

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ACTES DU COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL

**From the Caucasus to the Arabian Peninsula:
Domestic Spaces in the Neolithic**

**Du Caucase à l'Arabie :
l'espace domestique au Néolithique**



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LES 16 ET 17 OCTOBRE 2015, nous avons organisé, en tant que doctorantes en archéologie et sous le patronage de l'association Routes de l'Orient, un colloque international sur le Néolithique du Proche-Orient. Dans le cadre de la dynamique instaurée par l'association depuis ses débuts, nous avons invité la jeune communauté scientifique à se rencontrer au Collège de France à Paris autour de la thématique suivante: « Du Caucase à l'Arabie: l'espace domestique au Néolithique oriental ».

Nous avons ainsi eu le plaisir de recevoir nos collègues français, allemands, polonais, danois, espagnols, syriens, turcs, iraniens, chypriotes, grecs et australiens.

La réussite de ces deux journées doit autant au dynamisme et à la rigueur scientifique

de ses 83 participants, qu'à la mobilisation active des membres de l'association et au soutien apporté par de nombreux chercheurs et institutions à notre démarche¹.

À travers le prisme de la sphère domestique, ce colloque avait pour objectif d'exposer et de questionner la complexité du processus de néolithisation au Proche-Orient. Les recherches archéologiques qui se sont développées dans de nouvelles régions du Proche-Orient, notamment dans le Caucase et en Iran ont permis une meilleure caractérisation des apparitions et des évolutions locales de ce phénomène. Toutefois, regrettant le caractère encore très régionalisé de ces recherches, notre volonté était de favoriser les discussions méthodologiques et scientifiques entre les différentes équipes de recherche. Ce colloque con-

1. Le colloque a reçu les soutiens financiers de l'association Routes de l'Orient, des Universités Panthéon-Sorbonne (Collège des Écoles Doctorales et ED 112) et Paris-Sorbonne (ED 124 et FIR), de l'UMR 7041 - Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité et son équipe VEPMO, de l'UMR 8167 - Orient et Méditerranée et sa composante Antiquité Classique et Tardive, de l'UMR 7209 - Archéozoologie, archéobotanique: sociétés, pratiques, environnements et la Région Ile-de-France. Nous tenons ici à exprimer nos sincères remerciements envers ces institutions et ces équipes de recherche sans lesquelles l'évènement n'aurait pu avoir lieu. Ont également apporté leur soutien scientifique les personnalités suivantes: F. ABBÈS (UMR 5133-Archéorient) ; P. ANDERSON (UMR 7264-Cepam) ; É. COQUEUGNIOT (UMR 5133-Archéorient) ; C. CHATAIGNER (UMR 5133-Archéorient); R. CRASSARD (UMR-5133-Archéorient) ; G. DURU (Université d'Istanbul) ; J. J. IBÁÑEZ ESTÉVEZ, (IMF-CSIC) ; L. KHALIDI, (UMR 7264-Cepam) ; F. LE MORT (UMR 5133-Archéorient) ; B. LYONNET (UMR 7192 - ProCaulaC) ; M. MASHKOUR (UMR 7209-Archéozoologie, Archéobotanique) ; S. MÉRY (UMR 6665-CReAAH) ; M. ÖZBAŞARAN (Université d'Istanbul) ; G. WILLCOX (UMR 5133-Archéorient).

stituait donc pour nous un lieu de rencontre privilégié pour présenter, confronter et interroger les nouvelles données sur l'émergence des premières sociétés agro-pastorales du Caucase à la péninsule Arabique.

Le colloque était organisé en quatre sessions thématiques au cours desquelles 24 communications orales et 10 posters ont été présentés. Chaque session a été animée par un chercheur statutaire et un étudiant.

Ainsi, Sophie MÉRY² et Kévin LIDOUR³ ont présidé la session 1 « Mobilité et conséquences ».

Günes DURU⁴ et Rémi HADAD⁵ ont dirigé la session 2 « Construire et investir l'espace ».

Marjan MASHKOUR⁶ et Müge ERGUN⁷ ont animé la session 3 « Ressources et pratiques alimentaires ».

Enfin, Juan-José IBÁÑEZ-ESTEVEZ⁸ et Laurent DAVIN⁹ dirigé la session 4 « Outils et artisanats ».

Ce numéro ne rend pas totalement justice à la grande diversité des contributions présentées ces deux jours. Malgré tout, il reste très riche et différentes thématiques sont abordées au travers des 7 articles qui le composent.

Trois articles traitent des problématiques liées aux techniques architecturales, à l'espace construit et à sa gestion.

Ainsi, à partir de l'exemple d'Asikli Höyük en Turquie, Melis UZDURUM et Devrim SÖNMEZ présentent les activités domestiques attestées sur le site grâce à l'étude, notamment spatiale, des restes archéobotaniques et archéozoologiques, des outils de pierre taillée et de mouture et de l'analyse chimique des sols d'occupation. Les auteures montrent que les activités domestiques, qui se tenaient principalement dans les espaces publics durant le 9ème millénaire B.C., prennent place au sein de l'habitat au cours du 8ème millénaire B.C. .

Emmanuel BAUDOUIN, Bertille LYONNET et Caroline HAMON s'associent pour présenter une synthèse des techniques architecturales (fondations, techniques de construction, couverture et couverture) sur les sites néolithiques du Caucase (culture de Shulaveri-Shomu) et de Mésopotamie (culture de Halaf) au début du 6ème millénaire B.C. . À partir de l'étude chrono-culturelle des techniques architecturales, l'objectif des auteurs est de définir les relations culturelles entre ces deux régions.

