, provide evidence for colonization of the region by farming groups, Central Anatolian indigenous hunter-gatherer populations seem to have adopted agriculture (Baird 2012c).

It is possible to say that the Early Neolithic of the Central Anatolian Plain had unique characteristics and its own traditions (Schoop 2005: 45). However, this does not mean that interaction was lacking. On the contrary, there was intensive interaction as evidenced by the obsidian trade that continued for more than 4 millennia (Özdoğan 2005: 18). In fact, until the widespread crisis at the end of the 8th millennium that resulted in the collapse of the Aceramic Neolithic the idiosyncratic way of life continued in Central Anatolia with no interruption until the beginning of the 5th millennium (Schoop 2005: 45).

[3] The current absence of Neolithic sites between Southeast Anatolia and Central Anatolia does not necessarily mean that there were no such sites in this area. Further surveys need to be conducted in order to get a better picture of the prehistoric occupations in between these areas.

By the second half of the 7th millennium, during the Early Ceramic Neolithic – Late Ceramic Neolithic transition, some changes occurred in Central Anatolia as can be traced from Çatalhöyük (Bordaz 1973: 284). This site is the only well-documented one from this period in the area. First of all, certain developments occurred in material culture at Çatalhöyük, especially in ceramics, the obsidian industry, figurines, and wall paintings after level VIA (see Chapter 4, Çatalhöyük for a discussion) (Düring 2002: 220-221). Moreover, certain changes also occurred in the architecture. The building continuity was abandoned; streets that connect central courtyards with other parts of the settlement were introduced; and the ritually elaborate buildings became more easily accessible after Level V (Düring 2002: 221-226).

The term "Chalcolithic" was first used for the categorization of a period when copper artifacts were used before bronze became common (Düring 2011: 128). However, over time this definition proved insufficient since archaeological excavations showed that copper was used as early as Aceramic Neolithic (Esin 1995: 62). Instead, the Chalcolithic became linked with the appearance of painted pottery, but this is also somewhat problematic because painted pottery is lacking in the Middle Chalcolithic and Late Chalcolithic in many regions in Anatolia (Düring 2011: 128) and may even be present in Neolithic contexts (Nieuwenhuyse et al. 2010). It is not very easy to differentiate the Late Neolithic and the Early Chalcolithic. In fact, there is a continuation of the developments that already started in the Late Neolithic until around 5500 (Özbaşaran and Buitenhuis 2002: 71). These settlements are fully domesticated with their subsistence based on agriculture and animal husbandry (Gérard 2002: 108) although hunting and gathering might have played some role as well.

The transition to agriculture is important in terms of understanding how gender roles changed from hunter-gatherers to fully agricultural societies. Central Anatolia is an especially suitable area for this research since the region displays long-term continuation without an interruption from 8500 to 5500 BC. Also, the Early Chalcolithic period is the time when subsistence economies based totally on agriculture and animal husbandry finally appear. Based on this phenomenon, and the fact that the process of Neolithization is not fully complete until the mid-6th millennium, I likewise continue my analysis of gender roles through to the end of the Early Chalcolithic. Therefore, I will argue here that the gender roles change until the end of the Early Chalcolithic in Central Anatolia.

3. CHAPTER 3: THE NEOLITHIC AND EARLY CHALCOLITHIC IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA

This chapter aims to give background information on Central Anatolia and the sites that I concentrate on in the thesis. I cover the Neolithic and the Early Chalcolithic periods, namely Boncuklu, Aşıklı, Çatalhöyük and Köşk Höyük. Here, I first talk about the geography of Central Anatolian Plateau, and then focus on each relevant site and provide gender related data. Each site is discussed mainly in terms of site background, settlement organization, subsistence economy, burial customs and stone industry.

3.1.GEOGRAPHY OF THE REGION

The Central Anatolian plateau is delimited by the Taurus Mountains on the South and the North Anatolian Mountains on the North (Fig. 1). There is a volcanic land on the east and the Lake District on the west of the region. The First Geographical Congress of Turkey catalogued the region and named it "Central Anatolia" in 1941 (Özbaşaran 2011a: 100). The land encompasses over 150.000 km^2 and divided into four main basins: the volcanic area of Cappadocia on the east, the Salt Lake basin in the center, the Konya-Ereğli Plain on the south and the Beyşehir Plain on the east. However, this thesis concentrates on the Konya-Ereğli Basin and the Cappadocia Region.

There are two major rivers, the Kızılırmak (Halys) and the Sakarya (Sangarius) passing through the region and finally emptying into the Black Sea. The plateau has a continental climate with 350-400 mm annual rainfall. Although there are some forests on the highlands, the vegetation of the area is mainly steppe (Özbaşaran 2011a: 100).

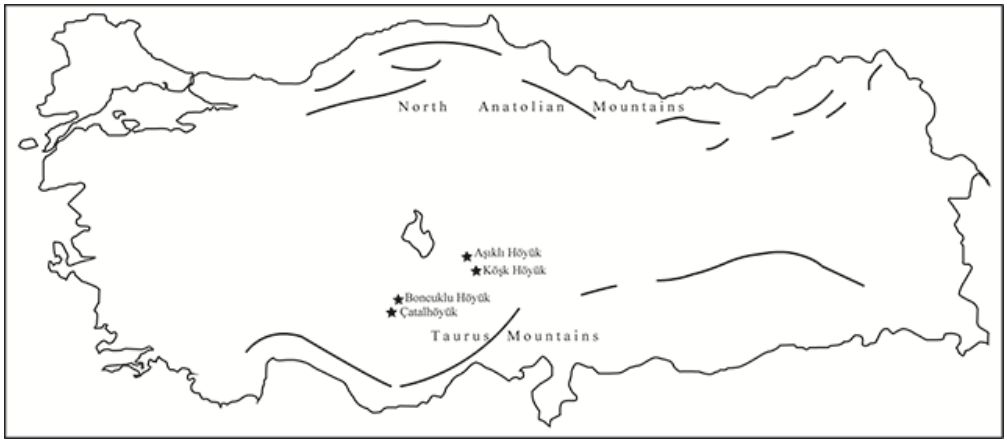

Figure 1. The Anatolian Plateau showing Taurus and North Anatolian Mountains, and the Central Anatolian sites used in this thesis

Today, the Cappadocian region is mountainous and volcanic with the plains lying in between the mountains. However, at the end of the Pliocene, the region was covered by lakes (Özbaşaran 2011a: 100). When the volcanic eruptions began rich sources of volcanic material such as obsidian, basalt and gypsum became abundant (Esin 1998b: 68). The alluvial and clayey sediments of the plains were formed during the Quaternary (Kuzucuoğlu 2002: 40). Pollen diagrams show arid steppe until the first half of the 9th millennium BC. Then, the climate became more humid which led to the spreading of oak trees (Woldring 2002: 60). The pollen records reveal an abrupt change in vegetation from the Late Glacial to the Holocene around 8800 BC (Woldring 2002: 63). The grasslands became more dominant and the annual precipitation increased. This period may be contemporary with the permanent habitation in Cappadocia as the climate became suitable for providing subsistence for permanent human habitation (Woldring 2002: 64).

The Konya-Ereğli basin is composed of two plains divided by the Karadağ volcanic mountain. The Konya plain is the area extending from the Erenler Mountains on the west and the Taurus Mountains and the land towards the city of Karaman. The Ereğli Plain, on the other hand, is the area extending from Karaman on the northeast, Taurus Mountains on the south and the Karacadağ and Melendiz Dağı on the north (Arbuckle 2006: 47). The Bor Plain, bounded by mountains on three sides, meets the Ereğli Plain on the east. The Niğde Pass is the main route that the obsidian exchange was made between Cappadocia and the west, and Cappadocia and the south (Todd 1980: 18).

The Konya-Ereğli Basin is an inland drainage basin with a high altitude but relatively flat landscape (Baird 2002: 141). It can be called rather arid in terms of moisture introduced to the basin as the precipitation is less than 250 mm towards the center and 300 mm around the edges. Soil types vary significantly with lake marls and soft lime soil forms where plant cultivation would be less productive, bajada (a series of alluvial fans coming together along a mountain front) and hillside soils that have significant cultivation potential, and alluvial soils that also have high potential for cultivation (Baird 2002: 141). There are numerous large and small rivers as well as subsurface water sources bringing water to the basin from the mountains. Apart from the rivers and water sources, during the Pleistocene and at the beginning of the Holocene there were many shallow pluvial lakes in this area (Roberts and Wright 1993 in Arbuckle 2006: 47; Roberts et al. 1996: 20). After the paleoenvironmental work in this region Roberts suggested that the Paleo-lake in Konya shrunk after the height of last glaciations (Roberts et al. 1996: 20)

There are more than twenty identified pre-pottery and pottery Neolithic sites in the Cappadocian region alone. On the Konya-Ereğli basin, on the other hand, there are approximately ten such sites (Özbaşaran 2011a:100).

3.2.CENTRAL ANATOLIAN SITES

This section provides information on sites I use in my thesis. Although there are several other Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic sites in Central Anatolia, my thesis mainly concentrates on Boncuklu, Aşıklı, Çatalhöyük and Köşk Höyük as they yield most of the information we have about gender in the periods considered.

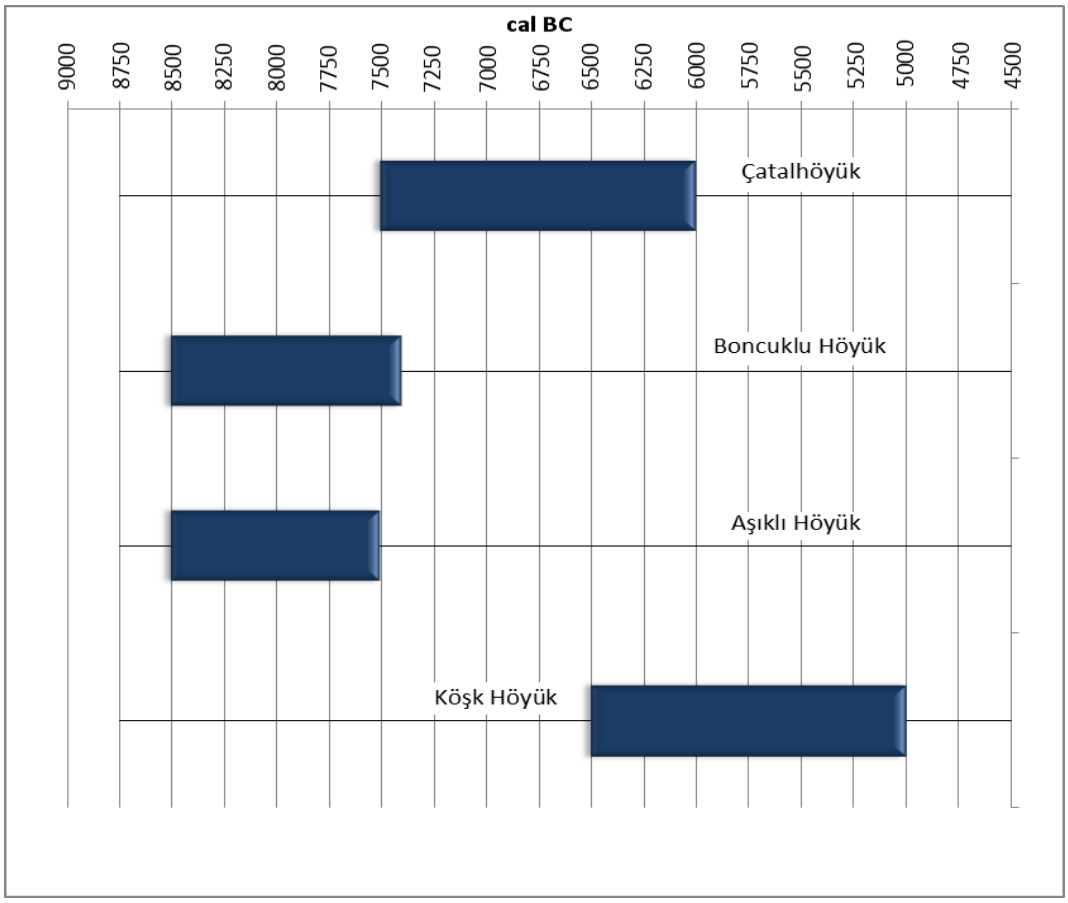

Figure 2. Chronology of the Central Anatolian sites used in the thesis

3.2.1. Boncuklu Höyük

Site background

The mound covers an area of about 1 ha and rises only 2 m from the level of the Konya plain (E. Baysal 2013: 3; Baird et al. 2012a: 125). It was discovered during the Konya Plain Survey by Douglas Baird and his team in 2001. The excavations started in 2006 and have been ongoing since then as part of a 10 year project. Moreover, geoarchaeological work around the site was also done in order to investigate off-site activity and natural sediment deposition that might give information about the environment around the prehistoric mound (Baird et al. 2012c: 222).

The main goals of the Boncuklu Project are to investigate the earliest sedentary, herder-cultivator communities in Central Anatolia in the context of these developments in Southwest Asia, and to shed light on the communities that lived prior to Çatalhöyük (Baird et al. 2012c: 219). In doing so, Boncuklu excavations aim to possibly explain the reasons why Çatalhöyük inhabitants lived in such large settlement and used elaborate symbolism (Baird et al. 2012c: 219). The reason why Boncuklu Höyük was chosen for the excavation was that the survey team found lithics and decorated stone artifacts exactly like those at Pınarbaşı (an Epipaleolithic and Neolithic Site in Konya Plain excavated also by Douglas Baird earlier) (Baird 2012b). Also, the chipped stones were similar to the 8th millennium materials, known from the early stages of Çatalhöyük and Canhasan III (Baird et al. 2012c: 221). Moreover, the site is about 9 km away from Çatalhöyük. These conditions made the site suitable for answering the questions asked by the project.

The site is thought to be occupied minimally from the end of the 9th millennium through the 8th millennium cal. BC (Baird et al. 2012c: 222). The archaeological work has been done in six different areas on and off the site (Areas M, K, H, O, N, and Trench Y for off-site work).

Settlement organization

The Boncuklu Höyük houses have rounded corners and are mainly made of mud and mudbrick and in some cases with posts along the interior side of the wall. The houses are built on exactly the same location a number of times. For example, in Area K, 6 buildings are constructed on top of each other. However, this is not due to lack of space, because even when there are no buildings around in close proximity, this practice is continued. This might mean that households have their own strong identities which are expressed and remembered every time the building is reconstructed (Hodder 2006: 165).

Nevertheless, compared to Çatalhöyük and Aşıklı Höyük, the Boncuklu buildings are not packed together forming clustered neighborhoods and remain free-standing while the midden areas are less circumscribed in their locations. Düring (2011: 77) suggests that the Boncuklu settlement was more open because the Boncuklu community was much smaller in scale compared to Aşıklı and Çatalhöyük, and that clustered neighborhoods only occur in large conglomerated settlements.

Inside the houses the northwestern part is the "kitchen" area where the hearth is located and the floor plaster is of poorer quality. The floors of this area are more sunken compared to the rest of the house. The southeastern and eastern parts are the clean, high areas where also the burials are placed. Moreover, painted floors and the plaster reliefs are restricted to this clean part. According to Baird et al. (2012c: 234)

the dirty area was reserved for more mundane everyday rituals while the clean area was for other social activities, symbolic expression, mortuary practices and other rituals. This differentiation may have been maintained by using different mats and the different floor plasters between the clean and dirty areas at Boncuklu. At Boncuklu the main hearth is always on the northwest while at Çatalhöyük the food preparation area and the hearths are on the south of the building. Moreover, the burials, the painted floors and the plaster relief are in the southern and eastern part of the building analogous with Çatalhöyük's "clean" northern area with burials, platforms, wall paintings and mouldings (Baird et al. 2012c: 234; Hodder 2006: 119-122).Area M is an especially interesting outdoor midden deposit where many in situ burning events and small hearths were excavated. So, other than being dump areas, these middens seem to have been used as outdoor activity areas. The midden deposits in Boncuklu contain many animal bones and plant remains, but arguably the most interesting finds are the fragmentary human remains, mainly cranial and jaw material that have been found in the such deposits (Baird 2007: 16; Baird 2008: 12).

Burial customs

There are two different treatments for the dead in Boncuklu. One group of people was buried indoors, under the house floor in flexed position. After the burial the floor was replastered, sometimes with red paint. The second group of human remains, mainly skull fragments, comes from midden deposits. The details and interpretations of the burial customs in Boncuklu are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 below.

Subsistence economy

Cattle and boar seem to be the most consumed animals (probably wild) while sheep and goat still need to be analyzed further in terms of their domestication. Equid and

cervids are also among the hunted animals. Moreover, fish, bird and tortoise bones were also recovered from the site (Baird et al. 2012c: 228-9). The lands that were exploited with hunting include wetlands, grasslands and woodlands.

Emmer wheat, possibly einkorn, free-threshing wheat and hulled barley are among the preserved crop plant remains at the site. Legumes were also among the consumed plants, but because of the poor preservation it is not possible to pinpoint whether they are domestic. The inhabitants of Boncuklu also ate nuts and fruits (Baird et al. 2012c: 234).

Stone industry

In terms of the chipped stone assemblage, obsidian is most common. The material shows similarities to Pınarbaşı's late 9th millennium cal. BC settlement with many microliths (Baird et al. 2012c: 231). Incised decorated stones were the most notable artifacts. Many of them are tools that are thought to be used as shaft straighteners (Baird et al. 2012c: 231). They usually have very complex designs but very naturalistic examples are also present. The unique characteristic of each item seems to express individual identities, rather than group identities (Baird et al. 2012c: 235). Stone and shell beads and pendants were also common with 162 found until the end of 2010 at the site (E. Baysal 2013: 7).

3.2.2. Aşıklı Höyük

Site background

The Central Anatolian site of Aşıklı Höyük lies on the banks of the Melendiz River, 25 km southeast of the city Aksaray. It was first discovered by Hititologist Edmund Gordon in 1963, then, surveyed by Ian Todd (Esin and Harmankaya 1999: 117). In

1989, the salvage excavations by İstanbul University started under the directorate of Ufuk Esin because the floodwaters of the Mamasun Dam would destroy the northern, western and the southern sides of the mound. The rescue excavations continued until 2000. Between 2000 and 2004, Nur Balkan- Atlı continued the excavations with the aim of investigating the earlier layer of the settlement. Since 2006, Mihriban Özbaşaran has been directing the excavations.

The mound covers an area of approximately four hectares, rising 15 meters above the Melendiz plain at its highest point (Esin 1994: 29). Almost 1/3 of the mound seems to have been eroded due to the Melendiz River and ploughing (Esin 1991: 126). There are four main levels in the mound and they all belong to the Aceramic Neolithic period. These levels are radiocarbon dated to the second half of the 9th and the 8th millennium BC (Özbaşaran 2011b: 28). The Aşıklı people settled there around the second half of the 9th millennium and left Aşıklı Höyük around the end of the 8th millennium for no apparent reason (Özbaşaran *et al*. 2010: 8).

Settlement organization

The excavations revealed two main sectors in the settlement: the residential area is on the North and the area of special function is on the Southwest in the 8th millennium settlement (Özbaşaran *et al*. 2010: 9). These two areas are separated from each other with a pebble street.

The residential buildings have one, two or rarely three rooms. Each building had its own walls. They are made of mudbrick, and are rectangular or trapezoidal in plan with rounded corners (Esin and Harmankaya 1999: 118). However, there are some sub-oval buildings in the earliest levels (Level 4), as well (Özbaşaran 2012b: 138). The dwellings do not have exterior doors and the entrance was from the roof with the

help of some portable ladders (Özbaşaran 2012b: 139). This is a common trait in the Central Anatolian Neolithic sites such as Çatalhöyük (7th millennium BC) and Canhasan III (8th and 7th millennium BC) (Özbaşaran *et al.* 2010: 10). The floors and walls were plastered with a thick layer of clay. The hearth was usually on one corner of the room and there were chimney holes through which smoke and fumes were released (Esin and Harmankaya 1999: 125).

Narrow passages or open courtyards separate the residential clusters from each other. These open external areas were in both the 8th and the 9th millennium settlement, used as middens between the neighborhoods. The 9th millennium buildings (the earliest settlement) were oval in plan and situated around large, external open areas. These open areas were used for daily activities such as cooking, bone, leather processing and obsidian flaking (Özbaşaran 2012a: 82).

There is a clear difference in terms of using space, layout of the settlement and in building plans in the 8th millennium and the 9th millennium. The roofs and the midden areas were used as the open spaces where daily activities were carried on in the 8th millennium. However, in the 9th millennium such activities were mainly done in the external open spaces. The layout of the settlement was also different in the 9th millennium. The famous clustered neighborhood did not appear until Level 2 (Özbaşaran 2012b: 138). Instead, both in levels 3 and 4 the buildings were separated from each other in an open area or court. The open spaces among the neighborhood clusters were used as midden areas and/or ateliers where daily activities were carried out (Özbaşaran 2012b: 138). Levels 3 and 4 display continuity in the use of buildings and open spaces. Apart from being the entrance, the roofs were used as the open spaces where daily activities were carried out. The daily activity areas were moved from the external open spaces to the roofs of the buildings in the 8th millennium

(Özbaşaran 2012b: 138). Therefore, there is a clear difference in terms of using space in the 8th millennium and the 9th millennium. On the other hand, the subsistence economy, stone industry and burial customs change gradually (Özbaşaran 2012b: 138).

Burial customs

The dead were buried under the floors of the houses in pits. Sometimes these burial pits were reused for a secondary burial. However, they did not find burials in each building in the site (Esin and Harmankaya 1999: 126). The position of the skeleton differs. Although most of the burials are in flexed position, there are some extended, facing up or lying on one side (Esin and Harmankaya 1999: 126).

Subsistence economy

Hunting game animals and gathering plants constituted the most of their diet. The 9th millennium settlement inhabitants hunted a large variety of animals. Wild sheep and goat, wild rabbit, wild cattle, equids as well as a variety of small game including birds, turtle and fish were consumed (Özbaşaran 2013: 3). Although sheep and goat were not tamed, it is obvious that they were in a proto-domestication stage because the inhabitants were careful about choosing the right gender and age for hunting, for example, they did not kill the female and the very young (Özbaşaran 2012b:141). The small animals were consumed more frequently in the 9th millennium.

Domestic and wild barley and wheat are found together in both the 8th and 9th millennium settlements (Özbaşaran 2013: 4). Legumes including lentils, peas and chickpeas were gathered in the 9th millennium, but cultivated in the 8th millennium (Esin and Harmankaya 1999: 126). Among the wild plants, they gathered red hackberry, almond and pistachio.

Stone industry

Obsidian comes from Kayırlı- Bitlikeler, Nenezi and Kömürcü-Kaletepe as nodules, and flaking and shaping tools took place in the settlement (Özbaşaran 2012b: 141). The lack of standardization and specialization in the dwelling area suggests that knapping was not done by a specific group (Yıldırım-Balcı 2011: 26). Scrapers, retouched tools, notched, pointed blades, arrowheads, borers, burins, splintered pieces and microliths were produced (Özbaşaran 2012b: 142). The use-wear analysis on obsidian tools showed that they were mostly employed in leather-working, cutting, splitting wood and making bone tools while some of them show traces of being used in harvesting plants (Özbaşaran 2012b: 142).

Small finds

Awls is the largest bone tool group at Aşıklı. Some of the bone tools show traces of burning. Their fire-hardened tips could have been used for piercing relatively harder material (Özbaşaran 2013: 3; 2012b: 142). Belt hooks and tubular beads are also among the bone finds (Özbaşaran 2012b: 142).

Stone cups, chisels, polishing stones, shaft straighteners, grinding stones, mortars and pestles are among ground stone industry. Very few stone vessels were found while most of them were in fragments, made of tuff or limestone and not elaborately worked (Özbaşaran 2012b: 142).

Beads, most of which are found in burial pits as necklaces or bracelets, were widely produced at Aşıklı. The majority of beads are of stone, but pierced deer teeth and native copper beads were also found (Özbaşaran 2012b: 142). The beads of native copper are made by heated or cold beating technique (Özbaşaran 2012b: 142).

Figurines and other symbolic objects are rarely found at the site. One definite animal figurine is a small boar or ox and the rest are very fragmentary (Özbaşaran 2012b: 143). The majority of small finds are found in external areas, middens and narrow passages between buildings. The scarcity of in situ finds within the buildings might be related to the rebuilding process of the buildings (Özbaşaran 2012b: 143).

3.2.3. Çatalhöyük

Site background

The Neolithic mound Çatalhöyük was first discovered at the end of the 1950s, and excavated by James Mellaart between 1961 and 1965 in 4 excavation seasons (Mellaart 1962; 1963; 1964; 1966). After Mellaart, the excavations stopped until 1993. Then, Ian Hodder resumed excavations, which have been ongoing since 1993 (Hodder 2012a). Through both projects, only 5% of the whole site has been excavated. Nonetheless, a larger part of the mound has been sampled by various survey methods, geophysical prospection and surface scraping (Hodder 2010: 3).

The site is composed of two mounds connected to each other (the eastern and the western mounds) and the eastern mound dates from 7400 BC to 6000 BC. The western mound follows it and dates from the end of the 6000 to the beginning of 5000 BC (Hodder 2007: 313). Occupation in the east mound started at the end of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic and continued through Pottery Neolithic period and until Chalcolithic period (Hodder 2007: 313). I only concentrate on the east mound in my research. Therefore, the remainder of this Çatalhöyük section and the rest of the Çatalhöyük discussion in the thesis focuses on the east mound.

Çatalhöyük is, moreover, a site with a concentration of artistic activities: wall paintings, wall reliefs, sculptures and installations are vastly found in the site. The

symbolism in Çatalhöyük is comparable to some other Neolithic sites in Anatolia, such as Çayönü and Göbekli Tepe in southeast Turkey, Aşıklı Höyük in Central Anatolia (Hodder 2010: 3). According to Hodder (2010: 3) much of the symbolism of the earlier Neolithic and later periods of the Middle East can be understood from the evidence from Çatalhöyük, and the site helps the interpretation of the evidence from other sites as well.

Settlement organization

Many levels of occupation (levels I-XII and XIa-XId) have been identified in the eastern mound (i.e. the Pottery Neolithic mound) (Hodder 2012a: 246). The population of the settlement is estimated to vary between 3500 and 8000 people for any phase of occupation (Hodder 2012a: 246). There are three types of spaces in Çatalhöyük: buildings, enclosed open spaces and unbounded open spaces (Düring 2011: 96). The buildings are built adjacent to each other in neighborhood clusters (Hodder 2012a: 247; Düring 2011: 116). They did not have doors that provide outside access, the entrance was probably from the roofs (Düring 2011: 96). However, through time the houses became two-storied (Hodder 2012a: 247). Buildings have one large main room with domestic features and sometimes have one or more subsidiary rooms with different kinds of features (Düring 2011: 96). Despite the elaborate decorations, each building was used as a domestic building (Düring 2011: 97). The buildings had their own walls, are made of mudbrick and plastered white (Düring 2011: 97). The plaster was renewed on a regular basis, which helped the reflection of the light (Hodder 2007: 316)

The term “history houses” (“lineage houses” by Düring (2011: 111)) was coined by Ian Hodder in order to identify the houses with more elaborate decorations and more

intramural burials because such houses help the construction of social memory (Hodder 2007: 315).

There are three different types of rooms in buildings: living rooms with fire installations and one or more platforms, anterooms, and indeterminate rooms (Düring 2006: 166-170). There was a clear "clean" and "dirty" area distinction in the Çatalhöyük buildings. The southern side of the building was the area for cooking, heating and craft practices, which can be considered the "dirty area" (Düring 2011: 98). The western side was the "clean area" and contained white plastered higher platforms and sometimes wall decorations (Hodder 2012: 249). These wall decorations, installations and history houses helped the Çatalhöyük people build their social memories (Hodder 2012: 251-253).

Burial customs

Ian Hodder's team found four different kinds of burials in Çatalhöyük (Andrews et al. 2005: 263): Single primary inhumations, possibly double inhumations, secondary inhumations, and multiple disturbed skeletons.

The single primary inhumations are found under the platforms, under the floors and even under secondary structures like second phase walls. There is no pattern to the orientation and the position of the skeletons. Most of the bodies are in flexed position probably to save space (Andrews et al. 2005: 263 – 264).

In 2004, the excavation team found a skull with plastered facial features, painted red. A woman placed in a foundation pit was holding the skull in her arms. (Hodder 2006: 148). This building was built over a midden therefore it might be a foundation deposit that works similar to constructing on top of an ancestral building (Hodder 2006: 148)

Subsistence economy

A variety of botanical remains has been recognized during the recent excavations. These remains are suggested to be related to the production of mats, clothes, ropes, baskets, building practices as well as subsistence and heating (Fairbairn et al. 2005: 180-181). Apart from wood, the Çatalhöyük people used dung as a source of heating (Fairbairn et al. 2005: 180-181). The most common species of wood are juniper, pistachio, oak and elm (Düring 2011: 88). Flax might have been grown in Çatalhöyük in order to produce textiles that were found in the 1960s (Mellaart 1964: pl.24; Fairbairn et al. 2005: 174). Domestic crops constitute 75 per cent of the calorific value of the charred seeds including various species of wheat, naked barley, domestic rye, bitter vetch, lentil, pea and chickpea (Asouti and Fairbairn 2002: 183-187). Among the wild plant resources hackberry, almond, plum, acorn and fig played an important role in the subsistence (Asouti and Fairbairn 2002: 184).

In Mellaart's excavation wild cattle was thought to be the major proportion of the faunal remains in the settlement (Mellaart 1967: 223). However, the recent investigations showed that domestic sheep and goat bones are more common than cattle in the site (Russell and Martin 2005: 96). The faunal remains that are found at the site are from both domesticated and wild animals. Among the domesticated animals, there is sheep, goat and dog while cattle, pig, deer, ass, horse and bear can be counted among the wild animals (Düring 2011: 89). Apart from these, a large variety of small animal remains including eggs, turtle shell, fish bones and various bird bones are found (Düring 2011: 89).

Even though sheep and goat were the most common faunal species, cattle and equid bones were often found in large clusters in special contexts such as on the floor

levels of abandoned houses. Therefore, Russell and Martin (2005: 96) suggest that cattle and equids were used mainly in feasts.

Stone industry

The chipped stone assemblage was predominantly obsidian, obtained from Göllüdağ and Nenezidağ in Cappadocia (Carter 2000). In terms of their types, Çatalhöyük chipped stone industry seems to be much simpler: irregular multi-formed cores are found in the earlier levels and highly standardized bullet cores used for the production of long blades, which might be an evidence for craft specialization, are found after level VI (Düring 2011: 90-92). There are also scrapers, large retouched obsidian flakes and mirrors within the Çatahöyük assemblage (Conolly 1999: 33-57).

Pottery assemblage and clay balls

Starting 7000 BC pottery first appears in level XII (Last 1994). It is never found in burial contexts and rarely found *in situ.* In the earlier levels the pottery had vegetal temper, but in level VII, mineral temper becomes more common and the pottery gets thinner and better fired (Last 1994).

Clay balls in various size and shape have been recovered in the earlier levels. They seem to have been used in relation to fireplaces. It is argued that these clay balls were used for cooking before the pottery became finer in level VII and declined with the development in pottery, because ceramics became suitable for cooking on the fire (Atalay and Hastorf 2006: 308-309; Doherty 2006: 311).

Moreover, a number of baked clay seals have been found in Çatalhöyük. They have been found mostly in the upper levels V-I (Türkcan 2005). These seals usually have geometric decorations, but during the new excavations animal shaped seals are also

found (Düring 2006: 156; Türkcan 2005). As no types of *bullae* have been found so far, these seals are suggested to be used for decorating textiles or body, and the undecorated ones as counting devices or tokens (Türkcan 1997).

Figurines

Moreover, they found many humanoid and animal figurines during the excavations. They were made of clay or various types of stones (Hamilton 1996b: 215). The famous female figurines come from mainly the upper levels (Hamilton 1996b: 226). Many humanoid figurines are found headless. This action seems to be deliberate as there is evidence of special deposition of broken heads in Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2012a: 253). None of the figurines have been found in burial contexts. They were mainly found in midden deposits and depositional fills (Düring 2011: 94).

3.2.4. Köşk Höyük

Site background

It is located in Niğde, Bor on a natural elevation. Discovered by Ian Todd in an archaeological survey, Köşk Höyük was first excavated by Uğur Silistreli from 1980 until 1990 (Silistreli 1985; 1986; 1988; 1989a; 1990). Since 1995 Aliye Öztan has been directing the excavations (Öztan 2002; 2003; 2007; 2010; 2012). The mound is located on the northern slope of a hill, Uzun Tepe, 1100 m above the sea level (Öztan 2012: 31). Located on a terrain rich in natural spring sources one of which runs by the mound, Köşk Höyük is also close to the Capadocian obsidian resources (Öztan 2010: 83; 2012:31) with an easy access to the Konya-Ereğli Plain on the west.

Despite occupation in the Islamic, Byzantine and Roman periods, the main occupation dates between 6300-5400 and 5300-4700 cal. BC (Arbuckle 2006: 86;

Öztan 2002: 56). The earliest occupation in the site began at the end of the Late Neolithic around 6300 and continued through the Early Chalcolithic period (Levels I to V). However, there was a short hiatus between Levels I and II for about 60-190 years (Arbuckle 2006: 86). After a fire that burnt the whole settlement around 5000 BC Köşk Höyük was not settled until the Iron Age. During the Roman, Byzantine and early Republic period the west and north slopes of the mound was used as a cemetery (Öztan 2012: 32).

Köşk Höyük shows a gradual change in social complexity through Levels V to II with elaborate prestige items, ritual items and burial gifts. The first settlers that came in the Neolithic period terraced the terrain in order to get flat surfaces that enabled them build houses easier (Öztan 2010: 87).

After the renewed excavations, Öztan has revised the stratigraphy and identified five Chalcolithic/Neolithic Levels. However, Levels IV and V have been exposed in a very limited area compared to Level II (Öztan 2012: 32). From levels II to V there is a consistency in the architecture (Öztan 2012: 32). Building walls are built in single or double rows with mud mortar and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Buildings in Levels II to IV are rectangular with multiple rooms and built adjacent to each other. At least one bench, stone platforms and minimum one hearth is present in every building. Usually some storage facilities and equipment such as grinding stones or pestles are also found in buildings (Öztan 2012: 33).

Settlement organization

The houses were in use for a long time as the layout of the houses changed with adding/ removing rooms or making partitions. Although there is no evidence for the

roofing system in Köşk Höyük buildings the houses probably had flat roofs similar to Aşıklı and Çatalhöyük buildings (Öztan 2012: 33).

In Level III, they found a wall decoration in 2004 (Öztan 2010: 88). In this wall decoration there are 20 figures dancing/hunting together in various poses around a large animal, probably a deer. The animal is painted red with sticking its tongue. The figures have weapons on their hands (Öztan 2012: 34). The decoration is similar to the Çatalhöyük wall paintings (cf. Mellaart 1967: 132). Despite this unique wall in Köşk Höyük, no building can be defined as a public building, temple or the residence of an administrator so far (Öztan 2012: 34).

Burial customs

More than 80 intramural burials have been found in Köşk Höyük (Öztan 2002: 57). Most of the information comes from the levels II and III. Moreover, they did not find any graves in level V so far (Öztan 2012: 35). Infants, children and foetuses are buried inside the houses under the benches or walls. Very few adult burials are found buried outside areas or the outskirts of the settlement (Öztan 2012: 35). The dead are buried in flexed position in simple inhumations (Öztan 2012: 35), but there are also some buried in vessels and one buried in a sarcophagus [taş sanduka] (Silistreli 1986: 174). Unfortunately, reports lack information on the exceptional sarcophagus burial. The excavations revealed 13 plastered and 6 untreated skulls from the same deposits so far (Özbek 2009: 379). In total 19 skulls are found. These skulls are found in one building grouped together in different layers (Özbek 2009: 380). Some plastered skulls are painted with red ochre (Öztan et al. 2007: 121). The heads are either buried collectively or kept on the benches in the houses (Öztan 2002: 57-58, figs. 5-8). The fact that the skulls are from both sexes and various ages indicate that there was no

age or sex distinction in this custom (Öztan 2012: 36). Several skeletons with skulls removed after the decomposition of flesh were also discovered (Özbek 2009: 384; Öztan 2012: 36).

Subsistence economy

The Köşk Höyük people cultivated and consumed wheat, barley, lentil, peas and beans (Öztan 2012: 44). Animal bones are abundantly found in everywhere except for inside the houses (Öztan 2012: 44). Both domesticated and wild species were consumed in Köşk Höyük. Sheep/goat, wild horses, wild asses, deer, cow/ox, pigs, foxes, bears, small carnivores, rabbit and hedgehogs are the most common species (Öztan 2012: 44).

Stone industry

The lithic industry shows Central Anatolian character with some Near Eastern traits, probably due to intensive trade (Öztan 2012: 42). At level IV, knapping was done outside the settlement probably at the source (Öztan 2012: 42).

Pottery

Three different types of pottery are found with different qualities. The largest quantity of pottery is basically used for drinking, cooking and storing. However, some zoomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, which are suggested to have cultic function, are also found (Öztan 2002: 58). The pottery is mostly monochrome, but some have relief, paint or incised decorations (Öztan 2002: 58). Relief decoration and zoomorphic and anthropomorphic pottery are more widespread in levels II and III (Öztan 2012: 38-39). All of the anthropomorphic vessels are depicting females and are more schematic than the others (Öztan 2012: 39).

Figurines and other small finds

There is a rich assemblage of male and female figurines recovered from levels I to IV (Öztan 2002: 59). They are made of different types of stones or clay. The clay figurines are partially or completely painted red (Öztan 2012: 40). While the male figurines are wearing some sort of clothing and depicted as standing or sitting down, the female figurines are always naked and mostly depicted as sitting down (Öztan 2012: 40). All of the female figurines have exaggerated body parts and most of them are holding their breasts (Öztan 2012: 41). Overall, the figurines show similarities to the other Central Anatolian figurines.

They found many stamp seals made of bone, stone or clay with geometric decorations in levels II and III (Öztan 2012: 41). They are small with handles and circular, rectangular, square or lunar in shape (Öztan 2012: 41).

4. CHAPTER 4: GENDER IN THE CENTRAL ANATOLIAN SITES

In order to understand how the inhabitants of prehistoric settlements in the case study perceived gender, we need to take a close look at the evidence on the human body in both the mortuary and representational forms. The first main topic of discussion is mortuary practices including burial customs, grave goods and skeletal analyses. Mortuary data yields evidence for what people ate, how they lived, what they did habitually and how they were buried, all of which together can give researchers clues about how gender was identified or whether there were any gender-based differentiations. The second main area that has been examined is the representations of human bodies through visual media. Representations of humans in this period between 8500 and 5000 BC are found in figurines, wall paintings and relief decorated pottery in Central Anatolia.