S'appuyant sur la neurophysiologie et la neuropsychologie, Sarah DERMECH tente

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9. Doctorant à l'Université Panthéon-Sorbonne.

d'éclairer le phénomène de la sédentarisation au Proche-Orient et son impact cognitif sur l'homme. À partir des données archéologiques, l'auteure développe l'hypothèse que l'habitat géométrique et permanent qui se met en place progressivement durant le Néolithique a constitué un environnement favorable à l'homme et aurait contribué au développement de ses capacités.

Deux autres articles abordent la question des modes d'acquisition et de traitement des ressources alimentaires par les hommes du Néolithique.

À partir de l'exemple du site de Dja'de el-Mughara en Syrie, nous présentons les résultats inédits d'une étude qui associe l'analyse archéobotanique des macrorestes végétaux et l'analyse fonctionnelle des outils de moisson. La confrontation de ces deux approches dresse un premier aperçu de l'évolution des stratégies agricoles dans l'une des premières communautés villageoises du Proche-Orient et l'identification des végétaux exploités par les habitants permet d'aborder leur éventuelle utilisation à des fins domestiques.

À partir de l'étude des restes archéobotaniques provenant du site néolithique de Khirokitia à Chypre, Andréa PARÈS montre l'évolution de l'économie de subsistance sur près de 1000 ans d'occupation et met en évidence les chaînes opératoires agricoles. L'auteure révèle également que les espèces végétales identifiées ont, pour la plupart, été introduites sur l'île.

Enfin, la question des productions techniques et symboliques est abordée au travers de deux articles.

S'appuyant sur l'étude des éléments de parure (perles, colliers, bracelets et boucles de ceinture) provenant du site néolithique d'Asikli Höyük en Turquie, Sera YELÖZER et Devrim SÖNMEZ mettent en évidence les processus de changement et/ou de continuité dans le mode de vie et l'organisation sociale de la communauté néolithique.

B. ROBERT et M. POULOT-CAZAJOUS s'intéressent au sujet des « Déeses-Mères » et de ses représentations figurées au cours du Néolithique au Proche-Orient. En raisonnant de manière diachronique en parallèle d'œuvres issues des champs des arts plastiques et du design contemporains, elles interrogent les liens existants entre les productions et les messages symboliques, idéologiques, politiques et sociaux qu'elles véhiculent.

La parution de ces actes marque la finalisation d'un projet que nous avons eu à cœur de porter. C'est donc avec une grande fierté, et une certaine émotion, que nous présentons ce numéro dédié au premier colloque organisé par l'association. Celle-ci a depuis continué sa route et d'autres rencontres internationales, toutes aussi passionnantes et fédératrices, ont vu le jour. Nous tenons à remercier sincèrement l'ensemble des personnes qui ont participé à cette aventure, et particulièrement les auteurs pour leur contribution à ce numéro.

Bonne lecture !

Carolynne DOUCHÉ et Fiona PICHON

ON OCTOBER 16TH AND 17TH, 2015, as part of our PhD studies in archaeology and with the support of the Routes de l'Orient association, we organised an international seminar on the topic of Middle East Neolithic. In line with the interests of the Routes de l'Orient we invited the young scientific community at the Collège de France in Paris to discuss the topic "From Caucasus to Arabia : domestic life during oriental Neolithic" , during which we met likeminded colleagues from all around the world (France, Germany, Poland, Danemark, Spain, Syria, Australia...).

The success of the seminar was the result of both the dynamism and the scientific rigour of the 83 participating researchers, the active involvement of the organisation members and

the support provided by the many external researchers and institutions¹⁰.

Using 'domestic life' as a lens, this seminar aimed to highlight and question the complexity of the néolithisation process in the Middle East. The recent archeological research that had been developed in key Middle East regions, specifically in the Caucasus region and Iran, had enabled a better classification of the findings and local evolution of that néolithisation process. Acknowledging that each team of researchers brought with them very localised expertise we wanted to provide an environment that could open up scientific discussions and debate between the teams. Accordingly, the seminar became a unique space for presenting, confronting and questioning the new data on the emergence of the first agro-pastorales com-

10. The seminar received financial support from the association Routes de l'Orient, Universities Pantheon-Sorbonne (College of Doctoral Schools and ED 112) and Paris-Sorbonne (ED 124 and FIR), UMR 7041 - Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité and its team VEPMO, UMR 8167 - Orient et Méditerranée and its component Antiquité Classique et Tardive, UMR 7209 - Archéozoologie, archéobotanique : sociétés, pratiques, environnements and the Region Ile-de-France. We would like to express our sincere thanks to these institutions and research teams without which the event could not have taken place. The following personalities also provided scientific support: F. ABBÈS (UMR 5133-Archéorient); P. ANDERSON (UMR 7264-CEPAM); É. COQUEUGNIOT (UMR 5133-Archéorient); C. CHATAIGNER (UMR 5133-Archéorient); R. CRASSARD (UMR-5133-Archéorient); G. DURU (Istanbul University); J. J. IBÁÑEZ ESTÉVEZ, (IMF-CSIC); L. KHALIDI, (UMR 7264 -CEPAM); F. LE MORT (UMR 5133-Archéorient); B. LYONNET (UMR 7192 - Digitorient); Mr. MASHKOUR (UMR 7209-Archéozoologie, archéobotanique); S. MÉRY (UMR 6665-CReAAH); Mr ÖZBAŞARAN (Istanbul University); G. Willcox (UMR 5133-Archéorient).

munities from Caucasus to the Arabic peninsula.