In short, this chapter summarizes the information concerning gender from four prehistoric sites in Central Anatolia. The sites Boncuklu, Aşıklı, Çatalhöyük and Köşk Höyük are discussed in chronological order. First, Boncuklu Höyük burials and the anthropomorphic figurines are analyzed. Then, the Aşıklı burial data is examined since this site lacks any figural representations of humans. After that, the Çatalhöyük burials and anthropomorphic figurines are reviewed. Since the new Çatalhöyük project has an intimate focus on gender, this section mainly summarizes their work on gender differentiation. The last area of concentration in this chapter is Köşk Höyük human burials, anthropomorphic figurines and relief decorated pottery. A detailed interpretation and discussion of the data I present in this chapter is given in the following chapter.

4.1.GENDER IN BONCUKLU HÖYÜK

The Boncuklu human skeletons are being examined by Jessica Pearson from the University of Liverpool. Thirty three human skeletons and countless human remains from midden deposits have been examined so far[4]. Unfortunately, the Boncuklu Höyük skeletons have yet to be published in the new Boncuklu Volume expected in 2014, so the information is scarce. Nevertheless, it is possible to gather some interesting results especially concerning different grave goods associated with males and females in Boncuklu.

Baird suggests that there might be two different types of mortuary practices in Boncuklu. While one community may have been practicing intramural burying, the well-known Neolithic tradition of Central Anatolia, scattered human body parts, especially skull fragments are found in midden deposits (Baird et al. 2012c: 223). According to Baird, (D. Baird, pers. comm.) stable isotope evidence suggests a difference in diet between these two communities. While the ones buried underneath the house floors were consuming more meat, the people whose bones were found in the middens were consuming more plants and less meat (D. Baird, pers. comm.). It is possible that the second community is also living in Boncuklu with completely different eating habits, and ritualistic and mortuary practices, and the buildings these people were living in have not been found yet (D. Baird, pers. comm.).

As the analyses are still continuing, only the skeletons found in the buildings will be discussed below. No obvious difference in terms of mortuary practices has been recognized between the males and females at Boncuklu. Both men and women were buried inside the buildings under the house floors in either on the southeastern or the

[4]From Boncuklu Höyük official website, accessed 17 Oct. 2013. See: http://boncuklu.org/introducing-our-specialists-dr-jessica-pearson-human-osteoarchaeology-and-isotope-analysis/

eastern part, which is thought to be the cleaner area related to the symbolic practices, in flexed position. None of the burials that have been found so far had their skulls removed. Nevertheless, an isolated cranium was found upturned in a pit on the northwestern part of Area K (Baird 2009: 10). This cranium is the first direct evidence for circulation of human crania at Boncuklu other than the ones found in the midden deposits (Baird 2009: 10). A. Baysal suggests that the skull fragments found in midden deposits could be related to ritual and post-ritual activities (A. Baysal 2013: 87).

In area H, the burial of a female, around 18-20 years old with a pit cutting the Building 5 wall was found. This burial had ochre, many beads including bone, marine shell and stones, and a greenstone polisher as grave goods (Baird 2008: 12). In area K, an adult male over 50 years old was found buried from one of the later floors in Building 9. The burial of this individual lacked grave goods (Baird 2009: 10).

In Building 14, the researchers could understand the sequence of six burials throughout the life span of this building. Interestingly, a burial was found under the northwest sunken/ "dirty" area of the structure, but this grave was opened before the building. The burial sequence of the building contains an adult female and neonate buried simultaneously from the first floor of the building, several floors later a small child, followed by an approximately 10-year-old child. At the end of the life of the building an adult male and female were buried (Baird et al. 2012d: 18). One small burial possibly of another child has not been excavated yet. Because the building continued to be occupied after the death of the adult male and female, probably another adult was also living in this building. If the people buried in Building 14 lived there during the lifetime of the structure, the household might have been

composed of two males, two females and some children. Baird suggests that it is possible that after one of the adults died, the other adult formed a new bond or cohabited with another adult, or some children in the house reached the age for forming partnerships (Baird et al. 2012d: 18).

One grave from Building 4, Grave 16, yielded two burials, one female and one male (Baird et al. 2012d: 18). The second burial was arranged with reference to the first. The lower burial was an older male showing interesting pathologies on his head and sternum related to injury and/or disease. The grave goods contained red ochre next to his skull, a bone point on his chest and a large obsidian core and blades near his legs. He was lying on his back; his legs were bent on the knees and spread on the sides. Then, the burial was covered with soil. An adult female was buried laid face down over the soil covering the man's body while her head was next to and facing his. Her grave goods were an obsidian scraper and pig scapula. Further interpretation of these burials is given in chapter 5.

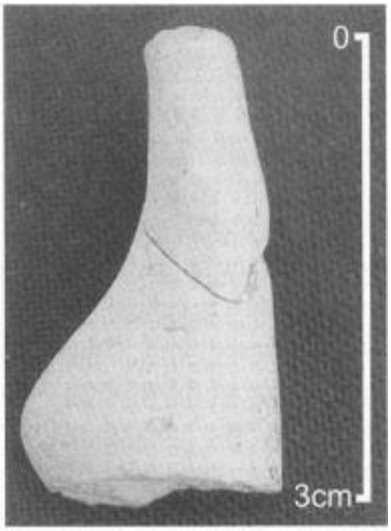

Figure 3. Boncuklu anthropomorphic figurine (from Baird 2009: 10)

Several anthropomorphic figurines have been found in Boncuklu Höyük to date (Baird 2009: 10; Baird et al. 2011: 16). None of these figurines are taller than 10 cm in their original dimensions. These figurines have been found discarded in and around the house contexts (Baird et al. 2011: 16). The first figurine was found in 2009 (Fig. 3). Baird identifies it as a schematic anthropomorphic figure and probably female (Baird 2009: 10). The figurine is neatly executed with rounded arms and a swollen bottom. Around the neck of the figurine there is a collar or a necklace. The bottom of this figurine seems to be broken and no clear legs or feet are visible. The discussion of Boncuklu figurines continue in Chapter 5.

4.1.1. *Summary of Boncuklu Data*

Boncuklu Höyük is a site that lacks gender-based differentiation according to the mortuary data. Both males and females are buried inside the buildings under the house floors. While some have grave goods, some lacked them but this is not necessarily an indication of hierarchy, especially not a gender hierarchy since both genders can have grave goods. The recent Stable Isotope evidence shows that no difference can be found in terms of diet, either. Figurines have been found in Boncuklu, but the form of the published figurine does not suggest anything beyond "anthropomorphic".

4.2.GENDER IN AŞIKLI HÖYÜK

Over 80 skeletons have been excavated (Özbaşaran 2012c) in Aşıklı Höyük, but only 48 skeletons have been published so far (Özbek 1992; 1993; 1994; 1996; 1998; 2011; Büyükkarakaya and Erdal 2006). Nine of the skeletons belong to males and 19 of them are females.

Although differences in settlement patterns and architecture between the 9th millennium and 8th millennium settlements can be observed, burial practices seem to continue without much change. Yet, some changes can be observed in grave goods and double burials. The quantity of grave goods increased and double burials appeared towards the end of the 8th millennium (Özbaşaran 2013: 10). 4 burials have been found in two of the oval buildings from the 9th millennium settlement (Özbaşaran 2013: 4), but the anthropological analysis of these burials have yet to be published. All Aşıklı burials except one are in flexed position, but one 9th millennium burial belonging to an 8-9 year-old child is only partially flexed (Özbaşaran 2013: 4, 12, Fig. 1). What seems to be interesting about this burial is that it marks the abandonment of the building.

Another burial from the same building belongs to a female, approximately 65 years in age. The house floor was replastered after this burial, indicating the continuation of habitation in the same building (Özbaşaran 2013: 5). We do not have any information on tooth wear or other skeletal indications of illness. But, the burial shows traces of matting wrapping or covering the body. She, moreover, wears a headgear made of the straws of a marshy plant, which is the first example of any kind of clothing that has been found in Aşıklı so far (Özbaşaran 2013: 5).

In another oval building two more skeletons were found. One of these skeletons belonged to a 12-13 years old child, and the other one belonged to a 25 year-old female (Özbaşaran 2013: 4). While the child burial did not yield any grave goods, the female was buried with an antler (Özbaşaran 2013: 4). Regrettably we do not have any way of knowing whether this antler was used as a tool or as a symbolic object.

More research concerning the 8th millennium settlement burials has been published. In the 8th millennium settlement, the dead were buried approximately 40-50 cm deep in a tightly flexed position with arms flexed, hands near the face and the legs bent towards the chest, on their right (Özbek 1993: 206; Özbek 1998: 567), but we lack information about the depth of the burial pits in the 9th millennium settlement. Skeletons show evidence of burning, no more than 200^0 C (Wahl 1981 in Özbek 1993: 206). Although there is no trace of fire in the Aşıklı Buildings or inside the burial pits, it is early to come to conclusions about whether the Aşıklı burials were burnt inside the houses or somewhere else (Özbek 1998: 568). It is highly probable that individuals are placed inside the burial pits right after burning as one of the skeletons still had remains of wood, and the anatomical structure of the skeletons was intact (Özbek 1993: 206). Skulls and body parts show the same amount of burning. We have little information about why Aşıklı people were burning their dead. It seems that burning was not restricted to one gender or one age group (Özbek 1998: 568).

Although grave goods are not very common in Aşıklı, some female skeletons had many copper and animal bone beads toward their neck. Moreover, one of the female skeletons was accompanied with a deer scapula that was placed near her left shoulder (Özbek 1998: 568). Yet, grave goods are not confined to female burials. In the burial pit of an adult male, obsidian was found close to the skull (Özbek 2011: 1) and one child around 11 years old was buried with an obsidian tool (Özbek 1994: 24-25). Also, a baby was found with 114 various stone beads, and some red ochre in her mouth (Özbek 2011: 4).

Özbek came across traumatic arthritis on the neck and the back vertebrae or on the surface of the lateral joints of all female skeletons, but, most of the male skeletons lack this disease (Özbek 1993: 206). This finding is discussed further in chapter 5.

Studying pathological and non-pathological lesions in teeth and jaws yields important information about the diet (Özbek 1996: 85). Tooth abrasion is closely related to genetic structure, the way food is prepared and the quality of the food consumed. Twenty four Aşıklı individuals have been examined for tooth abrasion. Özbek came across abrasion caused by solid particles mixed into food, or plants with hard shells or fiber even at very early ages among the Aşıklı young individuals. Frontal incisors of some young Aşıklı individuals show more abrasion when compared to lateral incisors (Özbek 1996: 93, fig. 3). Nearly 46% of the adults had their teeth abraded down to the roots. While Özbek suggests that most of these skeletons are female (1996: 87-88) and questions whether females were using their frontal incisors as tools, he finally concludes that both male and female teeth show advanced abrasion even when they are young (Özbek 2011: 2).

At this point it is important to note that such severe tooth abrasion is not evidenced in the skeletons found in Musular (Özbek 1998b; 2006), a satellite site of Aşıklı that is contemporaneous with and the latest levels of Aşıklı (Özbaşaran et al. 2012: 166). Therefore, it is possible to assume that food processing was more advanced and the food was removed from all hard particles that causes tooth abrasion in Musular (Özbek 2006). This is significant because if this is in fact a satellite site of Aşıklı, one would expect similar dental abrasion. However, all skeletons except two date to a later period (Late Neolithic) than Aşıklı Höyük, it seems more probable that this difference in abrasion is related to the ways of food processing rather than types of food consumed.

The Aşıklı adult skeletons have also been examined for hypoplasia caused by malnutrition or infections resulting from the food given to the babies during the weaning period between 12 and 24 months. Among the 27 adults, only one young female shows hypoplasia on her upper canine as strip mark while none of the children show hypoplasia in their baby teeth (Özbek 1996: 89).

4.2.1. *Summary of Aşıklı Data*

The fact that more female skeletons have been published does not necessarily mean that more of the skeletons belong to females in Aşıklı mainly because we lack information on the 32 of 80 skeletons. More grave goods have been associated with female skeletons, but very few of the burials contain grave goods and the tendency towards female graves (five females as opposed to one male) might be biased because of the number of male skeletons are fewer. Regardless of their age or sex, all burials show traces of intentional burning. The anthropological analysis of the skeletons shows that all females suffered from traumatic arthritis while few males had this disease. Dental studies suggest males and females ate similar kinds of food, and both genders were using their teeth as a third hand even when they were very young.

4.3.GENDER IN ÇATALHÖYÜK

4.3.1. Figurines

Çatalhöyük is a rich site in terms of figurines and figurine fragments. So far, 2500 figurines and fragments have been found at the site regardless of their shape, material or size in total (Der et al.: 174). These figurines have been examined carefully by various archeologists including Mellaart (1967), Voigt (1991; 2000), Hamilton (1996b; 2000a), and Nakamura and Meskell (2006). All of these archaeologists have

different opinions about the function and use of these figurines, ranging from gods and goddesses, cult statues, toys, and vehicles of magic.

Naomi Hamilton divides the figurines into four categories: Human, schematic, humanoid, and animal. She found 254 figurines and figurine fragments that were found in Çatalhöyük by Mellaart and examined 181 in detail and 47 only briefly (Hamilton 1996b: 215). She concluded that while most figurines are made of baked or sun-dried clay, all of the schematic figurines and the majority of human figurines prior to level VI are made of stone. However, humanoid and animal figurines are with the exception of four made of clay. (Hamilton 1996b: 215)

In his interpretations of the Çatalhöyük imagery Mellaart adopted "direct historical approach" which can be defined as "within a specific culture or culture area (that is, a geographical region occupied by ethnic groups with a shared history and traditions), there will be some continuity through time in institutions, values and ideology regardless of changes in the population of the region." (Voigt 1991: 34) After examining the Mesopotamian, Near Eastern, Mediterranean, Egyptian and Aegean myths, Mellaart concluded that the religion of Çatalhöyük centered on the Great Goddess who is the creator and patron of life and the mother of everything (Mellaart 1963: 49). He explained that the bull imagery in the wall paintings and the sculptures represents the great goddess' son, lover or husband (Mellaart 1963: 52; Mellaart 1967: 141). Because of the rich imagery in the buildings, he concluded that many of the buildings he excavated are shrines of the deities (Mellaart 1967: 77), occupied by the priests and priestesses (Mellaart 1967: 89).

Rather large and realistic figures were found in the later levels from VI to II, and eight out of the fourteen figurines are found in a single structure, AII.1. The famous

seated female figurine is the biggest one found so far (16,5 cm high broken, thought to be 20 cm when complete). Mary Voigt interprets the large clay figures, including the famous seated figurine, as cult figures or deities (Voigt 2000: 281).

31 out of 35 stone figurines come from levels VI and VII. She notes that they were deliberately broken before disposal. Voigt criticizes Mellaart for regarding most of the stone figures as females (Mellaart 1967: 202-203), and in order to identify the male/female figurines Voigt uses "Beard/Breast dichotomy". She identifies males from their triangular upper bodies, thin waistlines and legs, and females from large stomach and legs (Voigt 2000: 283). These figurines are portrayed in the same recurring pose, for example while the stone figurines are made standing up, the clay ones are mostly sitting down. She believes that these stone figurines represent different gods, or various properties of a one god or goddess that also control the wild life because they are sometimes associated with wild animals (Voigt 2000: 287).

Voigt suggests a shift in ritualistic activities at Çatalhöyük between levels VI and V according to the distribution of the wall paintings and figurines through time. Stone figures showing males and females were produced prior to level V. Voigt proposes that the Çatalhöyük inhabitants destroyed and buried these stone figurines from level VI. In levels V and above, femaleness, obesity, pregnancy, and sexuality started to come up as central subjects both among the figurines and wall paintings (Voigt 2000: 287).

Hamilton (1996b: 225) has also suggested that the Çatalhöyük figurines portray changes in representations of gender around level VI. She claims that male figurines usually come from the earlier levels, below VI, but they are no longer found later when more females start to be unearthed. 22 of 60 of the figurines discovered by

Mellaart and identified as a “mother goddess” figurine come from levels VI-II, seven of them are found in level II, and six figurines in his Shrine A1 (Meskell et al. 2008: 155). However, the new figurine team does not find this data enough to make such claim.

Hamilton analyzed the figurines according to their deposition contexts, condition, breakage pattern, typology and types in contexts. The most commonly missing body part is the head (Hamilton 1996b: 219). According to Hamilton, the quality of stone figurines seems lower after level VI (Hamilton 1996b: 222). Moreover, most of the stone figurines are found mainly in two buildings. She has several different suggestions for this situation. Either some of the Çatalhöyük inhabitants were specialized in stone figurine manufacture, or the concentration of stone figurines in two buildings is only accidental. Another theory is that these stone figurines might have been discarded intentionally due to a major change within the whole society or in household-base level (Hamilton 1996b: 222).

According to the recent figurine analysis, female figurines make up of below 3% of all of the figurines (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 206). The new excavation team has only found eight phallic figurines and two showing pubic triangles (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 212). The well-known fat female figurine seated on two leopards is an exceptional find, and these types of figurines only come from the upper levels. Such images are not found in the early and middle levels (Hodder and Meskell 2010: 35).

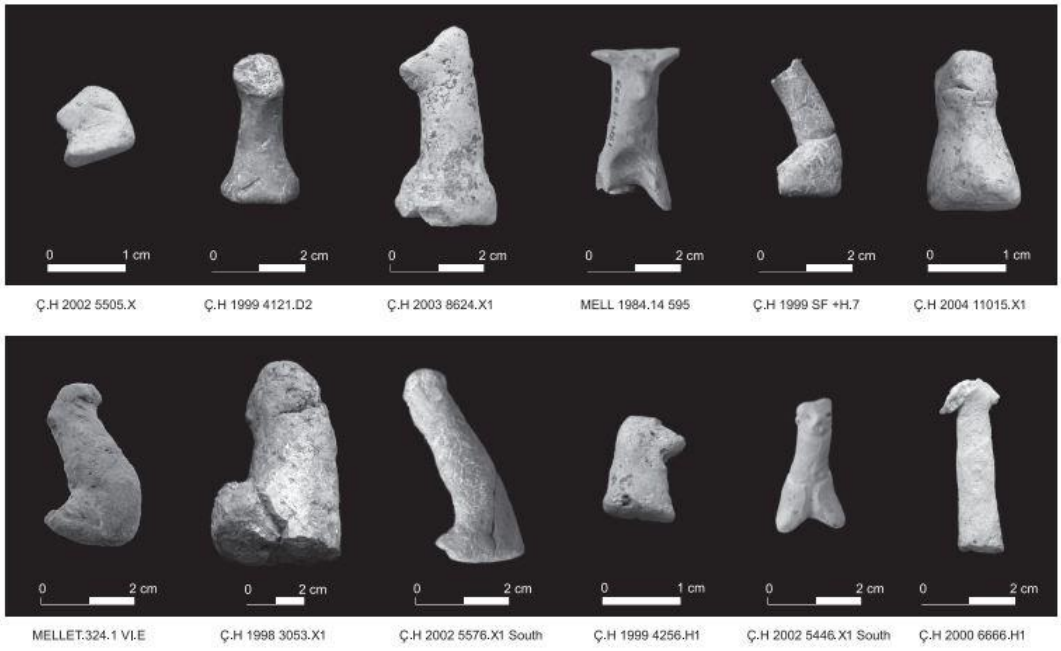

Figure 4. Some phallic and abbreviated figurines from Çatalhöyük (from Meskell et al. 2008: 142).

There are some phallic, pillar-like figurines in the corpus (Fig. 4). They have been made as an abbreviated human form with an extended upper body and two stubby legs (Meskell 2007: 146). While they remind one of human form, they also resemble male genitalia. It is possible that they made this in order to blur the sexual features or these figurines may have worked for combining different gendered bodies.

All figurines are generally found in secondary context such as in room fill, space between walls of the buildings, midden deposits, and grave fills. Although Mellaart claims that they found figurines in special contexts such as in shrines *in situ*, none of the figurines that are found in the new excavations are located in special cultic area (Meskell 2007: 147), except for one case of possible purposeful deposition from 2004 season in Space 227 of Building 47. The excavators found a stone figurine that looks as if it was put on or nearby the floor possibly associated with several animal

bones, worked bone, obsidian pieces and worked stone. This has been interpreted as could be associated to closing of the house (Bogdan 2004).

Two anthropomorphic figurines were found in Building 42, and both were made of stone (Meskell et al. 2008: 147). They are elongated anthropomorphic forms portraying parts of the body, head or face. One large figurine depicts a female holding her breasts. The other one is small, asexual in form. Both have large belly and buttocks, which remind one of unproductive sexuality instead of reproduction (Meskell et al 2008: 147-8). What is also striking is that there is a foundation deposit of a female buried with a plastered skull in this building. The burial with the plastered skull and the types of figurines related to Building 42 possibly show that they concentrate on humans or some parts or features of the physical body (Meskell et al. 2008: 148).

Compared to the wall paintings showing people in active position, figurines are motionless and are passive. Most of the human figures in wall paintings do not show clear gender, but there is one case where only bearded men are shown in deer hunt, and sometimes female figures can also be distinguished. While humans are depicted more realistically in wall paintings, there are a few examples that do resemble some of the figurines. For example, in one of the wall paintings from level IV, Mellaart (1962: plate XIII) found a white female figure holding her arms up that seems to be similar to the overweight figurines.

Figure 5. The anthropomorphic figurines from Building 42 (from Meskell et al. 2008: 148)

While their examination, the figurine analysis team found out that figurines show evidence of wear (Meskell 2007: 149). They might have been handled, circulated and carried together with organic and inorganic objects. In fact, some of these figurines, especially the stone ones do not have feet or anything to sit on. This suggests that figurines were not cult objects detached from the human world. Instead, Meskell (2007: 149) suggests that these figurines were collected together in small bags and carried around or worn on clothes.

Figures 6a. Wall painting showing a corpulent female figure from level IV.

6b. Tracing of the wall painting in 6a. (6a and 6b from Mellaart 1962: Plate XIII)

All human clay figurines except one are decapitated or missing heads. Approximately twelve of them have holes on their neck where a removable head can be inserted. Hodder and Meskell (2010: 56-57) indicate that the majority of the figurines with removable heads are overweight females: ten of them show breasts, two are similar to the female form and one is genderless. While most of the stone

figurines still have heads, some are intentionally decapitated. For example, one marble figurine from the 2005 season found in 4040 area in midden context has a solid base with probably an elongated neck. The long neck was cut off possibly with obsidian and even polished afterwards (Meskell 2008: 380). This suggests that head removal continues in figurines as well.

Figure 7. Marble figurine from 4040 area (from Meskell 2008: 380)

There is one very interesting figurine in the Çatalhöyük archives (Fig. 8). The front of the figurine depicts a vigorous female, showing her chubby stomach, belly button and large breasts. The figure is holding her breasts with her skinny arms and hands made in detail. The back of the figurine renders a complete skeleton with the spine, pelvis and the shoulder blades. Diagonal lines are used to show the ribs, and vertebrae are portrayed with vertical and horizontal lines. It has a hole on the neck, which suggests that it had a separate head. Remains of red paint around the chest and the leg area are also visible (Meskell 2007: 153). Meskell suggests that it is possibly showing a tension between the corporeal and spiritual worlds (Meskell 2007: 153).

Figure 8. Skeletal Figurine front and back view (from Meskell 2008: 382)

According to fingerprint analysis, clay figurines were not made by children as was suggested by Hamilton (1996b: 224) that they could be toys. However, this does not have to rule out that some of them could have been toys.

4.3.2. Burials

The Çatalhöyük burials have been studied by various anthropologists and archaeologists so far. Angel concluded that 136 of the 222 adult skeletons belonged to females (Angel 1971: 79). Ferembach also worked on the same skeletons. She suggested that among the 275 adults 54% was women, 42 % was men and 4 % could not be sexed (Ferembach 1972 in Düring 2003: 8). Interestingly, the recent excavations did not yield a similar result. The current anthropological investigations show similar quantities of male and female burials (Andrews *et al*. 2005: 276).

Mellaart concluded that the male grave goods were weapons such as maces, obsidian daggers, points and belt hooks while female grave goods contained jewelry such as necklaces, rings, bracelets, obsidian mirrors and spatulas that are thought to be make-

up appliers (Mellaart 1967: 208). Mellaart's conclusions were based only on the preliminary analysis and his first impressions. He did not have an anthropologist working with him at the site during the excavation. Therefore, the burials could not be sexed or aged by specialists immediately. When Hamilton (2005a: 303) questioned Mellaart's conclusions, she found out that there is little relationship between gender and the grave goods. This might shed some light on the gender roles in Çatalhöyük. Hamilton suggests that either multiple genders were present, or there was a lack of clear sex/gender division. This could suggest that the situation there was more fluid (Hamilton 1996b: 262; 2005a: 303), and that the associated grave goods were unlikely to be sex-related as had been suggested by Mellaart. There are usually up to six burials in many buildings in Çatalhöyük (but it sometimes goes up to 60). All ages and both sexes of people are represented in those buildings and this suggests a possible relationship between the burials and the occupants of the buildings (Hodder and Cessford 2004: 22).

The skull cult has been known in Çatalhöyük since Mellaart's excavations in 1960s (Mellaart 1967: 84). However, in 2004 the team found a skull with plastered facial featured and painted red. As mentioned above, the skull itself was male but a woman who has been placed in a foundation pit was holding it (Hodder 2006: 148). This building was built over a midden area and Hodder thinks that this might be an indication of erecting a building over a significant ancestor (Hodder 2006: 148).

Figure 9. Female burial with plastered male skull (from Meskell 2008: 380)

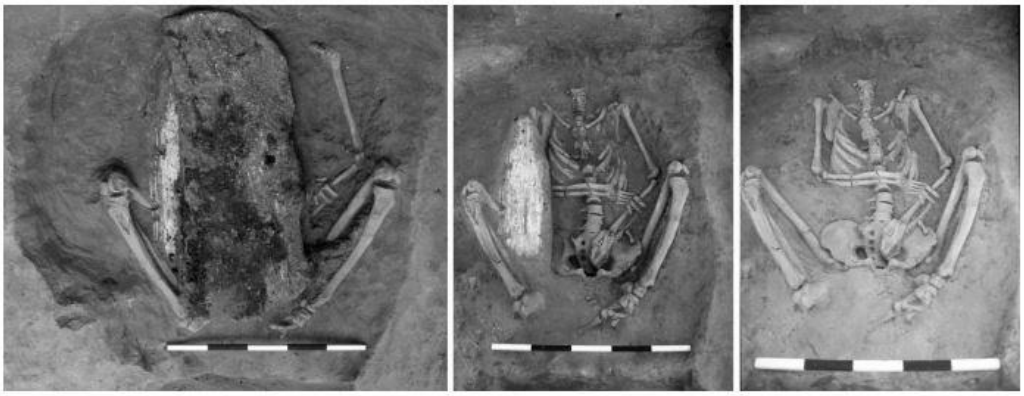

Figure 10. Male skeleton with head removal was buried with wooden plank on the torso (from Meskell 2008: 379)

Recent excavations have uncovered two headless skeletons (Hodder 2006: 209). One of these burials had special treatment: this was a male skeleton placed in a large burial pit. His legs were splayed and a piece of textile and a wooden board were protecting the body (Fig. 10). The individual might have been obese and may have required special treatment (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 221). Both of the skeletons that went through skull removal are males, but a female cranium was recovered from a post-removal pit in one of the buildings, and two crania were deposited at

abandonment of a building are a female and a child (Hodder 2006: 210). Therefore, Hodder suggests that ancestry was claimed through both male and female lines (2006: 210).

According to the burial data analysis in Building 1, which is a "history house" that has 62 burials, the burials belong to either very young or the elderly (Molleson et al. 2005: Tables 12.1, 12.2 and Figure 12.2). The age results bring up questions about whether the age of the dead was related to them being buried inside this building. This concept is discussed further in chapter 5.

There might be a relation between the end of the building life and the dead buried in that building before closing. For example in Building 1, the probable last burials are mainly male adults but also some juveniles (Hodder 2006: 210).

Diet is one of the strongest lines of evidence for the relative status of males and females. If they, in fact, lived different lives or one group was more significant than the other, we would expect a difference in diet such that some members had received better access to certain calorie-rich foods (Hodder 2006: 210). However, no clear differences could be identified in Çatalhöyük skeletons. The number of teeth with caries is higher in females than in males (Molleson et al. 2005: 292). Molleson et al. (2005: 292) suggest that women tend to have carbohydrate-rich foods as snacks during the day, which in the end might have caused them to be fatter in relation to their height than males. They also concluded that since females had relatively greater body weight, they were the ones who carried out somewhat more sedentary tasks such as food preparation (Molleson et al. 2005: 300).

Tooth-wear analysis did not show any difference between males and females (Molleson et al. 2005: 295). There is very little evidence for teeth being used for food

preparation or task-related activities, except perhaps the case of one male from the south area. This individual has chipping of the enamel on the front teeth (Molleson et al. 2005: 295). The stable isotope evidence for human bones shows that there is no notable difference in terms of diet between males and females (Richards et al. 2003: 71).

Insoluble carbon residue caused by smoke accumulated in the lungs during life and deposited in the vertebrae and ribs after lungs decay has been observed in many old skeletons (Andrews et al. 2005: 277). Hodder suggests that both men and women were associated with smoke-filled houses when they became old (2006: 210). Therefore, there is no evidence for only women being associated with the house.

According to the skeletal analysis the robusticity of the first metatarsal is similar in both sexes (Molleson et al. 2005: 287). This suggests that neither of the two sexes was more involved in any one activity such as grinding grains. Study on sitting positions showed that males usually squat, either on their toes or with the whole feet on the ground while females can sit in various positions, as they were probably choosing the best position for their convention or task (Molleson et al. 2005: 289). Although the difference in sitting positions between males and females might indicate gender-based job distribution, the anthropological analysis showed that there is no distinct bone morphology that might suggest specific tasks or role specialization in Çatalhöyük community (Molleson et al. 2005: 289).

Also, the excavations on the latest phases of the East Mound (The TP area in Çatalhöyük East) showed that there was a transformation in burial practices in the last levels (II, I and 0). An infant burial was found directly underneath the hearth with feasting deposits on the SE corner of Building 33. It was buried in crouched

position on its left with face looking outwards. The infant was buried in a basket and a large cattle pelvis fragment was found under its head (Marciniak and Czerniak 2007a: 120). This sort of burial custom is unknown form earlier deposits.

Another change in burial customs in Çatalhöyük East can be seen in Space 248. This area was probably used as a burial chamber with at least six individuals (two infants and probably four adult females) on the south and four individuals (probably female) on the north. The skeletons on the north were mainly disarticulated remains, mostly skulls while the southern skeletons were articulated (Marciniak and Czerniak 2007a: 120-121). All the human remains were interred on the floor and then covered with a plaster layer. The remains or their fragments were buried in at least two episodes marked by a layer of silty plaster (Marciniak and Czerniak 2007a: 121).

In the north section of this space, there was an installation composed of a bucranium and a female skeleton. The bucranium abutted a well preserved plastered bench that was placed against the western wall, and both of them were directly on the floor. Such juxtaposition of bucrania and human skeleton was not seen in earlier layers as well (Marciniak and Czerniak 2007a: 121).

4.3.3. *Summary of Çatalhöyük data*

The Çatalhöyük figurines have been interpreted by various researchers in different ways: cult statues, toys, ritual objects or gods and goddesses. While Mellaart believed that figurines represented the Mother Goddess and her husband, the later interpreters disagreed with him. According to Voigt (2000: 287) and Hamilton (1996b: 225) there seems to be a change in gender ideology in figurines after level V, because the female figurines become more common in the upper levels. The figurines are usually found discarded in house fill or middens. The human figures in

wall paintings are usually portrayed active while figurines show inactive and static. All but one anthropomorphic clay figurines are missing their head. This could be related to skull removal and circulation. Skull removal and manipulation have been evidenced in Çatalhöyük. Both male and female skulls are removed, implying no distinction between males and females.

Males and females were buried in the same way in Çatalhöyük. Stable Isotope Analysis shows that their diet was similar, and anthropological examinations of the skeletons suggest that there was no gender-based job distribution. Tooth wear analysis also demonstrates no difference in males and females. Also, both males and females seem to have spent their time indoors when they got older, according to the insoluble carbon residue found in the ribs, indicating that not only females were associated with the house. However, this might have changed in the later levels because all of the adult skeletons that have been found in the uppermost levels (TP area) of Çatalhöyük are females.

4.4.GENDER IN KÖŞK HÖYÜK

4.4.1. Figurines

A total of 31 anthropomorphic figurines has been found in Köşk Höyük so far. Most of the Köşk Höyük figurines are made of clay. Only eight of them are stone and they are found in the earlier levels III dating between 5600-5400 BC and IV (currently undated). Although no analysis has been published on the production of Köşk Höyük figurines, the variation among the figurines suggests that many people were producing them. It is also possible that the stone figurines were made by different people as they require different tasks and tools. Moreover, a new style of figurines

with rounded headdress starts in level II and continues through level I.

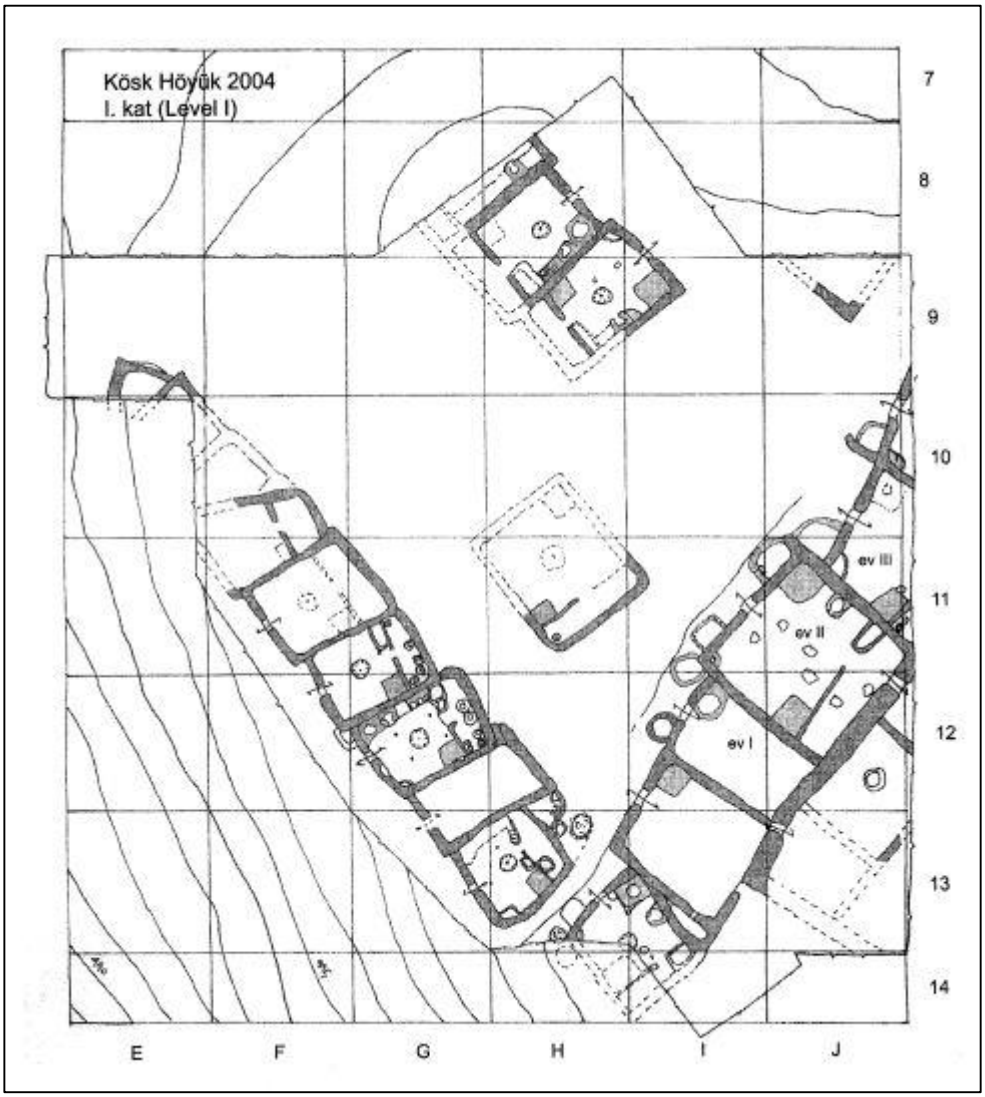

Figure 11. Köşk Höyük Level I plan showing *Ev II* (from Arbuckle 2006: 95)

The Köşk figurines have been found in various contexts. Some of these contexts can link anthropomorphic figurines with ritualistic activities. Among the Level I buildings, *Ev II* is exceptionally big compared to the rest of the buildings (Özkan et al. 2003: 199) (Fig. 11). It has the same standard plan as the rest of the Level I houses, except for a second entrance in the storage area that had a much larger storage capacity and more grinding stones than the other houses (Arbuckle 2006: 94-96).

Not many artifacts were found in *Ev II*, indicating that its inventory was either removed before or recovered after the fire destroyed it (Özkan et al. 2003: 199). But, a "Mother Goddess" figurine was found in the middle of the main room and a collection of animal figurines on the threshold of the rear door (Özkan et al. 2003: 199).

However, in 1989, the excavation team found three ovens and several *in situ* grinding stones, mortars, pestles. On two sides of a storage vessel located in this area, two female figurines were found. These finds are discussed in terms of ritual/domestic significance in Chapter 5.

Compared to Çatalhöyük figurines found discarded in middens or garbage pits, most of the Köşk figurines are found related to structures and inside of buildings. It is possible that even though there are some stylistic similarities between the Çatalhöyük and Köşk Höyük figurines, they were used for different purposes. Although no figurines were found in burials in Çatalhöyük, there is one female child burial with a female figurine as a grave good (Silistreli 1989a: 92). This is a sub-floor burial from a level III building. Apart from the figurine, a small vessel, a spoon, a stone miniature idol, a bone seal and beads are found in this burial. The figurine has big almond shaped eyes, a hooked nose, fleshy cheeks, large breasts, hips and lower legs (Fig. 12). She is shown seated, holding her breasts and wearing a round headgear. This interesting find is unique in that it is the only example of the figurines coming from a burial context in Köşk Höyük, and possibly even from the whole Central Anatolia in the Neolithic and the Early Chalcolithic period.