The seminar was divided into four parts during which 24 talks and 10 posters were presented to the audience. Each part was lead by an official archeological researcher accompanied by a student.

The first section looking at « Mobility and consequences » was lead by Sophie MÉRY¹¹ and Kévin LIDOUR¹².

Günes DURU¹³ and Rémi HADAD¹⁴ presented the second section on « Construire et investir l'espace ».

The third section on « Ressources et pratiques alimentaires » was introduced by Marjan MASHKOUR¹⁵ and Müge ERGUN¹⁶.

Finally, Juan José IBÁÑEZ-ESTEVEZ¹⁷ and Laurent DAVIN¹⁸ lead the « Outils et artisanats » topic.

The publication of these works does not reflect the diversity of contributions presented during this seminar, however this published issue is already a rich and comprehensive material composed of 7 distinctive articles.

Three articles deal with questions related to architectural techniques, the built environment and its management.

Thereby, taking the example of Asikli Höyük in Turkey, Melis UZDURUM presents the domestic activities of that region attested onsite thanks in particular study of the archaeobotanic and archaeozoologic remains, of the carved stone tools, of the milling and of the chemical analysis of the inhabited ground. The author shows that the domestic activities, held mainly in the public space during the 9th millenium BC, take place in settlements during the 8th millenium BC.

Emmanuel BAUDOUIN, Bertille LYONNET and Caroline HAMON provided a synthesis of the architectural techniques (foundations, building techniques, couvrement and roofing) proven to happen on neolithic sites of the Caucasus (Shulaveri-Shomu culture) and Mesopotamia (Halaf culture) at the beginning of the 6th millennium BC. From the chronological study of these architectural techniques the authors aim to define the cultural relationships between the two regions.

Using neurophysiology and neuropsychology, Sarah DERMECH shed a light on the settlement phenomenon in the Middle East and its cognitive impact on humans. Based on the archeological data, the author develops the hypothesis that the geometrical and permanent

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habitat that progressively spreads out during the Neolithic period has enabled the establishment of an environment beneficial to humans and would have contributed to the development of their abilities.

Two other articles address the question of the attainment modes and the handling/processing of alimentary resources by the Neolithic people.

From the example of the Dja'de el-Mughara site in Syria, we present the results of a study associating archeobotanical analysis of plant macrorests with functional analysis of harvesting tools. The confrontation of these two approaches provides a first insight on the evolution of agricultural strategies in one of the first village communities in the Near East and the identification of plants exploited by the inhabitants makes it possible to address their possible use for domestic purposes.

The study of archaeobotanical remains from the Neolithic site of Khirokitia (Cyprus), led by Andréa PARÈS, shows the evolution of the subsistence economy over nearly a thousand years of occupation and highlights the agricultural operating chains. The author also reveals that the identified plant species were mostly introduced on the island.

At the end, the question of technical and symbolic productions is addressed through two articles.

Based on the study of finery elements (beads, necklaces, bracelets and belt buckles) from the Neolithic site of Asikli Höyük in Turkey, Sera YELÖZER highlights the processes of change and/or continuity in the way of life and social organization of the Neolithic community.

B. ROBERT and M. CAZAJOT-POULOS investigates the "Mother Goddesses" and her figurative representations during the Neolithic. Using diachronic reasoning together with oeuvres taken from visual arts and contemporary design, they question the links between the productions and the symbolic, ideological, political and social messages that they convey.

The publication of these works marks the finalization of a project that we had at heart to carry. It is therefore with pride and emotion that we present you this issue dedicated to the first symposium organized by the association. The latter has since resumed its journey and other international meetings, equally exciting and federative, happened. We wish to sincerely thank all the people who participated in this adventure, and especially the authors for their contribution to this issue.

Enjoy the read !

Carolynne DOUCHÉ and Fiona PICHON

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Continuity and change through personal ornaments : Aşıklı Höyük, Central Anatolia, Turkey

Sera YELÖZER¹, Devrim SÖNMEZ²

Résumé

Parmi les trouvailles archéologiques, les parures peuvent être comprises à la fois comme des symboles et des objets reflétant certains aspects personnels et sociaux de l'identité de leur propriétaire. Chercher à comprendre l'utilisation de ces objets personnels dans les sociétés préhistoriques peut ainsi contribuer à évaluer les valeurs et traditions sociales, technologiques, cognitives, symboliques ou encore économiques de ces dernières. Il permet également parfois d'étudier leurs relations avec le monde extérieur. L'étude en série de ces objets personnels permet de mettre en lumière des choix *identitaires* socialement induits. Cela peut ainsi refléter des dynamiques *identitaires* d'inclusion et de distinction, à l'échelle de l'individu dans la *société* et à celle de la *société* dans son ensemble. Des données récentes sur le site néolithique ancien d'Aşıklı Höyük, situé en Anatolie centrale, suggèrent que la sédentarisation a commencé dans la région aux alentours du IX^{ème} millénaire av. J.-C. Le site a été occupé de manière continue sur plus de 1000 ans. Les fouilles et les recherches récentes ont porté sur les changements intervenus lors de l'adoption de ce nouveau mode de vie sédentaire. Le VIII^{ème} millénaire est contemporain de tournants importants dans le mode d'occupation du territoire et dans les techniques architecturales. En revanche, d'autres aspects, comme les pratiques d'inhumation, le mode de subsistance et les technologies, se caractérisent avant tout par la continuité. D'un côté, les études soulignent une dynamique de changement très progressive et d'un autre côté, elles donnent à voir comment la communauté est restée liée à son passé. L'objectif de cette présentation est de contribuer à comprendre et à tester les indices du changement et/ou de la continuité au sein de la communauté néolithique à partir de certains de ses produits, à savoir les parures. Les assemblages comprennent des perles, des colliers, des bracelets et des objets interprétés comme des « boucles de ceintures ». Ces objets provenant de contextes et de couches archéologiques différents, seront examinés selon leur contexte, leur matière première et leur morphologie, afin de questionner les processus de changement et/ou de continuité, et au-delà leurs impacts sur le nouveau mode de vie adopté et sur l'organisation sociale de la communauté.

Mots-clefs : Parures, identité, perles, boucles de ceinture, Aşıklı Höyük

Abstract

Body ornaments can be read as both symbols and media reflecting personal or social aspects of their owners' identities. Understanding the use of ornaments in prehistoric societies can contribute to an evaluation of their social, technological, cognitive, symbolic and economic systems, values or traditions, as well as their relations with the outer world. As a whole, these items may reflect individual or corporate identities, personal and social aspects of both the individuals within the society and the society itself as a whole. The present data from Aşıklı Höyük, an early Neolithic settlement located in Central Anatolia, suggests that sedentism in the region begins around the 9th millennium B.C. Habitation at the site is continuous, lasting more than 1000 years. Notably, in the 8th millennium there are indications for significant changes in settlement pattern and architecture; in contrast, traditions in other aspects such as burial customs, subsistence and technologies, remain constant. Studies demonstrate on the one hand a gradual and rather slow change, yet on the other hand it is apparent that the community was intrinsically bound to its past. The aim of this contribution is to identify changes and/or continuity in the community through selected small finds, namely personal ornaments, comprising beads, necklaces, bracelets and the so-called belt buckles. These finds, which have been found in various contexts and layers, will be assessed with respect to raw materials and shapes/types. Aspects of change and/or continuity will be identified. Implications for our understanding of newly established life ways and social organization of the community will be discussed.

Keywords: Personal ornamentation, identity, beads, belt-buckles, Aşıklı Höyük

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Introduction

BEADS, as archaeological indicators of the concept of ornamentation, first appear in the archaeological record in the Palaeolithic. These early examples were made from hard animal tissues such as shells, animal bones and teeth. The shell beads from Skhul Cave (Israel) dating to 100 000 B.P. (BAR-YOSEF MAYER, 2013b, p. 139); *Nassarius gibbosulus* shell beads from North Africa, dating to 82 000 B.P. (BOUZOUGGAR *et al.*, 2007, p. 9964); shell, bone, teeth and some stone beads from different Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic settlements in Europe (from 40 000 B.P. onwards) (ALVAREZ-FERNANDEZ, 2011, p. 7 ; VANHAEREN & D'ERRICO, 2006, p. 1119; WHITE, 1993, p. 334) all constitute the earliest examples of ornamentation. First examples of beads and pendants made from stones and minerals, mainly from steatite, are also known from Upper Palaeolithic Europe (VANHAEREN & D'ERRICO, 2006, p. 1108). It is noted that in Southwest Asia, there is a certain increase in the production and use of beads and pendants from various stones and minerals with the onset of the Neolithic (ALARASHI, 2014; BAR-YOSEF MAYER & PORAT, 2008, p. 8548; BAR-YOSEF MAYER *et al.*, 2013, p. 139).

The Neolithic of Southwest Asia, a wide geographical zone covering Anatolia, Mesopotamia, the Levant and Cyprus, marks

a time of unparalleled transition in human societies. In addition to a broad array of socio-economic developments, subsumed under the term 'Neolithisation', changes also affected relationship mechanisms between agents, i.e. between the agent and the thing and between the agent and the community. In reference to I. Hodder's (HODDER, 2011; HODDER, 2012; HODDER & DOHERTY, 2014) theory of human-thing entanglement in which he identifies four different dimensions (the dependence of humans on things, things dependence on things, things dependence on humans, and humans dependence on humans) it can be argued that ornaments played a multi-dimensional role in building relationship mechanisms of social interactions.

Ornamentation can be regarded as a concept that goes beyond the use of beads and pendants as necklaces, amulets³ or bracelets, only with aesthetic motivations. The use of pigments, tattoos, beads, pendants and also clothing are all components of a complex system in which identities or different social statements are expressed through the object and also the body itself (EICHER & BARNES, 1992; WRIGHT, 2012, p. 423-425). It is also noted that the use of ornaments are indicators of evolutionary, cognitive, symbolic and social changes. They express developments in the way human societies functioned and valued objects (KUHN *et al.*, 2001; STINER *et al.*, 2013). As suggested by several au-

3. The term « amulet » is described as an object with apotropaic powers, used as a protection in various belief systems (BAYSAL & MILLER, 2016, p. 13-14). Although it is being widely used as a term in beads research, especially in Near Eastern prehistory, Baysal and Miller (2016) emphasize that this term should be used carefully, only where supporting contextual information is evident in ascribing the object with such a function.

thors (BAYSAL, 2012; NEWELL *et al.*, 1990; RIGAUD, 2011; VANHAEREN, 2005), body ornaments may have conveyed non-verbal messages to those within and outside a respective community. It follows that we are able to track changes and continuities in personal and social identities through ornamentation.