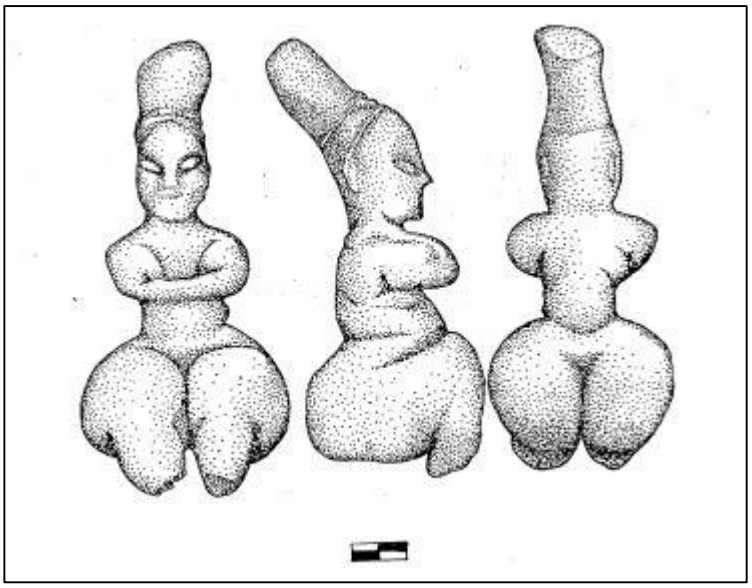

Figure 12. Female Figurine from a subfloor burial (from Silistreli 1989b: Plate 5)

Another figurine fragment was found in a box-like area together with two plastered and three unplastered skulls, several pots and a bone object (Öztan et al. 2007: 121). Interestingly 30 cm above this area, five more plastered skulls were found under the platform of a building in level II (Özbek 2009: 150). The fact that the Köşk Höyük people put the second group of plastered skulls exactly on top of the first group shows that they knew where the initial cache was. This spot in the building might have especially been important and that was the reason why they decided to put the plastered and unplastered skulls there, but it is also possible that the spot was selected randomly and it gained its special/cultic value simply because the skulls were there.

It is very interesting that among the 31 anthropomorphic figurines, only two are identified as male while 26 of them as female (see Table 1). If these gender interpretations are actually correct, there is a major imbalance between the male and female representations. Yet, engendering the Köşk Höyük figurines might be somewhat biased as explained below in Chapter 5.

4.4.2. Relief decorated pottery

Köşk Höyük is also known for large jars with relief decorations of animals, humans and plants. These relief decorations mostly come from levels III and II and they have been found in burials and together with other types of decorated vessels (Öztan 2012: 39). The decorations are mostly applied below the neck on the shoulder and sometimes on the rim of the jar (Öztan 2012: 39). They are applied on the pot from the same type of material and pasted on the pot. Then, the shape is first outlined by hand and a tool is used in order to make the detailed image. After that, the pot is slipped and sometimes painted.

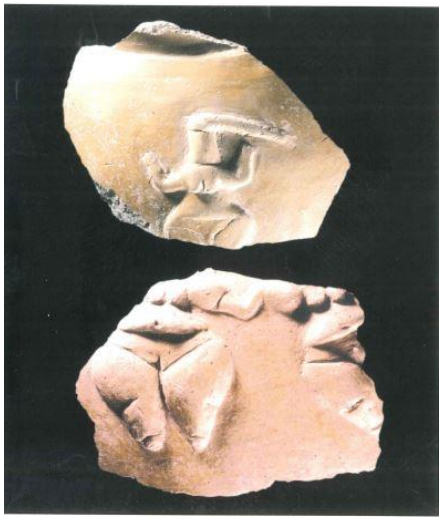

Figure 13. Relief decorated pottery with a naked female from Köşk Höyük (from Öztan 2007: 225)

There are two human-shaped vessels found at Köşk Höyük. Although these are different from the rest of the relief decorated vessels, they are made in a similar way and possibly for a similar purpose. Both of these vessels were found in Level III buildings (Silistreli 1989c: 371; Öztan 2011: 63, Fig. 33). The neck was shaped into a dark coloured headgear and the overweight human figure, quite clearly a woman

forms the body of the vessel (Silistreli 1989c: 372). The figure was depicted holding her breasts and painted white on red slip (Fig. 14; Silistreli 1989c: 372). The second anthropomorphic vessel was also shaped in female form, although executed in a different manner as only the head and upper body is depicted. The eyes, nose and ears represented on the neck of the vessel while thin arms and breasts are shown in the body part (Öztan 2011: 63, Fig. 33). No depiction of the legs or hips of the person exists.

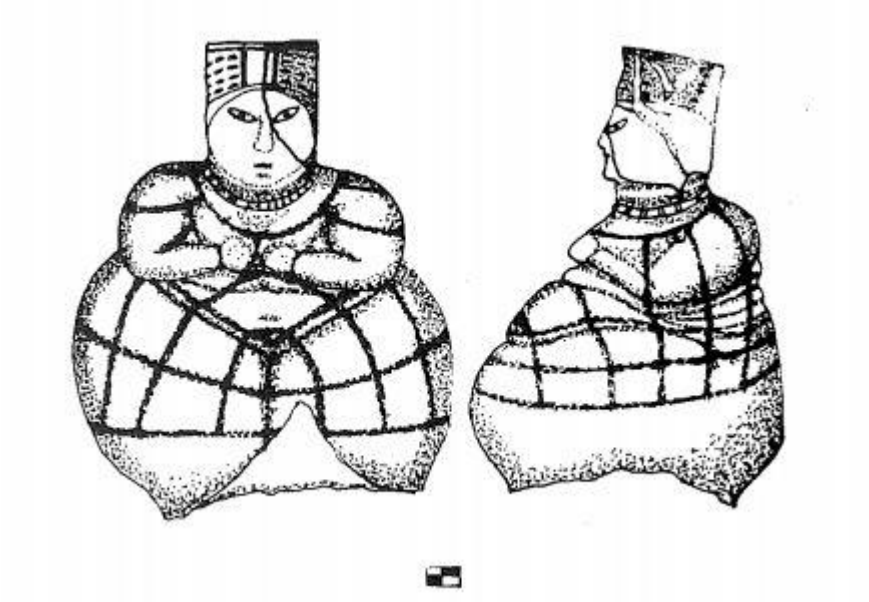

Figure 14. Human shaped vessel from Köşk Höyük (from Silistreli 1989c: Pl. XIII/3)

Among the anthropomorphic figures there are scenes that could be interpreted as daily activities such as milking cows (Silistreli 1985: 130), hunting animals (Özkan et al. 2001: 338; Öztan et al. 2005: 383 Fig. 14), and harvesting plants (Özkan et al. 2003: 201). There are also figures showing dancing scenes (Öztan et al. 2005: 383). In Köşk Höyük relief decorated vessels mainly two different types of anthropomorphic figures are seen. One group of people are shown naked, usually with breasts and pubic triangle visible. These can be and have been interpreted as

females. These figures are depicted with fleshy buttocks and a large stomach (see Öztan 2012: 65 Figs. 37 and 38; Silistreli 1989c: Plates I, II, and III figures 1 and 2). They are mainly shown in two postures. Either they are standing still alone with one hand on the hip, or they are together with other naked corpulent females and holding hands, which has been interpreted as dancing (Silistreli 1989c: 363). Just like the female figurines, the female figures on the relief decorated pottery have been identified as the "Mother Goddess" or "goddess" by Uğur Silistreli (1989c), and Aliye Öztan identified some of them as goddesses and some as females (Öztan 2012: 39), but there is no clear distinction between the two.

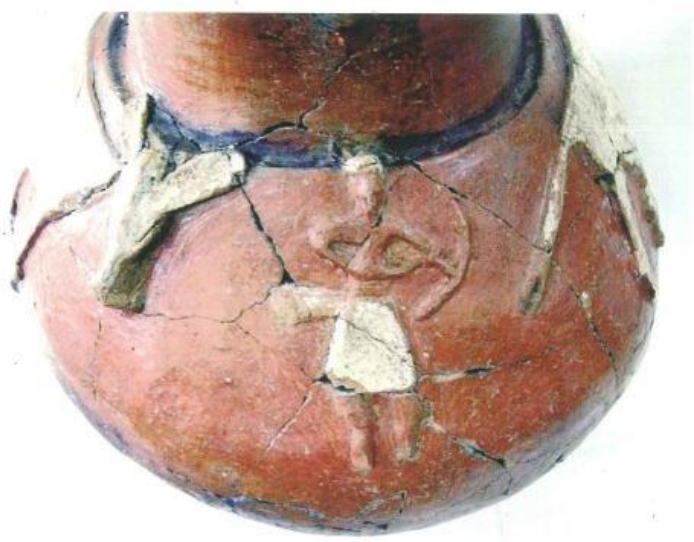

Figure 15. Relief decorated pottery with hunting scene from Köşk Höyük (from Öztan 2007: 221)

A second group of anthropomorphic figures are depicted slimmer than the first group (Fig. 15). They are devoid of sexual characteristics such as breasts or genitalia, and they always wear an apron or a skirt that extends down to their knees, sometimes with a belt, and occasionally wearing a head gear (Silistreli 1989c: Pl. III Fig.s 3 and 4, Pl. IV; Öztan 2012: 64 Fig. 35, 61 Fig. 29). These figures are usually depicted

active, doing various kinds of tasks such as hunting animals (Özbek 2012: 61Fig. 29), harvesting crops (Öztan 2012: 64 Fig. 35), holding a tall staff or a tree (Silistreli 1989c: Pl. IV). These figures have been identified as males by both Silistreli (1989c) and Öztan (2012), and sometimes as gods. Further discussion concerning relief decorated pottery in Köşk Höyük is in Chapter 5.

4.4.3. Burials

Köşk Höyük is a very peculiar site in terms of burial practices where different mortuary practices are performed on the dead at the same time. For example, one of the earliest sarcophagus (taş sanduka) burials was excavated by Silistreli in 1985 from Level III (Silistreli 1986: 174). However, he does not provide detailed information (whether it is a male or female burial, what kind of grave goods it had etc.) concerning this burial. Other burial practices include jar burials, simple inhumations, double burials and the removal of skulls for plastering (Öztan 2012: 35). Nevertheless, most of the information about gendered individuals comes from Aliye Öztan's excavations, because Silistreli usually does not mention the sex of the burials. Therefore, only the individuals that have been sexed will be discussed in this section.

One of the burials from Level II belongs to a female child. Silistreli (1989: 92) notes that she was buried with a female figurine, a spoon, a stone idol, a stamp seal and many beads (See the Köşk Höyük figurines section above).

One primary burial from Level III was found in 2005 in the northern section (Özbek 2009: 383-384). The body was lying on its right, oriented northeast to southwest. It was a young male around 15-16 years old. The skull and mandible were missing

from his skeleton. The dead was buried intact below the floor and when the decomposition of the flesh was complete, the skull was taken off.

Several adult skeletons that could have been sexed have also been discussed in Köşk Höyük publications. One female skeleton, around 50-55 years old, was found in Level III under the house floor (Özbek 2009: 384). She was oriented in northwest-southeast direction. The burial did not contain any grave goods, but her skull was removed some time after burial, as well.

Two adults, one male and one female, were buried together under the floor of a level III building (Silistreli 1987: 131-132). The grave contained two bowls, one decorated box with a decorated lid, a spoon that ends with an animal head, two large fruit stands, three bone and one stone stamp seals, one animal figurine and many beads. This is a very interesting burial because it is the only double burial at the site.

In a level III trapezoidal building, six individuals have been found buried under the house floor (Öztan et al. 2007: 317), but only two of them will be mentioned here because the others have not been sexed. In one of the rooms of this house two female skeletons are found. One of them was lying on the stone wall of a previous level (Öztan et al. 2007: 317). Sherds belonging to 12 different pots were found on her and around the room. She had many beads as bracelets and a necklace as grave goods. The other female is buried sitting and leaning against the western wall of the room. Some of the sherds that belong to the same 12 pots are also found on her. Her head was removed and her arms were placed as if she was holding her neck. Many vessels including fruit stands and bowls were placed around the bodies as grave goods (Öztan 2010: 88-89).

Another adult female skeleton was found in an earlier level, level IV. The burial was simple inhumation, buried in flexed position and oriented southwest-northeast direction. Her skull was also removed some time after her death. She had many grave goods including two plates, three bowls, one fruit stand, one obsidian dagger, one obsidian blade, one bone spatula and one bone tool. Moreover, a necked jar was left where her skull would be (Öztan 2010: 89).

Another female burial around 20-30 years old from level IV was buried in flexed position in southwest-northeast orientation. Her head was also removed later. The grave contained several pots and plates and one obsidian dagger, a bone spatula, a bone tool and an obsidian blade. What is more intriguing is that after the burial is placed, several stones are put on top and it is plastered. Then, an oven is built on top of it (Öztan et al. 2009: 258) which may suggest that it functioned as a foundation deposit.

Remodeling skulls have been found in various Early Neolithic sites in the Levant and Central Anatolia in Çatalhöyük (Kenyon 1981; Silistreli 1984; 1990; Rollefson and Simmons 1984; Butler 1989; Yakar 1991: 190; Gates 1997; Özkan et al. 2001). 13 plastered and 6 unplastered skulls have been unearthed in Köşk Höyük so far (Özbek 2009: 380).

Male, female and child skulls have been discovered plastered at Köşk Höyük (Özbek 2009: 380). All of them were found either on their own or grouped together. In 2006 five adult skulls were found in a building from level II in the northeastern sector of the settlement (Özbek 2009: 380; Öztan et al. 2007: 121). These skulls were found in a 2 cm thick, 40 cm long box, lying in a row. Three of these skulls were plastered and two of them were untreated. The plastered skulls were placed on the edges of the

box while the unplastered two were in the middle. The skulls were facing east and might have been laid or wrapped up in mats. They were found together with three vessels and a headless female figurine (Özbek 2009: 380).

These five skulls were found approximately 30 cm below the other five plastered skulls that were found in 2000 in the same building, also from level II (Özbek 2009: 380). These adult skulls were found on a mudbrick pedestal 100x120 cm in size together with three necklace beads and a bone awl (Özkan et al. 336; Bonogofsky 2005: 128). Although at first they were thought to be untreated, Bonogofsky found out that they were in fact plastered (2005: 129).

In 2007 season three well-preserved jars were found in a building from level I. There was a cranium of a young female, earlier than 20 years old, in one of these big jars (Öztan et al. 2008: 316). This cranium was not plastered, and the jar did not contain any grave goods (Özbek 2009: 383).

According to the anthropological examinations three of the plastered skulls are female and four of them are male while five of them could not be sexed (Özbek 2009: 381, Table 1). Only one of the skulls that have been recovered belongs to a child. Moreover, three of the untreated skulls are female and two are male. This is an important point because it shows that not only male but also female skulls were removed, treated and circulated among the community.

4.4.4. *Summary of Köşk Data*

Köşk Höyük is a rich site in terms of anthropomorphic representations. Köşk figurines are not as numerous as Çatalhöyük ones, but they do share a similarities. The earliest layers of Köşk Höyük date to sometime around 6500 BC, when significant changes occurred in Çatalhöyük society. The increasing number of female

figurines in Çatalhöyük continues to be the norm in Köşk. All of the definite male figurines come from levels III and IV, but engendering these figurines might be biased. Some of the figurines are found in possible ritual contexts such as graves and buried together with plastered skulls, but this is not necessarily true for all figurines. Also, figurines are usually found in domestic contexts as opposed to Çatalhöyük ones being found in midden deposits. Pottery sherds with relief decoration are also abundant at the site. Two main types of figures occur: corpulent naked females standing up alone or holding hands with other females, and sexless slim figures doing various kinds of labor such as harvesting and hunting. Most of the burials that have been sexed are females. All of the burials are very rich in terms of grave goods. Some of them had their skulls removed. 13 plastered and 6 unplastered skulls have been recovered from Köşk Höyük so far. These belong to both males and females, and a child.

4.5.CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Engendering prehistoric sites has always been very difficult because of the challenges of recovery and representation. However, skeletal remains and figural representations many times have proven to be very helpful in this challenging process. The mortuary and anthropomorphic representations data gained from the Central Anatolian sites Boncuklu, Aşıklı, Çatalhöyük and Köşk Höyük clarify that there has been a gradual change in terms of gender representations. In the earlier sites Boncuklu and Aşıklı, male and female representations in burials are the same. Both genders seem to eat similar food (Baird, pers. comm.; Özbek 1996: 85) and are buried the same way (Özbek 1998: 568; Baird et al. 2012d: 18). However, some sort of labor distribution between males and females can be observed from the Aşıklı skeletons while Boncuklu skeletal analyses have yet to be published. As we do not

have much evidence from visual representations, it is not possible to comment on that part of the research for the earlier levels.

The earlier levels (before level V) of Çatalhöyük also show an equal representation of both genders in mortuary remains and visual media. Male and female skeletons show that they ate the same food, did similar kinds of labor and buried the same way. Yet, the skeletons found in the uppermost levels (in TP area) are only females and babies, but not males. Also, the number of corpulent female figurines increases after level V. The same phenomenon can be found in Köşk Höyük as well. More female burials have been found in Köşk Höyük. Moreover, the female figurines definitely outnumber the male ones, and the male figurines are usually found in the earlier levels that correspond to level V in Çatalhöyük. These results are interpreted in the following chapter more extensively.

5. CHAPTER 5: INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

The study of gender has had an impact on archaeological research all over the world for the last forty years. Yet, in figurine studies, engendering Anatolian prehistory has not really gone beyond defining which figure is male/ female or in most cases which figure represents a god/goddess. In terms of physical anthropology, the case is not much better. Although there are some exceptional sites that concentrate on gender such as Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2006: 207-218) and Domuztepe (Croucher and Campbell 2009), most of the publications do not concentrate on this concept.

Human figurines have theoretically been associated with goddess veneration (Eg. Mellaart 1967; Silistreli 1989b; Umurtak 2011; Öztan 2012: 40-41). However, as Nakamura and Meskell (2009: 207) underline, this is a Euro-American stereotype and problematic if we project this to past cultures. Large breasts, stomachs and buttocks are sexualized features in the Western world and we cannot really know whether they had the same connotations in the Neolithic. Our interpretation often simplifies the situation for earlier settlements by assuming particular types of sex and gender identities, gendered roles, behavior patterns and family types (Croucher 2008: 32). We should keep in mind that no one can be 100% objective in their interpretation because our own cultural taboos and stereotypes impair our judgment.

This chapter concentrates on my own interpretation of the data that has been demonstrated in Chapter 4. A site by site interpretation is given first, where Boncuklu, Aşıklı, Çatalhöyük and Köşk Höyük are presented. This is followed by a general interpretative conclusion on the Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic of Central Anatolia.

5.1.BONCUKLU HÖYÜK INTERPRETATION

Based on the observations presented in Chapter 4 below, I feel we can safely say that there is no obvious differentiation in burial practices between males and females in Boncuklu (Baird et al. 2012d: 18). Both males and females were buried under house floors, in flexed position, in the southeastern or the eastern part of structures. This is thought to be the cleaner area related to the symbolic practices. While none of the skeletons found in the buildings had their skulls removed, the isolated cranium that was found outside midden deposits is intriguing. This skull could have ended up here as a result of redeposition, but it could also be related to symbolic practices in Boncuklu.