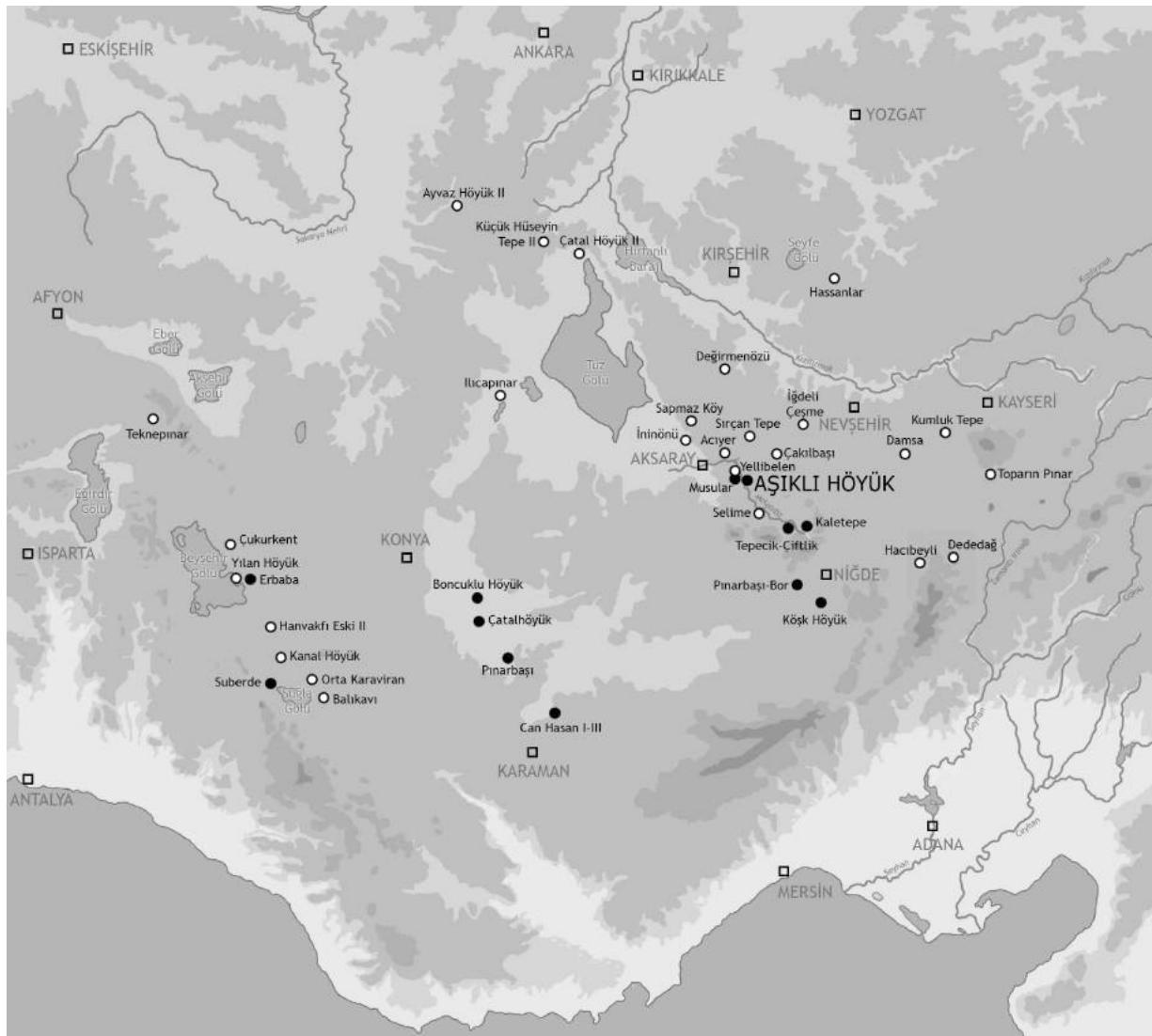


Figure 1: Map showing Aşıklı Höyük and other Neolithic sites in the Central Anatolian plateau (ÖZBAŞARAN, 2011).



Figure 2: B.3, a characteristic semi-subterranean, oval kerpig building of the 9th millennium B.C. settlement phase (Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

1. Aşıklı Höyük

Aşıklı Höyük⁴ is an Aceramic Neolithic settlement, located in the Cappadocia region of Central Anatolia (Figure 1).

This region is comprised of different ecological zones and niches, with lowlands and mountainous areas, thus providing unique habitats for different plants and animal species. Cappadocia is characterized by mountainous highlands, and alluvial, clayey-calcareous plains and basins, a complex geomorphology resulting from its volcanic past. Aşıklı Höyük is situated in an area rich in raw material sources, includ-

ing obsidian, basalt, gypsum and tufa (TUNCEL, 1998). The settlement was founded upon alluvial fill on the eastern bank of Melendiz River, which originates in the Melendiz Mountains and flows into the canyons of the Ihlara Valley, surrounded by Hasandağ and the obsidian sources of Nenezi and Göllüdağ. A rich variety of habitats can be found in close proximity to the site (ÖZBAŞARAN, 2011, p. 107).

Most recent data from Aşıklı Höyük attest to sedentary way of life in the region from around the mid-9th millennium B.C. Occupa-

4. Excavations were first carried out by Ufuk Esin from Istanbul University and since 2006 by Mihriban Özbaşaran.

tion at the site continued without interruption for in excess of one thousand years, coming to a close at the end of 8th millennium B.C. (ESIN & HARMANKAYA, 2007; ÖZBAŞARAN, 2011; ÖZBAŞARAN, 2013) (c. 8350 - 7300 cal. B.C.)⁵.