Skull removal, manipulation and deposition were widespread among the Central Anatolian and other Southwest Asian Aceramic and Pottery Neolithic Period sites (Croucher 2012: 93-154). However, because all discovered skulls were intact in the inhumations at Boncuklu, to whom did these skull fragments belong[5]? Was this individual special somehow, or was the removal and circulation of the skull more important than the individual to whom the skull belonged?

Grave goods are absent in most burials (Baird 2010: 12). Yet, some interesting comparisons can be made between different households, and the males and females. Apparently the male and female burials from Grave 16, Building 4 were arranged with respect to each other as the female was buried on top of the male facing down to him, possibly as a symbolic representation of their relationship. Grave goods, some of which included the largest obsidian tools and raw materials found at the site were associated with these two burials (Baird et al. 2012d: 18). This shows great contrast

[5] Since little concerning this cranium has been published, we lack information about its sex.

with other burials, like those in Building 14, which lacked grave goods regardless of gender or age.

With respect to the burial data, it seems plausible that the Boncuklu community had variability in mortuary practices and grave goods. This might be related to status differences between the households in Boncuklu society, but little hierarchy appears present between males and females based on the burial data. In fact, it is very probable that both the male and the female were attributed equal importance in their society given the close resemblance in grave goods. In the case of Building 14, neither male nor female burials were rich in grave goods.

Stable Isotope Analysis also demonstrates that both males and females within the Boncuklu buildings ate similar food (Baird, pers. comm.) which is expected given the lack of gender-based differentiation.

Although several anthropomorphic figurines have been found at Boncuklu, they provide little insight when engendering the settlement. Considering the high schematization of the figurine that was described in Chapter 4 (Fig. 3), assigning it a sex is nearly impossible; it lacks a pubic triangle and breasts and hence cannot be identified as female. But this does not automatically suggest that it should be ascribed a male gender either. The figurine might have had perishable aspects representing gender which did not survive. It is also possible that the figurine was intentionally made sexless, because sex was not an essential aspect for the purpose of this particular figurine.

As has been underlined in Chapter 2, sexless figurines do not have to be genderless. They could be renderings of third gendered individuals. We cannot, furthermore, know whether sexless figurines were actually gender neutral (Daems 2008: 81) or

represented genderless thoughts (Rautman and Talalay 2000: 3). Nor can we conclude that they included both male and female sexes and could move in and out of various sexual categories (Talalay 2000: 8). Yet, it is early to claim that sexlessness was a structural aspect in the Boncuklu community. Further research needs to be done on this subject in order to make such a claim.

5.1.1. *Boncuklu summary*

The dead in Boncuklu lack notable indication of difference in terms of burial practices that includes the location and position of the burial and the grave goods. Although no differentiation can be observed from the burial practices between males and females so far, some differentiation between households can be seen in burial practices. This differentiation can be compared with Çatalhöyük's 'history houses' and the rest of the buildings. The anthropomorphic figurines found at the site are mainly sexless (Baird 2009: 10; Baird et al. 2011: 16), which might be regarded as a gender category other than male or female, or the figurines may have been embodying gender-free concepts. The Stable Isotope evidence demonstrates that both males and females ate the same foods (D. Baird, pers. comm.). When we consider all the evidence, it seems that the Boncuklu community shows equality between males and females.

5.2.AŞIKLI HÖYÜK INTERPRETATION

Although the burial data is limited, it is intriguing to find most of the grave goods related to female skeletons. While only one male (Özbek 2011: 1), one child (Özbek 1994: 24-25) and one baby burial (Özbek 2011: 4) contained burial goods, five female burials (three from the 8th (Özbek 1994: 24; Özbek 1993: 202) and two from the 9th millennium settlements (Özbaşaran 2013: 4-5) contained burial gifts .

Moreover, the relationship between deer and females both in the 9th and in the 8th millennium is notable; deer bones (one antler and one scapula) were found in two of the female burials and appear to be the only animal bones related to burials at this site.

All skeletons regardless of sex and age display exposure to fire around 200^0C prior to burial both on the skull and the rest of the body (Özbek 1998: 568). While one of the female burials has evidence for trepanation (Özbek 1992: 153), another female (around 55 years old) skull has scalping marks (Özbek 1993: 207). Trepanation might have been done for magical, ritualistic or healing purposes. Özbek notes that trepanation is also performed in some modern societies against madness, protection from evil spirits, headaches, dizziness, insanity and epilepsy (Özbek 1992: 153; also see Chippaux 1961; Lisowski 1967; Vlček 1972).

Scalping seems to be done right after death as the skull lacks healing (Özbek 1993: 207). Why the Aşıklı people scalped this woman remains a question. Could this be a kind of autopsy or a belief? Scalping was very common among the North American Indians, usually applied on the patient after death. The Hopi Indians did autopsies on the skulls of the patients in order to determine the cause of the illness on the head by using similar techniques. In fact, very similar cut marks were found on the parietal and occipital areas of one of the skulls belonging to an Indian in Illinois (Steinbock 1976 in Özbek 1993: 208).

The fact that only the female skeletons had traumatic arthritis while most of the male skeletons lacked this disease is very significant because it suggests that females and males worked on different types of jobs (Özbek 1993: 206-207). The females were occupied with some heavy labor which may have involved carrying things on their

backs. These jobs might have included carrying wood, water and food to the site. Two of the published old male skeletons of 50 and 56 years of age have degenerative arthritis on their vertebrae. While this disease can develop due to old age, it can also be caused by injuries or as Özbek (2011: 4) suggests, a repetitive habit of carrying heavy loads on the back. Therefore, occasionally males might also have been involved in tasks similar to those practiced by women. This does not necessarily indicate that all males and females had similar workload, but the two male skeletons show that there was no clear-cut division of labor between males and females in the Aşıklı community.

The use of teeth as a tool is evidenced at several archaeological sites (Özbek 2011: 6), like Abu Hureyra, Syria, where some skeletons were found with grooved frontal teeth suggesting basket making and weaving (Molleson 1994: 73-74). However, such activities would cause abrasion on only the upper teeth. Some Aşıklı individuals have an abrasion on the lower teeth as well. In order to get both the upper and the lower frontal teeth abraded, a large object needs to be held by both hands and pulled from down to up through the frontal teeth of lower jaw (Özbek 2011: 6). Özbek (2011: 7) suggests that this could result from leather processing.

Since the frequency of enamel hypoplasia between male and female teeth seems to be the same, both male and female children appear to have the same rate of growth interruptions or similarities in their occurrences of frequency[6] (Büyükkarakaya and Erdal 2006: 69). This might be an indication that there is little difference between males and females in terms of diet in Aşıklı Höyük community. Nonetheless, stable isotope analysis is needed to make further interpretations about their diet.

[6] In comparison, the Çayönü skeletons show that female children had a higher risk of getting sick while they were growing up, suggesting task differentiation and different diet between males and females in Çayönü.

While some anthropomorphic figurines are found in Aşıklı's predecessor and contemporary site Boncuklu, as well as at Çatalhöyük and Köşk Höyük, no anthropomorphic figurines, quite remarkably, have been found in Aşıklı so far. What might be the reason for this? Is it possible that anthropomorphic figurines in Aşıklı were made of wood or other perishable material? Could the Aşıklı community have not followed the same tradition as the rest of the Central Anatolian settlements discussed in this thesis and simply never produced figurines?

5.2.1. *Aşıklı summary*

The Aşıklı burials show that both males and females went through similar mortuary practices including burial inside house floors in flexed position and burning to a certain degree around 200^0C. Two of the female skeletons show marks of surgical procedures on their skull in forms of trepanation and scalping while another two were associated with deer bones. Studies on teeth enamel suggest that males and females ate similar foods and were prone to similar childhood illnesses. Both males and females used their teeth as a tool which resulted in severe abrasions of their frontal teeth. The skeletal remains indicate that more females suffered from traumatic arthritis, although a few male skeletons also show evidence for arthritis that might be connected to heavy labor. Nonetheless, this situation may result from issues connected to sample size given that more female skeletons have been published. Although no anthropomorphic figurines have been discovered in Aşıklı so far, they might have been made of perishable materials that make detection impossible. With all things considered, the Aşıklı community seems to be an egalitarian society, possibly with a gendered division of labor.

5.3.ÇATALHÖYÜK INTERPRETATION

5.3.1. Figurines

Theme: mother goddess

Especially given the female figurines yielded by its excavation, Çatalhöyük has been a key site for "Mother Goddess" theories.

Mellaart argued that the stone figurines were cult objects representing not only the female "Mother Goddess", but also the male god (Mellaart 1967: 138). He suggested that these figurines show gods and goddesses in different ages, in "holy" marriage, pregnant, giving birth, or controlling the wild (Mellaart 1967: 138). However, after level VI, god figurines were not produced. In earlier levels (VII, VI) most of the figurines are made of stone while in later levels they are mostly made of clay (Mellaart 1967: 181).

Mellaart proposed that the divine family is the representation of the family image itself: mother, daughter, son and father. However, mother and daughter (or young virgin) are two sides of womanhood while father and son are two sides of manhood (Mellaart 1967: 142). The only question he addresses is whether the Çatalhöyük pantheon consisted of two or four deities given that he automatically assumes the presence of nuclear families with one mother, one father and two children, a boy and a girl representative of perfect family in Western culture. We naturally do not know what type of families the Çatalhöyük people had. Mellaart fails to explain why the figurines should represent gods or goddesses and to challenge the binary concepts of sex/gender or male/female.

In fact, the theories about worshiping female divinities or the concept of matriarchy have been challenged by the recent excavations at Çatalhöyük. Nakamura and

Meskell (2009: 208), for example, believe that presence or absence of large breasts, stomachs and buttocks may, in fact, be related to the state of pregnancy, childbirth or childhood. Likewise, the moulded figures spreading their arms and legs on the walls were suggested to be female by Mellaart (1967: 82) but recent finds have transformed this thought as they are now thought to be representations of animal forms such as bears (Türkcan 2007).

Theme: headlessness

Headlessness is a theme that has been noted for not only the Çatalhöyük figurines. The heads of the moulded figures on the walls show marks of purposeful defacement and some of the wall paintings also display depictions of heads and headless bodies (Hamilton 1996b: 220). Moreover, several removed skulls are also found in some buildings on the benches and in one burial.

Some figurines have holes where a detachable head can be inserted. While they could be a precaution against the heads breaking off, heads may have been changed depending on the aims for use. Various figurine heads were recovered and it seems as if they were used to depict various feelings, conditions of existence or manners and they were treated with care at least in some cases (Hamilton 1996b: 221). Nakamura and Meskell (2006: 166) have recognized that there are more figurines that have holes for detachable heads than the heads themselves. This might mean that the head is rather specific and creative while the body is a more generalized thing. However, this does not necessarily mean that there was a hierarchy between the body and the head (Hodder and Meskell 2011: 248). Nonetheless, it could also be a result of the perishability of the materials from which heads were made. Meskell (2007: 154) suggests that the figurine heads, specifically the removable ones represented the

plastered skulls because in both cases the foreheads and the facial features are shown flattened, so they do not show mouths or facial details.

Theme: fertility

There is a general lack of symbols associated with fertility in the figurine selection. Some examples of phallic figurines, only one possible birth scene and only two possible babies are present (Hamilton 1996b: 225). Although there are many fat female figurines, there is nothing to link them to pregnancy or fertility. They could also be representing mature women (Hamilton 1996b: 225).

The Çatalhöyük figurines showing pronounced breasts and abdomen are frequently depicted as loose and sagging, not vigorous and curvy. Also, while they have large stomachs, they do not remind one of pregnancy, but seem to rather portray old age or obesity (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 219). This suggests that the anthropomorphic figurines may have represented the old rather than the young and reproductive bodies.

These old or obese figurines might be linked to the importance of ancestors, generational continuity and abundance. History houses continue to be rebuilt for several generations and suggest increased control over memory storage. Senior individuals/elders may have been guarding the accumulated knowledge and skills to pass on to the younger generations (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 216). Burial data does not reveal any indications for obesity in either sex with the exception of one burial in B6 that has been discussed in Chapter 4.

Yet, there are some contextual associations of figurines and crops, for example the famous seated female figurine was found in a grain bin (Voigt 2000: 277), and a

female figurine with a wild seed purposefully put inside her was found by the new excavation team (Hodder 2003).

Theme: masculinity/femininity/sexlessness

First Meskell (2007: 147), then Hodder and Meskell (2010; 2011) propose that masculinity rather than femininity was an important element in Çatalhöyük imagery. They define 'phallocentrism' as "the privileging of maleness as a prime cultural signifier and the centrality of masculinity (both human and animal) as a source of power and authority within the material and symbolic repertoire of the Turkish Neolithic" (Hodder and Meskell 2011: 237). In wall paintings found in two structures in the upper levels (Mellaart's levels V and III) some of the scenes show male wild animals with erect penises (Hodder and Meskell 2011: 237). In nature, male animals have more elaborate and often larger features than females, such as horns or tusks. So, maleness could represent violence, the joy of killing, or an act of heroism. In one scene most of the humans hunting, teasing and baiting a wild stag are bearded, but in the rest of the wall paintings gender cannot be determined (Hodder and Meskell 2011: 237, Fig. 2). Meskell (2007: 147) suggests that the increase in reputation of individual may have indicated manhood or maturity. However, this does not mean that only men were involved in these hunts. Women and children may also have taken part in them as all sorts of humans are shown in the wall paintings.

This phallocentric narrative of Çatalhöyük has been criticized by Karina Croucher for returning to dualisms and binary oppositions in interpretations of the period (Croucher 2012: 184-191). Moreover, most of the animal images lack indications of gender except for one boar, one cattle and ten deer images (Russell and Meece 2005: 224).

Naomi Hamilton criticizes the widespread belief that the majority of figurines in Çatalhöyük represented female bodies or women. She says that very few figurines have been interpreted as male (Mellaart 1963: 83-90; 1964: 75-81). Some of the ones that have been considered males have beards, and are seated on animals regarded as bulls, although these animals could also be sheep because they lack horns or other clear bull characteristics, but many figurines have been sexed as male only because they do not have breasts (Hamilton 1996b: 225).

The absence of distinct sexual markers on figurines may be related to the fact that the figurine makers/users were not interested in clear sex markers but rather showing other body parts or marking gender in ways that we cannot understand today such as their pose, hair, dimensions, clothing or material composition of the figurine (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 215; Hodder and Meskell 2011: 240).

The figurines with large breasts start in level VI and dominate in later levels. As underlined by Voigt and Mellaart earlier, level VI is a time of change when it comes to the figurines. After level VI male figurines or figurines riding animals have not been found, although breastless figurines continue, the dominant form is demonstrably female. The sexless humanoid figurines and animal figurines also cease to exist after this level. There seems to be a growing focus on femaleness, which was less apparent in the figurines from the earlier levels (Hamilton 1996b: 225). However, Hamilton does not conclude that this change is related to a change in their religious world, as this level is also famous for the change in pottery technology and knapped stone tools. Instead, she suggests that these might have been accompanied by changes in social dynamics that can be visible in transformations of human and animal representations, and these changes may result in alterations in sex/gender ideology (Hamilton 1996b: 226; 2005b: 211-212).

The high number of female figurines has caused them to be related to biological roles of women which are used either to elevate or denigrate women (Hamilton 1996b: 226). These interpretations have been regarded as acceptable because of the Western view of women as natural mothers, resulting in the restriction of women into the domestic sphere. As Hamilton points out, the elevation of this natural mother and birth giver as in the case of the mother goddess theories does not defy this assumption (Hamilton 1996b: 226), on the contrary, they support it.

Theme: function of the figurines

Hamilton has a thought provoking theory about the aim, function and the abundance of these female figurines. While figurines might have taken part in the essential episodes of women's lives by using removable heads in order to express changing emotions, stages, or rituals, they may also, according to Hamilton, have been concerned with sex-based gender roles and the conflicts created by such roles(Hamilton 1996b: 226). The emphasis on female figurines after level VI might support the second suggestion. Hamilton argues that the corpulent female figurines do not emphasize fertility but femaleness, and as maleness is also absent in these levels, these might mean that there was a growing concern about women's roles in the society (Hamilton 1996b: 226). The figurines might also express women's challenge to realize their duties in the society, claim on ancestry or power (Hamilton 1996b: 226). However, the current data shows that lineage could be claimed from both sexes, so ancestral claim should not be a part of this contestation.

Meskell (2007: 147-8) suggests that figurines might be charms, storytelling tools, tokens, teaching equipment, parts of a game set, magical objects, clay bonds etc.

However, because we lack the primary context for most of them since figurines are usually found discarded; we can only guess what they must have been used for.

Considering bone, shell and obsidian have been interpreted as materials preferred for crafting long-term social identity or memory and consequently cached and buried,the fact that figurines did not take part in such activities is very interesting (Meskell et al. 2008: 144). Figurines never came from foundation deposits or around platforms, they were not plastered into house floors or intentionally put into burial pits, suggesting that they may not have been very special. They may even have had roles in daily, social, ritual or even spiritual life (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 206) and multiple functions from toys to mnemonic devices.

5.3.2. Burials

Overall, there is little evidence for gender being important in assigning roles at Çatalhöyük. In other words, the current data contradicts the former ideas of a matriarchal society or exceptional roles of women in Çatalhöyük. Instead, the new results support a society in which both men and women must have done comparable tasks, had similar injuries, shared the same diets, died at comparative ages and were buried in the same way with similar objects. However, most of the recent work has been done on the earlier levels (levels before V) and indications of gender differentiation may have become more evident in later levels especially in imagery and representations (Hodder 2006: 211).

The recent excavations of the Polish team in Çatalhöyük East TP area exposed 12 skeletons from levels II, I and 0, none of which were males. Of them, three were infants and nine were females. Although the area exposed here is limited, the results are intriguing. This pattern gains even more importance especially when viewed in

light of the Köşk Höyük burial data (see below). New questions about whether the males and females were buried in different places in the settlement emerge. Moreover, the juxtaposition of bucrania with females at Çatalhöyük is notable. For example, the female skeleton in the north section of Space 248 suggests a possible relationship between women and bucrania or hunting. In fact, this might imply that the phallic masculinity or phallocentrism suggested for the Çatalhöyük imagery by Hodder and Meskell (2010; 2011) does not apply for the latest levels.

5.3.3. *Çatalhöyük summary*

Change can be observed in gender roles in the upper levels of Çatalhöyük. Wall plasters became less important, brick size in house constructions became smaller and the architecture changes. In the upper levels one finds examples of larger, more complex, multi-roomed houses with wider open areas between buildings (Hodder 2006: 252-253). Further changes occurred in pottery production and obsidian blades. Moreover, after level VI, the Çatalhöyük occupation became more scattered (Düring 2002: 222) and people slowly abandoned the eastern mound while the western mound started to be occupied around the same time.

Changes in gender relations might also be observed at this period. Naomi Hamilton mentions that there is a slight increase in the number of female burials inside the buildings in the upper levels (Hamilton 1996b: 254). The TP area excavations also support this suggestion. Also, the female figurines become more common and clusters of seated female figurines start to be found around hearths and inside buildings (Hodder 2006: 254). Mary Voigt sees a shift from stone male figurines to clay female figurines after level VI (2000: 287). Hodder suggests that the increased representation of women in the upper levels may be related to craft specialization and

industrialization of food preparation with the appearance of large external ovens (2006: 254).