Recent fieldwork and research has focused mainly on earliest phases of the settlement, characterized by wattle and daub structures and round/oval, semi-subterranean *kerpiç* buildings. The latter were on average 4.0 m in diameter, with plastered walls and floors, round-shaped hearths, pits and various *in-situ* finds, e.g. grinding stones (Figure 2). Another characteristic feature of the early settlement phase (9th millennium B.C.) is that external open spaces were used intensively as collective multi-task work areas. Subsequently, in the 8th millennium B.C. there was a shift to rectangular *kerpiç* buildings. This development went hand in hand with changes to internal settlement structure; daily activities transferred to the flat roofs of the rectangular buildings (ESIN & HARMANKAYA, 1999; ESIN & HARMANKAYA, 2007; DURU, 2013; ÖZBAŞARAN, 2013; ÖZBAŞARAN & DURU, 2015) (Figure 3).

According to the ongoing fieldwork and studies, the chronological sequence at the site

can be summarized as follows (DURU, 2013; ÖZBAŞARAN, 2011):

- Level 4 : Mid-9th millennium B.C. – end of the 9th millennium B.C.
- Level 3 : End of the 9th millennium B.C. – first quarter of the 8th millennium B.C.
- Level 2 : First quarter of the 8th millennium B.C. – end of the 8th millennium B.C.

In the 9th millennium village, subsistence practices were based on hunting and gathering. Wild fruits, cereals and legumes were collected, though small amounts of domesticated cereals, including *emmer* and *einkorn* wheat, are also in evidence (ERGÜN, 2016). Hunted quarry comprised a wide array of large and small animals. During the 8th millennium B.C., subsistence strategies show an increased focus on ovicaprids and the management of sheep/goats, where through time the diversity in hunted species began to decrease (STINER *et al.*, 2014). Gradual changes have also been documented in chipped stone industries (KAYACAN, 2014). It is based on this background that parallel changes identified in personal ornament assemblage from Aşıklı Höyük will now be discussed.

5. Results of the C-14 samples taken during the 2015 excavation and research season are not included here (Özbaşaran, 2015, pers. com.).



Figure 3: Settlement layout at the 8th millennium B.C. at Aşıklı Höyük (Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

2. Personal ornaments from Aşıklı Höyük

Analysis of personal ornaments at Aşıklı Höyük has previously been conducted by R. Bains (BAINS, 2013), focusing on stone and mineral beads. Her work included manufacture marks analysis on a small group of beads in addition to raw material, typological, and spatial distribution analysis on 881 beads in total. Technological analyses are also conducted on bone beads and belt buckles by R. Christidou (CHRISTIDOU, 2010; CHRISTIDOU, 2011; CHRISTIDOU, 2013; CHRISTIDOU, 2014). At the moment, one of the authors undertakes the continuing work on beads. The continuing work includes a sustained methodology of Bains, based on the combination of previous results and the study of 1170 beads by the 2016 excavation season. Here, only the results of the work done until 2015 will be introduced and discussed consisting of 1159 beads in total.

The main aim of this paper is to contribute to testing the level of change and/or continuity in the Aceramic Neolithic community of Aşıklı Höyük through the personal ornaments, by presenting some preliminary results from two finished (SÖNMEZ, 2018; YELÖZER, 2016) MA thesis projects. The finds stem from various contexts and archaeological layers; they will be assessed based on different parameters, including raw material choices, forms (typology), colour and context, with the objective of questioning changes and/or continuity, as well as related implications for our interpretation of newly established Neolithic life ways and social organization.

2.1. Descriptive variables : raw materials, colours and types

Raw material choices are closely related to factors such as colour, texture, hardness/softness of the material, and availability of sources. Indeed, raw material acquisition systems reflect aesthetical preferences and give information about human-environment/landscape interactions as well as about the relationship between communities. As discussed by several authors, the reasons and meanings behind raw material preferences might also convey aspects of socio-historical importance (ALARASHI, 2014; BAINS, 2012; BAYSAL, 2015a, p. 103; GOSDEN, 2005, p. 193; RIGAUD, 2013; TABORIN, 1996; VANHAEREN & D'ERRICO, 2003) that is a part of the entangled relationship mechanisms between humans and the things that surrounds them (HODDER, 2012; HODDER & DOHERTY, 2014; HODDER, 2016).

Types and forms can reflect the designed and/or intended style of a certain object as a result of the production sequence from the acquisition of the raw material to the finished status of the object. While typological studies constitute an important step in understanding production sequences and modelling various *chaînes opératoires* (ALARASHI, 2014; BAINS, 2012; BAINS, 2013; BAR-YOSEF MAYER, 2013b; VANHAEREN *et al.*, 2013, p. 503), it is also a classification method for distribution analysis and comparisons within and between archaeological sites (NEWELL *et al.*, 1990; RIGAUD *et al.*, 2015; VANHAEREN &

D'ERRICO, 2006). It is also stated that early Neolithic beads show little consistency and standardization. Moreover, typology and related terminologies do not always reflect the overall meaning and significance of the Neolithic beads (BAYSAL, 2015*b*, p. 11). Therefore, typology may not necessarily reflect how the prehistoric people perceived and valued objects from different materials and types (BAINS, 2013; BAR-YOSEF MAYER, 2013*b*).

Colour selection in ornament production, as we have mentioned above, is closely related to raw material selection and accessibility. However, in addition to the direct effect of raw material accessibility on colour preferences, it is suggested that certain colours clearly visible in nature, such as green and red, are used as a media of communication for transmitting messages by many species (KING, 2005). It have also been demonstrated that bead colour can be artificially modified using pigments and heating (BAYSAL, 2013; D'ERRICO *et al.*, 2015; WEI *et al.*, 2016).