Hodder and Meskell (2011: 250) also discuss a shift in representation. The animal installations inside buildings are much more common in the earlier levels (levels before V) and the focus shifts towards corpulent figurines with detachable heads, in later levels (from level V onwards). Hodder and Pels (2010: 240) indicate that changes between Levels V and VI became more rapid after a major fire in some parts of the settlement in level VIA. Male figurines are replaced by female ones, and the number of bucrania and other mouldings decrease while wall paintings with hunting, baiting and teasing scenes increase. Changes in pottery style and production and house types can also be seen in level V. A pot with twin human and bull's heads also comes from this level (Hodder and Pels 2010: 241).

The most famous seated female on felines comes from level II and was found in a grain bin (Mellaart 1963: 93, 95; 1967: Pls. IX, 67-68). Another female figurine with a wild seed on her back was found in a midden deposit in the uppermost levels, and there are some wall paintings showing women collecting plants in the upper levels (Hodder 2006: 254-255). The possible female and plant relationship suggests that domestic production was the new emphasis in the upper levels. Hodder (2006: 255) underlines that instead of relating women and fertility to the origins of agriculture, representations of females in relation to agriculture became more visible much later when domesticated animals and plants became more important for the whole community and around the same time an increase in wall paintings with hunting or baiting scenes can also be observed.

5.4.KÖŞK HÖYÜK INTERPRETATION

5.4.1. Anthropomorphic Figurines

Despite the well-known critiques of the "Mother Goddess" theory, both Uğur Silistreli and Aliye Öztan described figurines they discovered at Köşk Höyük as "Mother Goddess," goddess or god figurines following the interpretations of James Mellaart (Silistreli 1989b; Öztan 2012: 40).

Theme: headlessness

With the exception of two stone ones, the Köşk Höyük figurines found between levels V-III, are headless. One of the figurines has a dowel hole through which a detachable head could be inserted (Özkan et al. 2001: 338). In this sense, the Köşk Höyük figurines show resemblance with those from Çatalhöyük. It is possible that the heads representing different identities, ages, emotions or rites (Hamilton 1996b: 226), were changed according to the context of use. As has been suggested by Silistreli (1989b: 501) and Hamilton (1996b: 220) the removal of figurine heads might be linked to the removal of the skull from burials. The figurines might have been treated as individuals and at the end of use life their heads could have been removed before discard.

Theme: ritualistic functions of figurines

Anthropomorphic figurines could also be related to some sort of cultic/ritualistic activities. There is an interesting context that suggests figurines took part in ritualistic/cultic activities as in the case of *Ev II* from Level I. If the house was emptied before or after a fire at the end of its use life, it is unlikely that they emptied everything and forgot the "mother goddess." More plausible is that they intentionally left the figurine there, perhaps as part of a closing ritual (see a similar

interpretation for Çatalhöyük in Meskell et al. 2008: 151). Yet, taking part in a cultic activity does not necessarily make the figurines representations of gods or goddesses.

Also, not every context should necessarily be related to a ritualistic/cultic activity. The context of three ovens and in situ grinding stones associated with two female figurines and two objects stylized in the shape of bullhorns that were exposed in 1989 was interpreted as a sacred area (Silistreli 1990: 95-96). However, it is also possible that this was a food processing area.

Theme: domestic context

The fact that many figurines are found in house contexts shows that they are related to domestic life. Douglas Bailey, in his book on prehistoric figurines (1994: 328) says that decorating and demonstration of figurines inside houses gave way to presenting individuals of the domestic space in the public space. Nevertheless, he continues to interpret some of them as related to death, burial and cult. The problem is that the figurines found in such contexts are little different from the ones found in the domestic sphere. The inhabitants of Köşk Höyük may have included burials and plastered skulls within their conception of the domestic sphere. A child burial and the boxes with plastered and unplastered skulls were found in domestic areas accompanied by figurines.

Based on the analysis of 31 figurines I conclude that the figurines are mainly related to the domestic sphere and are associated with households. Compared to Çatalhöyük where the majority of figurines are found in midden deposits, many figurines in Köşk Höyük are found *in situ* inside of the buildings. This alone demonstrates that there is significant variation from site to site or through time. The discovery of figurines in burials and cultic/ritualistic contexts is also intriguing. Does this mean that these

contexts were treated as part of the domestic sphere? To date, excavations at Köşk Höyük have not yielded a "communal building" that can be compared to Building T at Aşıklı. This might be an indication that cultic/ritualistic activities *did* take place in domestic contexts in the shape of relief decorated pottery and caching and plastering human skulls.

Theme: maleness/femaleness

Although some highly stylized figurines, for which sex-determination is difficult, have been found at Köşk Höyük, all but two humanoid figurines were labeled female by Silistreli and Öztan. Even figurine fragments are labelled as goddess figurine parts (Öztan 2004: 106). If they are all in fact females, then we come across with a predominant representation of females that can be interpreted in several ways. It may be possible that these figurines show women in different stages of their lives such as young, adult, old and mature or pregnant (a similar interpretation has been made for Çatalhöyük figurines by Hamilton 1996b: 226). Moreover, the underrepresentation of maleness in the figurines might be related to a purposeful demonstration of interest in female roles in the settlement (cf. Hamilton 1996b: 226). However, this does not necessarily mean that they welcomed their social roles. Making figurines might be a way of challenging this.

I agree with Silistreli and Öztan in that the figures that are depicted as being slim, clothed and devoid of sexual characteristics may be males especially because the site is devoid of obvious male representations such as through the representation of male genitalia. Nevertheless, we should remember that the upper part of some of the figurines with no apparent sexual characteristics is broken, hence, might be misleading.There are two anthropomorphic figurines that have been excavated by

Silistreli in the 1980s and interpreted as females even though they do not show any clear sex (Silistreli 1989b: Pl.s I and IV). Both of these figurines wear a similar apron and in at least one case, the apron was colored white while the body of the figurine was painted red (Silistreli 1989b: pl. IV; see Öztan 2012: 67 Fig. 42 for a colored photo). A similar color arrangement can be seen in the relief decorated pottery. In one pot a hunter, for example, is shown in red, and his apron and head gear are painted in white (Öztan 2012: 64 Fig. 35). This may hence provide a reason to interpret the other two figurines as males, given that they show similar characteristics to the male figures in relief decorated pottery.

As discussed above, there is a notable distinction between the two types of figures on the relief decorated pottery of Köşk Höyük. While one group (possibly females) were depicted overweight and not performing any daily activities, the other group (possibly males) were shown doing different kinds of works from hunting to agriculture. If these figures from the second group are actually males, we might be able to link males not only to hunting, but also to agriculture, a task often associated with females in Çatalhöyük (see above). Nonetheless, there is no physical proof for associating only females, or males in this case, with agriculture. It is very plausible that demanding activities such as hunting and gathering were done collectively where most members of the settlement, males, females and even children participated[7].

Another interesting point is that the females are shown naked while males are clothed. Could it be related to a taboo related to male genitalia? Or does this distinction come from a juxtaposition of different realms: domestic/profane versus ritualistic/sacred, suggesting that domestic activities required clothing while rituals

[7] I would like to express my gratitude for Adnan Baysal for his suggestions and comments on this topic.

required nudity? The naked dancing figures have been interpreted as a part of harvesting festivals (Özbek 2012: 40). However, this brings up another question: why only females are shown dancing in these festivals, and males are only depicted doing hunting and harvesting? Could this be related to a distinction in male and female domains?

A similar phenomenon can also be found in at the sixth millennium site of Domuztepe located in the Kahramanmaraş basin. Campbell (2008: 61) states that there are some painted sherds from a jar, which probably depict female figures with breasts and long hair holding hands and moving in counterclockwise direction. He concludes that dancing could be an engendered activity and in this case it was significant to show that dancing was a gendered act (Campbell 2008: 62). This interpretation also applies to Köşk Höyük. All of the relief decorated pottery sherds with depictions of possible dancing scenes in Köşk Höyük are also of females. What could be the reason for showing only female figures dancing? Is this activity linked with all females or only an exclusive group of people? Although it is plausible that males were also dancing in certain occassions, it is intriguing that no explicit dancing male figure has been found so far.

5.4.2. Burials

It is in fact very interesting that most of the burials discovered at Köşk Höyük that have been sexed are female. Could this be related to their burial practices? Maybe females were buried inside the buildings while the males were buried elsewhere like an external cemetery. If so, this would suggest that the male burials found inside the houses might be gender diverse individuals. However, it should be noted that the skeletons found during 1980s excavations, and some of the more recently discovered

ones have not been sexed. They might, in fact, be male burials. Some of the plastered skulls are male which means male skulls were also plastered.

5.4.3. Plastered skulls

There has been an ongoing discussion about the plastered skulls and skull removal in the Neolithic. The first theory was that the skulls were representations of venerated older male ancestors related to some sort of ancestor worship (Kenyon and Tushingham 1953: 870; Strouhal 1973: 243; Kenyon 1953; 1957). However, Michelle Bonogofsky's study on these skulls overturned this theory and showed that the skulls belonged to females, males and children (Bonogofsky 2003; 2004).

New theories have also been put forth over decades. Strouhal (1973: 242) proposes that while plastering the skulls they aimed to repair the skull of the respected ancestor by replacing the decayed flesh with alternatives. He argues that facial remodeling turns the skull into the ancestor's naturalistic memorial, and the application of the color red on the plaster represents life (Strouhal 1973: 243). Garfinkel (1994: 170) suggests that both the plastered and unplastered skulls become cultic objects, they are meaningful and important on their own, and they could be a part of a cult or other ritual activities. Simmons et al. (1990: 109) argue that the removed skulls belonged to the respected members of the community and when they died their skulls were exhibited as a mark of respect. Kuijt (2000: 148; 2008: 172) suggests that the burial and ritual customs in the Neolithic settlements underline remembrance and incarnation but through time they resulted in neglecting the dead.

Bonogofsky (2005: 133-134) argues that ancestor worship is usually performed by the honoring an adult person you are descended from, so, it does not include children. Therefore, the ancestor cult interpretation is undermined in Anatolia and in

the Levant because plastered child skulls have also been found together with adult males and females. However, such a way of thinking might be a bit problematic, because we do not really know what the Neolithic people understood from the term "ancestor". Children skulls might as well be used in order to represent the ancestors. What is more, if these removed skulls are in fact related to ancestor veneration, it means that not only males but also females were venerated as important or powerful ancestors.

5.4.4. *Köşk Höyük summary*

Gender can be observed from figurines, relief decorated pottery and burials at Köşk Höyük. Although most of the interpretations made by the excavation team revolve around the "Mother Goddess" theories, there is no clear context that leads to such interpretations. The figurines from the earlier levels (V-III) show head removal, and sometimes dowel holes for detachable heads. Anthropomorphic figurines can also be related to ritualistic/cultic contexts, but this does not have to mean that these were representations of gods. The fact that most of the figurines are found inside houses shows that they are not only related to death, burial and rituals but also domestic sphere, but domestic and ritualistic contexts might be coalesced into one at Köşk Höyük. While sexual characteristics of females such as breasts and pubic triangle have been shown in some of the figures, the male genitalia is never visible.

The fact that most of the figurines have been interpreted as females and most of the burials that have been sexed as females raises some questions about whether femaleness was an important aspect at Köşk Höyük. While male imagery can be linked with daily activities such as hunting animals, herding and harvesting crops, female imagery is shown standing or possibly dancing naked. Yet, this does not

necessarily mean that females were more important or this was a matriarchal society. Skull removal and manipulation have also been practiced at Köşk Höyük. The analyses on plastered and unplastered skulls show that both male and female skulls have been used for these activities. Köşk Höyük shows a continuation in Çatalhöyük practices that begin to be seen towards the end of the Eastern mound, after level V around 6500 BC.

5.5.GENERAL INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSION

While the anthropomorphic figurines were very few or absent from the Central Anatolian sites dating to the Aceramic Neolithic Period, the number of figurines, especially the female figurines increase towards the end of the Neolithic and at the beginning of the Chalcolithic period. No anthropomorphic figurines have been found in Aşıklı Höyük yet. Although some anthropomorphic figurines were unearthed in Boncuklu, these figurines could not be assigned a certain sex. Yet, more figurines, especially female ones have been found in the upper levels of Çatalhöyük, and most of the figurines from Köşk Höyük were female. But, we should keep in mind that there are some sites in the Central Anatolian Plateau that do not fit this pattern. For example, in Tepecik-Çiftlik, a Neolithic and Chalcolithic site close to Köşk Höyük, excavations to date have yielded only two anthropomorphic figurines (one clay female and one unfinished stone figurine) (Bıçakçı et al. 2007: 246). Despite the absence of figurines, many anthropomorphic idols made of horse and donkey phalanges have been discovered at this site (Bıçakçı et al. 2012: 102).

Figure 16. Relief decorated pottery sherd with naked female from Tepecik-Çiftlik (from Bıçakçı et al. 2012: 132, Fig. 57)

In fact, a similar proposition can also be made about other anthropomorphic representations. While earlier settlements were devoid of human representations, the upper levels of Çatalhöyük and the Köşk Höyük relief decorated vessels show many scenes of humans actively doing activities. Despite the difference in figurines, Tepecik-Çiftlik and Köşk Höyük relief decorated vessels are very similar in terms of depiction and scenes which might be an indication of a common trend.

The analyses from Boncuklu, Aşıklı and lower levels of Çatalhöyük settlements show a continuation in mortuary practices and an "equality" in male and female burials in terms of grave goods, location and position of burials, this picture starts to change after around 6500 BC when the Early Ceramic Neolithic – Late Ceramic Neolithic transition occurred (Düring 2002). Çatalhöyük has a key role in understanding this change because it is the only well-documented site showing this change in Central Anatolia. Through this transition femaleness/femininity became a more prominent theme as opposed to masculinity/phallocentrism with more female

figurines being produced and more female burials being buried inside buildings in the uppermost levels of Çatalhöyük.

Should hunting be considered a male activity as Hodder and Meskell (2011) and Hodder and Pels (2010: 241) suggest, the decrease in hunting after the transition might explain why the wall paintings increased while the bucrania as the actual trophies of hunting decreased in the upper levels at Çatalhöyük (Hodder and Pels 2010: 241). However, we need to keep in mind that there is no proof for this assumption. Most of the Çatalhöyük wall paintings that show hunting and baiting scenes lack indications of clear sex or gender differences with the exception of one case (Hodder and Meskell 2011: 237, Fig. 2); there is one male head on one of the walls with beard and moustache (Mellaart 1967: 96). However, clearly female figures are also present (e.g. Fig. 6a and 6b in Chapter 4), and both of these sexed figures are unrelated to hunting. Yet, sexlessness itself might, in fact, be an indication of gender. In Köşk Höyük relief decorated pottery, the sexless slim figures are suggested to be males because they were devoid of clear female characteristics, and there was an underrepresentation of clear male figures at the site. The case might be similar in the Çatalhöyük case. Nonetheless, the skeletal analyses show that both males and females did similar work at Çatalhöyük. The prominence of a tradition based on femaleness/femininity seems to continue through the Early Chalcolithic period with Köşk Höyük since an emphasis on female figurines and images can be observed on relief decorated pottery. The fact that most of the burials that have been successfully sexed by anthropologists are female is another aspect that seems to continue from the upper levels of Çatalhöyük into Köşk Höyük. Apart from the wall painting and the possible hunting scenes on the relief decorated pottery, domestic production such as agriculture and the milking of cows become part of the imagery

in Köşk Höyük. This might be regarded as another indication of the increased importance of domestic sphere as opposed to wild.

As has been discussed elsewhere in this thesis, from the end of the Late Neolithic onwards the settlements in Central Anatolia depended fully on domestic products, agriculture and animal husbandry as means of subsistence although occasional hunting and gathering continued (Gérard 2002: 108). The increased importance of domestication and decreased significance of hunting in people's lives might have resulted in some changes in the way they see the world, their ideology and social structures, while a reverse situation is also possible. Changes in these people's ideology could be the reason for the Central Anatolian settlements becoming fully dependent on domesticated products. Whichever way the transition occurred, the result was the same: an increase in the female representations both in the mortuary contexts and visual media and a drop in male imagery and burials.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Gender is an essential part of our personality that has been overlooked until the 1980s in archaeology. The archaeological interpretations mainly concentrated on the "men's" roles by putting men in the center of history. The "Mother Goddess" movement that gained pace especially in the 1960s with the development of feminist theories, brought a gynocentric world vision, but this movement lacked the main components for turning women from passive objects into active agents in the creation of history. The feminist critique in archaeology in 1980 and onwards aimed to break down the phallocentric view of history and prehistory by turning women and other gender diverse individuals into history makers.

Over the last forty years, gender theories in archaeology became very important all around the world, but not much has been done in Anatolian prehistory. For many prehistorians in Anatolia, human figurines are linked to goddess veneration, especially if they are corpulent themselves or have large breasts, buttocks or thighs. Linking femaleness or large body parts with fertility is a Western-oriented idea (Bachofen 1861[1967]; Frazer 1911-1915; Neumann 1956; James 1959) that cannot and should not be projected back to the prehistoric communities.

The main question this study has aimed to answer is how the gender roles changed over several millennia from the beginning of the Neolithic until the end of the Early Chalcolithic period in Central Anatolia by trying to avoid the Euro-centric world views as much as possible. However, as has been underlined elsewhere in this study, it is not possible for a researcher to get rid of their stereotypes and taboos completely, because we all grow up in a culture that engraves certain ways of life and thinking into our minds. Therefore, as a female living in Turkey, my research

here is undoubtedly also filled with my culture and stereotypes even though I have made a conscious effort to be careful not to be biased.

My thesis mainly concentrated on the following questions: How did the inhabitants perceive gender in the Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic periods in Central Anatolia? Do the representations of gender change over time in this region between 8500 BC and 5000 BC? If so, how? Gender was a concept that has been discussed at some sites, but these discussions did not go beyond site-based interpretations. My research, thus, is important to be able to understand the diachronic change concerning gender in Central Anatolia in this period.

In order to answer my questions concerning how gender roles changed from 8500 BC to 5000 BC, I concentrated on the mortuary practices including burial treatments, grave goods and skeletal analyses, and visual representations of humans incorporating the data from figurines, wall paintings and relief decorated pottery.

The mortuary analyses from Boncuklu showed that there is no notable differentiation between males and females in terms of burial treatments and grave goods. Anthropomorphic figurines have been found in Boncuklu, but they lack specific gender identifiers and indicate gender-free concepts or sexlessness. Although manifesting no variation in burial treatments, the Aşıklı Höyük skeletons demonstrate some sort of division in terms of labor between males and females. Females were involved with heavy labor. Even though no Stable Isotope Analysis has been done on Aşıklı individuals, tooth enamel indicates that they all were eating similar food, just as the Boncuklu individuals. Since only a handful of graves contained grave goods, making comparisons between male and female graves is not very easy, but it seems as if more females had burial goods than males.

Çatalhöyük is very rich in terms of graves and visual representations. The occupation period of Çatalhöyük spans about 1400 years from 7400 to 6000 BC (Hodder 2007: 313) and covers at least two major phases. Problems may arise especially when the information coming from the earlier levels is used to interpret the later levels as well. The earlier phase is the period with the well-known agglutinative architecture and mouldings. Around 6500 BC in Level V, changes occur in architecture, ceramics and lithic industry (Düring 2002: 221-226; Hodder and Pels 2010: 240-241). Wall paintings appear and mouldings disappear after level VI (Düring 2002: 221). Changes in anthropomorphic figurines and mortuary practices can also be seen in the later levels. More female skeletons have been discovered in the later levels. In addition, the uppermost levels (II, I and 0) yield only female and infant skeletons. Also, the number of female figurines increases in the later levels (Hodder 2006: 254; Voigt 2000: 287; Hodder and Meskell 2011: 250). The female skeletons and figurines found in the upper levels suggest that phallocentrism that is known from earlier levels (Hodder and Meskell 2011; 2010) does not apply for the later levels. Skeletal analyses of the whole layers show that the males and females at Çatalhöyük did similar kinds of jobs, died at comparative ages, ate the same food, and were buried with similar objects.