Regarding bead colour choice in the southern Levant, Bar-Yosef Mayer and Porat have noted that the number of green coloured beads and pendants increased dramatically with the onset of the Neolithic, thus suggesting that this colour was possibly chosen as a symbol of nature and fertility, i.e. in relation to increasing agricultural activities (BAR-YOSEF MAYER & PORAT, 2008). At the Neolithic bead production sites of Jilat and Azraq in Jordan, green and red coloured beads are reported to be dominant, and it is suggested that bead producers at these sites had clear colour preferences, and the symbolic meanings attributed to certain colours may have driven choices of Neolithic

bead producers and users (WRIGHT & GARRARD, 2003, p. 278).

The questions behind our approach in studying raw material, colour and type selection in ornament production and use at Aşıklı Höyük are as follows:

- Which raw materials were preferred for ornament production?
- Were there any visible patterns with respect to raw material choice for certain types and which types were dominant?
- Is raw material choice driven by certain colour preferences and which colours were dominant?
- Within the chronological settlement sequence what were the continuing and changing parameters of raw material, colour and type? Further, what were the shared elements in ornamentation between communities in Anatolia or the Near East?

The assemblage of personal ornaments from Aşıklı Höyük consists of 1159 beads found individually or in bead groups (Table 1). Through fieldwork continuing since 1989, a total of 1177 beads have been found : 1008 of them belong to 17 bead groups discovered mostly with burials and 169 single beads found in midden deposits, open area fills or activity areas.

Various stones and minerals, animal bones and teeth, native copper and malachite, freshwater and marine shells, and clay constitute the raw materials used for ornament production at Aşıklı Höyük. Furthermore, there is a broken bracelet (ASTRUC *et al.*, 2011) representing the only example of obsidian use

Ornament type	Bead	Belt buckle	Belt hook	Bracelet	Total
QTY	1159	65	9	1	1234

Table 1: Ornaments from Aşıklı Höyük.

Raw material	Stone/mineral	Animal bones/teeth	Native copper/malachite	Shell	Clay	Obsidian	Unknown	Total
QTY	897	228	65	27	6	1	10	1234

Table 2: Raw materials of ornaments from Aşıklı Höyük.

	Type	Quantity	Percentage
Type 1	Pendant	69	5,95
Type 2a	Disc, flat	777	67,04
Type 2a.1	Disc, flat (double perforated)	1	0,09
Type 2b	Disc, flat, globular	54	4,66
Type 3	Cylindrical	70	6,03
Type 3a	Cylindrical, short	32	2,76
Type 3b	Cylindrical, standard	53	4,57
Type 3b.1	Cylindrical, standard (conical)	1	0,09
Type 3c	Cylindrical, long	1	0,09
Type 3d	Tubular	3	0,26
Type 3e	Barrel	10	0,86
Type 3e.1	Barrel, collared ends	2	0,17
Type 4a	Oval, elliptical	8	0,69
Type 4b	Oval, lenticular	24	2,07
Type 4b.1	Flat-oval, lenticular	15	1,29
Type 5	Square, lenticular	2	0,17
Type 6	Conical	1	0,09
Type 7	Collared butterfly	1	0,09
Type 8	Saddle shaped	1	0,09
Type 9	Flat-parallelogram (multiple perforations)	1	0,09
Type 10	Spacer	1	0,09
Type 11	Natural shaped (Shells)	27	2,32
	Type unidentified	5	0,43
	Total	1159	100

Table 3: Quantities and percentages of bead types from Aşıklı Höyük.