Representations of gender have been observed in burials, figurines and relief decorated pottery from Köşk Höyük. Most of the burials that have been sexed are female while the plastered skulls can belong to either sex. Figurines are mostly female, but some male ones are also found. Interestingly, sexual characteristics, i.e. breasts and pubic triangles, are very obvious in the female figurines, but the male genitalia is never displayed. The male figurines always wear an apron around their waist covering their genitalia but leaving buttocks uncovered. The same conclusion

can also be made for the anthropomorphic figures in relief decorated pottery. The female figures are always displayed naked, fleshy and standing, or possibly dancing, while male figures are shown wearing aprons, doing various kinds of works including hunting, herding and harvesting. Since both in the final levels of Çatalhöyük, and in Köşk Höyük more females were buried inside the buildings, one wonders whether males were buried elsewhere in the settlement, or in an outside cemetery. If this is the case, the male burials found inside the buildings in Köşk Höyük could be indications of gender diverse individuals.

While the analysis from Boncuklu, Aşıklı and the early levels of Çatalhöyük show and "equality" in terms of gender, a female dominance in visual representations and burials can be clearly observed at Çatalhöyük's later levels and at Köşk Höyük. Çatalhöyük is the key site that demonstrates this change in Central Anatolia because the site shows continuous occupation between the Early Ceramic Neolithic - Late Ceramic Neolithic and covers this significant transition (Düring 2002).

A similar transition to the prominence of female skeletons can also be found in Abu Hureyra in the Late Neolithic levels. In Abu Hureyra, many more women than men were buried inside the houses in the Late Neolithic period (Molleson 1994: 75). While Molleson (1994: 75) connects this to women being confined to their houses as house being female territory, Talalay (2000: 11) suggests that this might be an ideological choice because women work inside the houses.

The Neolithic is more than a mere conversion in the ways of subsistence, and entails much more than a transition from hunting and gathering wild plants to agriculture and animal husbandry. It is a period of change in technology, economy, society and ideology, in other words it is a period of change the way of life. This research has

shown, however, that some of these changes, especially those that affect the social and ideological realms occurred after ca. 6500 BC in Central Anatolia.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Aşıklı Höyük burials examined by physical anthropologists

Individual	Sex	Age	Condition	Teeth	Pathology	Publication
AH'89 No.2	Male	18-19	Cranium, lower jaw and body are damaged. Only tibia and femur from the long bones are in good condition. Fibula and ulna show traces of burning.	The front teeth show more abrasion compared to the lateral teeth.	The distal epiphysis of the left femur show mild periosteal reaction.	Özbek 1992: 145
AH'89 No.7	Female	20-25	A cranium with lower jaw and long bones exist. Found together with infant no. 12.	P2 fell and alveoli are completely closed. Teeth are heavily abraded and some teeth formed second dentine. The incisors are abraded down to the neck.	3rd and 4th lumbar vertebrae show vertebral ankylosis on the body and lateral joints. Due to the collapse of the 4th vertebra the upper vertebra telescoped into the lower one. This formation on the back caused scoliosis, a posture defect. This corporation strained the spinal cord. Posterior convexity is seen on the waist. The woman lived for a long time after she became disabled. Femurs have trabecular formation. Some researchers suggest this is related to the physical stress during adolescence. Dickel and Doran (1989) suggest this hyper porosity is caused by biological stress; also this could be a normal biological anomaly. There is trepanation on the skull with an 11.5 mm width. Skull shows repair after the operation. Mild septic osteolite is found around the hole. The patient did not die during the operation and lived for a couple of weeks. Porotic hyperostosis is found on the left parietal caused by iron	Özbek 1992: 145

					deficiency.	
AH'89 No.8a	Female	20-25	Skull without cranium, lower jaw and body parts are found. Long bones are damaged.	Frontal teeth are abraded further than lateral teeth.	Osteophyte extensions are found on back and waist vertebrae on the front and sides.	Özbek 1992: 145
AH'89 No.8b	Male	55	Including remains of cranium and body parts.	Teeth are heavily abraded.	A large bone tumor is formed at the back wall of the right earhole. There is a smaller tumor on the front lower part of the same hole (ear infection). There is a 12.5x10 mm healed hit mark on the left coronal stitch of the skull. There are advanced osteophyte extensions formed on the frontal and lateral sides of the lower and upper joints on the vertebrae due to old age. Schmorl nodule is found on one of the waist vertebra (Scheuermann disease), caused by some kind of hernia.	Özbek 1992: 145
AH'89 No.10	Male	56-57	Skull is destroyed and lower jaw is not well-preserved. Bones belonging to the body skeleton are broken and missing.	7 cavities are identified. Teeth are abraded heavily. Incisors, canines and molars lost their crowns.	Arthritic deformation is formed on the neck and back vertebrae. Degenerative arthritis is found on the humerus (symmetrical) and on the surface where the scapula and the clavicle are attached.	Özbek 1992: 145
AH'89 No.12	Infant	8-9 months	Remains of skull and body exist but heavily damaged.			Özbek 1992: 145
AH'89 No.14	Female	22-24	Cranium and lower jaw are not very well preserved. Long bones are missing and broken.	Teeth abraded similar to Female no. 7. Incisors are abraded to their neck.		Özbek 1992: 145
AH'89 No.21	Female	35-39	Cranium and lower jaw exist. Long bones are not well preserved and show traces of burning.	M1 fell and alveoli are closed.	Traumatic arthritis is formed on the attachments of left scapula and clavicle. This probably minimized the shoulder movements to some extent.	Özbek 1992: 145

AH'89 No.22	Female	21-25	Skull and body are heavily damaged.		The 4th and 5th waist vertebrae have traces of traumatic arthritis. Lytic lesion is formed on the joint of capitulum humeri and fovea capitis of radius.	Özbek 1992: 145
AH'89 No.23	Male	20-25	Represented by cranium and long bones.	Cavities in the upper right 2nd Molar on the crown and upper left middle incisor on the distal side. The crown is completely abraded due to advanced cavities and only the roots remain in lower small molars (P1 and P2?). Frontal teeth more abraded than the laterals.		Özbek 1992: 145
AH'89 No.46	Infant	24 months	Pieces of cranium and lower jaw are found.			Özbek 1992: 145
AH'91 No.18	Female	50-55	Cranium, lower jaw and body are found. Found together with beads wrapped in reed matting. Bones show traces of burning.		Skull has interesting cut marks. The cut marks and grooves are visible on the right parietal in two parallel lines. Cutting seems to be neatly done. The lines seem to be made with a single tool with sharp edges on both sides. The grooves did not reach to the brain, only limited to tabula external and diploe. Right below these marks two more and deeper grooves are visible. This groove deepens towards the middle, but does not make a hole in the skull. The area between these grooves is scratched on purpose. Both grooves and cut marks are done with the same tool. The grooves do not show any infection or bone repair, suggesting the operation done post mortem.	Özbek 1993

AH'91 No.24	Female	45-50	All bones show traces of burning. Wood pieces are recovered from the top of the skeleton.		Cribra orbitalia is formed on the fornix of the left orbit.	Özbek 1993
AH'91 No.32/1	Female	35-40	Skull and body are not well-preserved. Bones show traces of burning. The individual died while pregnant. 7-8 months old foetus is found together with this burial.	Although upper incisors show abrasion to the roots, the lower ones show only mild abrasion. There is no trace of hypoplasia on the teeth.		Özbek 1993
AH'91 No.32/2	Foetus	7-8 months in utero	Bones show traces of burning. Bones belonging to especially the body are very well-preserved.			Özbek 1993
AH'91 No.17/1	Female	35-45	Buried with copper beads and reed matting. Bones show traces of burning. Skull and body are damaged post mortem.			Özbek 1993
AH'91 No.17/2	Infant	1,5-2	Bones show traces of burning.			Özbek 1993
AH'91 No.4	Male	25-26	Skull and body show traces of burning. Frontal, parietal, occipital and temporal bones are preserved. Half of the lower jaw and all of the body skeleton are found.		A porotic formation stands out around fossa coronoidea of the right humerus. This might be related to arthritis.	Özbek 1993
AH'91 No.32/3	Infant	1-2 months	The skull and body remains show traces of burning.			Özbek 1993

AH'91 No.32/4	Infant	3-4 months	The skeleton show traces of burning.			Özbek 1993
AH'91 No.120	Child	4,5-5	The skull and body are well-preserved. The whole skeleton show traces of burning.			Özbek 1993
AH'91 No.12	Infant	1,5-2	The whole skeleton show traces of burning. The bones are not in a good condition.			Özbek 1993
AH'90 SK-13	Male	Young adult	The cranium and body bones are preserved. Teeth are found isolated together with the skeleton. Bones show mild traces of burning.			Özbek 1994
AH'90 SK-14	Female	19-20	The cranium and body bones are destroyed. The lower jaw is preserved. Bones show mild traces of burning.	In total 13 teeth are found in upper (8) and lower jaw (5). No cavities on the teeth. Lower first molar abraded heavily. Second dentine is formed on the face of big molars. Frontal and back teeth show balanced abrasion.	Masseter and pterygoid muscles show a normal development. There is no formation of foramen olecrani on humerus. Spondylitis is found on one waist vertebra and schmorl nodule on another.	Özbek 1994
AH'90 SK-15	Infant	Neonate	Only body skeleton is recovered.			Özbek 1994
AH'90 SK-16	Infant	Neonate	Long bones are recovered.			Özbek 1994
AH'90 SK-17	?	15-16	Skull and body are heavily damaged. Bones show mild	Three upper and two lower jaws are preserved. No cavities are found. M1	Masseter and pterygoid muscles show a normal development. There is no formation of foramen	Özbek 1994

			traces of burning.	shows abrasion. Frontal teeth show more abrasion than the back teeth. Lower first big molar has six tubercules on the chewing surface. Tubercules are four in the lower second molar.	olecrani on humerus.	
AH'90 SK-18	Female	20-25	Some skull fragments and well-preserved upper and lower jaw are recovered. Bones show traces of burning.			Özbek 1994
AH'90 SK-19	Infant	Neonate	Only long bones are recovered.			Özbek 1994
AH'90 SK-20	Child	?	Only skull fragments are recovered. Bones show traces of burning.			Özbek 1994
AH'90 SK-21	Child	?	Only skull is found. Bones are heavily damaged.			Özbek 1994
AH'92 SK-34	Female	20-25	Upper and lower jaws are in good condition. Body skeleton and skull are found. Bones are dragged post mortem and not in situ.			Özbek 1994
AH'92 SK-35	Female	20-25	Lying on her right in flexed position. Copper and bone beads are found close to the neck. An animal scapula seems to be intentionally placed on top of the left			Özbek 1994

			shoulder.			
AH'92 SK-36	Child	3	Skull and body skeleton are well preserved. Bones show obvious traces of burning.			Özbek 1994
AH'92 SK-37	Child	11	Skull and body skeleton are in bad condition but complete. The body is lying in NW- SE orientation on its right. An obsidian tool is found as a grave good. Bones show traces of burning.	All milk teeth are complete. Four permanent teeth are preserved on upper and lower jaw. No cavities are found in teeth. M1 shows mild abrasion. 4 tubercules are found on chewing surface of the teeth.		Özbek 1994
AH'92 SK-38	Male	Adult?	Represented by only the skull. Found on house floor in the fill.			Özbek 1994
AH'93 Sk-39	Infant	1 months				
AH'93 Sk-40	Female	45-50				
AH'93 Sk-41	Female	43-58				
AH'93 Sk-42	Female	35-40				
AH'93 Sk-43	Infant	1,5 – 2				
AH'93 Sk-	Female	30-35				

44						
AH'93 Sk-45	Child	10				
AH'93 Sk-46	Female	33-46				
AH'93 Sk-47	Female	25-30				
AH'93 Sk-48	Male	18-19				
AH'07 No.121	Male	50	Cranium and lower jaw are found together. Right and left tibia and fibula are missing from the skeleton. Lying on his left in squatting position. Hands are below the head, lying in N-S orientation facing east. The pit shows few fragments of mudbrick and traces of burning. Obsidian is found close to the skull.	Upper right big molar and lower right and left canine are heavily abraded. Especially on the canine there is a clear abrasion facet including some of the root and creating a wide chewing surface. This abrasion is different from the rest of Aşıklı individuals. Examination of the incisors and canines under light microscope showed straight horizontal lines in various lengths and width on the chewing surface. 19 of the teeth fell perimortem and chewing continued through palate. Advanced gum infection occurred. Many abscesses are found on the	Two healed scar marks are found on the skull. The marks are on the right and left side of the forehead and are caused by an impact of a blunt object or an accident. The individual healed without any infection. Porosity/arthritis is seen moderately on the atlas, on the waist vertebrae moderately, on the back vertebrae mildly. Also, two back vertebrae fused together forming a block while the individual was alive. Such fusion on the neck or back vertebrae are usually caused by the individual carrying heavy loads habitually on the back. The vertebrae of the individual show moderate osteoarthritis. It is possible that this limited neck movements. The joints of the long bones and the distal of the left femur show mild osteoarthritic change. The trochlea humeri part of the right humerus show lithic lesion, suggesting the elbow being used approximately with 70^0 of angle.	Özbek 2011

				upper and lower jaw.		
AH'08 No.124	Infant	3	Buried in NW-SE orientation lying on the left. Hands are placed close to the face and legs are in flexed position. Skeleton and skull show post mortem fractures. On top of the long bones and the soil around the burial show traces of reed matting. High concentration of red ochre is found inside the jaw, possibly suggesting red ochre being placed into the mouth of the body before burial. There are rectangular/oval cut marks around the body. The dead might have been wrapped in a different kind of material or the burial pit might have been closed with a different technique than the others. 114 beads made of different kinds of stones are found around the neck.	No enamel problems are found on the teeth.	No traces of trauma on the skull or body skeleton. Moderate development and healing of cribra orbitalia on the fornix of eye sockets suggest that the baby suffered from an infection and because of that could not get enough nourishment. As a result, the baby suffered from iron deficiency but did not die because of this. The skull of the baby grew abnormally on the front-back axis. An obvious narrowing on the frontal and parieto-temporal areas is visible when the skull is viewed from the top. This could be related to a cultural deformation. These shape deformations are usually caused by a narrow and tight bandage wrapped around the forehead and the back of the neck or a head gear worn on the head during infancy.	Özbek 2011

Appendix B

List of anthropomorphic figurines found at Köşk Höyük

Level	Building	Material	Gender	Description	Year of exc.	Publication
I	Close to an oven	Clay	Female	Seated, head slightly tilted backwards, arms depicted as small protrusions, feet short and stubby	1989	Silistreli 1990: fig. 4
I	Midden	Clay	Female	Headless (?) with a dowel hole, sitting cross-legged	2000	Özkan et al. 2001: 338
I	Pit	Clay	Female	Attempted female figurine, discarded. Seated, upper body broken	2002	Özkan et al. 2003: 197
I	Close to an oven	Clay	Female	Head slightly tilted backwards, standing, arms depicted as small protrusions, legs not depicted	1989	Silistreli 1990: fig. 3
I	Ev VI	Clay	Female	?	2004	Öztan et al. 2005: Fig. 4
I	Ev VI	?	Female	Schematic designed, highly burnt, eyes and nose shown in the face, long pointed headdress, conical body, disc-based	2004	Öztan et al. 2005: 380
I	Ev VI	?	Female	Schematic designed, highly burnt, eyes and nose shown in the face, long pointed headdress, conical body, disc-based	2004	Öztan et al. 2005: 380
I	Ev VI	?	Female	Schematic designed, highly burnt, eyes and nose shown in the face, long pointed headdress, conical body, disc-based	2004	Öztan et al. 2005: 380
I		Clay	Female	Found together with a bone awl, a haft, obsidian arrow head, ground stone	2005	Öztan et al. 2006: 536
I	G1	Clay	Female	?	2006	Öztan et al. 2007: 118-119

I	Ev VI	?	Female	Schematic designed, highly burnt, eyes and nose shown in the face, long pointed headdress, conical body, disc-based	2004	Öztan et al. 2005: 380
Ib	Ev II	Clay	Female	Seated, protruded hips and upper legs, unexaggerated belly and breasts, shoulders and head blunt, arms not depicted	2002	Özkan et al. 2003: fig. 6; Öztan and Faydalı 2003: fig. 53, Ill. 53a,b
Ib	Ev III	?	Female	?	2002	Özkan et al. 2003: fig. 6
Ic	Ev V	Clay	?	Figurine fragment	2003	Öztan et al. 2004: 106
II		Clay	?	Ochre dyed figurine fragment found together with two plastered three unplastered skulls, several pots, small cups and a bone object	2006	Öztan et al. 2007: 121, fig. 3; Özbek 2009: 150; Öztan 2012: 59, fig. 26
II	Subfloor burial	Clay	Female	Seated, head slightly tilted backwards, wearing a rounded headdress, big almond shaped eyed, arms folded across her chest, protruded hips and lower legs, a burial gift	1988	Silistreli 1989a: Fig. 4 in p. 96; Silistreli 1989b: pl. V
III	Northern oven	Alabaster stone	Female	Headless	1985	Silistreli 1986: 174
III	?	Clay	Female (Silistreli) / Male	Headless, painted red, wearing a skirt covering the front but not the back	1987	Silistreli 1988: 61; Silistreli 1989b: 500, pl. IV
III	?	?	Female	Head broken from the neck, wearing a rounded headdress, big almond shaped eyed, hook nosed, protruded breasts, hips and lower legs, seated	1984	Silistreli 1985: Fig 13 in 141
III	Room 1	Stone	Female	Headless, roughly made	2009	Öztan and Açıkgöz 2010: 141
III	Room 2	Clay	Male	Headless, seated, legs broken	2009	Öztan and Açıkgöz 2010: 141

III	Room 2	Clay	Female	Head of a figurine	2009	Öztan and Açıkgöz 2010: 141
Earlier than III	Pit	Pebble stone	Female	Ochre dyed, waist grooved on two sides, genitalia shown as a triangle	2003	Öztan et al. 2004: Fig. 12
Earlier than III	?	Yellow calcite	Female	Roughly designed, arms bent on the elbows, holding breasts	2003	Öztan et al. 2004: 107
IV	?	Clay	Male	Head, legs and lower body broken	2000	Özkan et al. 2001: 339
IV	?	Limestone	Anthropomorphic	Double figurine, god couple (?)	2000	Özkan et al. 2001: 339
IV?	In room fill	Alabaster	Female	Lower body preserved, standing, genitalia showing as V	2008	Öztan et al. 2009: Fig. 10
IV	In front of a building	Tuff	Female	?	2008	Öztan et al. 2009: 257
V (?)	Ev IV	White clay	Female	Fragmented	2004	Öztan et al. 2005: 385
?	Unrelated to architecture	Pumice	Female	?	2008	Öztan et al. 2009: 256
?	Unrelated to architecture	Clay	Female	?	2008	Öztan et al. 2009: 256