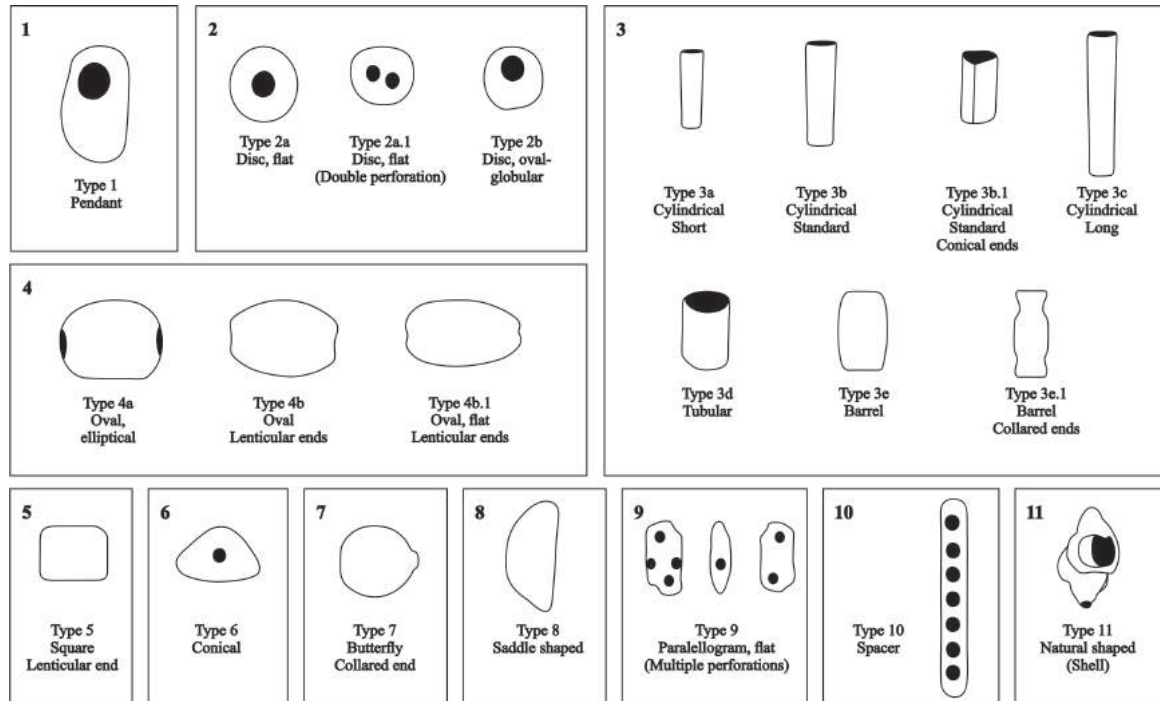


Figure 4: Typology of beads from Aşıklı Höyük.

for ornamentation (Table 2). The bead assemblage is dominated by beads made from various stones and minerals (77.39%) followed by beads made from animal bone (13.81%). The remaining bead assemblage is comprised of copper and malachite beads (5.61%), shell beads (2.33%), clay beads (0.51%) and beads made from animal teeth (0.26%). Belt buckles and hooks are all made from animal bone.

A total of 11 bead types have been identified at Aşıklı Höyük. The belt buckles and belt hooks were considered as separate groups (Figure 5). Among the bead types, flat disc beads (n=777) and cylindrical bone beads (n=93)

constitute the majority, followed by pendants⁶ (n=69) (Figure 4 and Table 3).

2.1.1. Stone ornaments

As noted above, a seminal study of the bead assemblage from Aşıklı Höyük was undertaken by R. Bains (BAINS, 2013). She identified 11 kinds of stones. In the course of ongoing fieldwork and the analysis of newly discovered beads from the site this number has now increased to 15, including carnelian, chlorite, meerschaum, granite, steatite, serpentine and serpentinite, hard and soft limestone, soft saccharoidal and impure marble, tufa and turquoise (YELÖZER, 2016, table 3, p. 34).

6. Here, after BECK (1928) classification, pendants are evaluated as a different bead type regarding the off-center position of their perforation (for a similar differentiation, see also BAINS, 2012, p. 79). However, according to BAYSAL & MILLER (2016, p. 14) there is a need of standardization in the literature regarding the use of this term and due to the inconsistency in the form of different ornamental elements named as pendants in the literature, classifying certain beads as pendants may limit the potential to interpret those objects unique aspects individually.

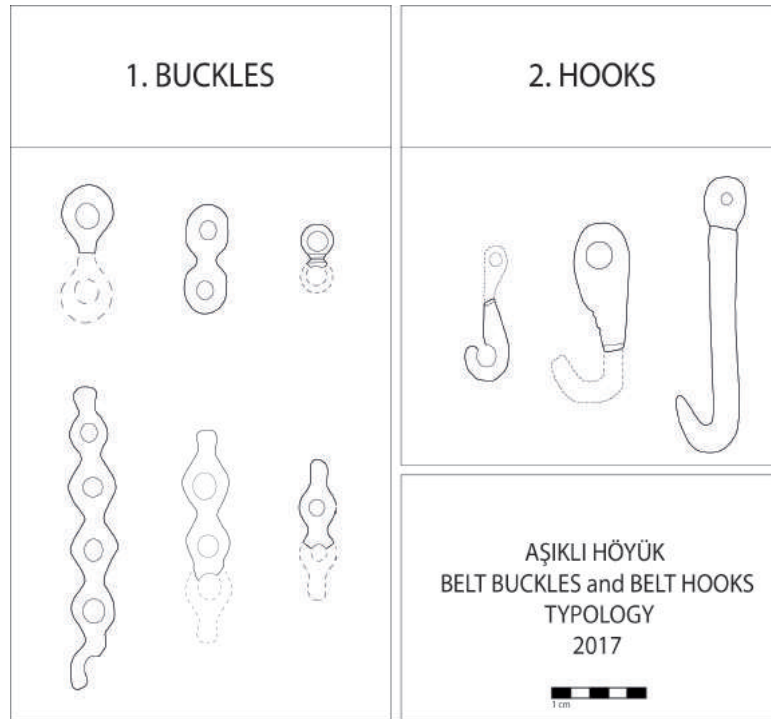


Figure 5: Typology of belt buckles and belt hooks from Aşıklı Höyük.

The stone bead assemblage is dominated by steatite and limestone (46.49% and 31.44%, respectively). The third most numerous stone is marble (2.90%), followed by carnelian (1.78%).

The stone and minerals apart from steatite, limestone and marble are evidenced only in certain bead types, whereas the most dominant stone and mineral types such as steatite

Bead type	Stone/mineral type														
	Steatite	Limestone	Marble	Carnelian	Meershaum	Jasper	Chloride	Granite	Quartz	Serpentine	Serpentinite	Turquoise	Faience ?	Tufa	Unidentified
Pendant	3										1				
Flat, disc	357	277	9	2		1	2	1		2					122
Disc, oval, globular	44	2	1		1	1					3				2
Cylindrical			6												2
Barrel	2		5									1			1
Barrel, collared ends													2		
Oval, elliptical	3							1							
Oval, lenticular	7		5	3		3			2	1	1				1
Flat-oval, lenticular				11					1						1
Square, lenticular	1													1	
Conical									1						
Collared butterfly					1										
Saddle shaped					1										
Flat-parallelogram						1									

Table 4: Quantities of stones and minerals according to bead types at Aşıklı Höyük.

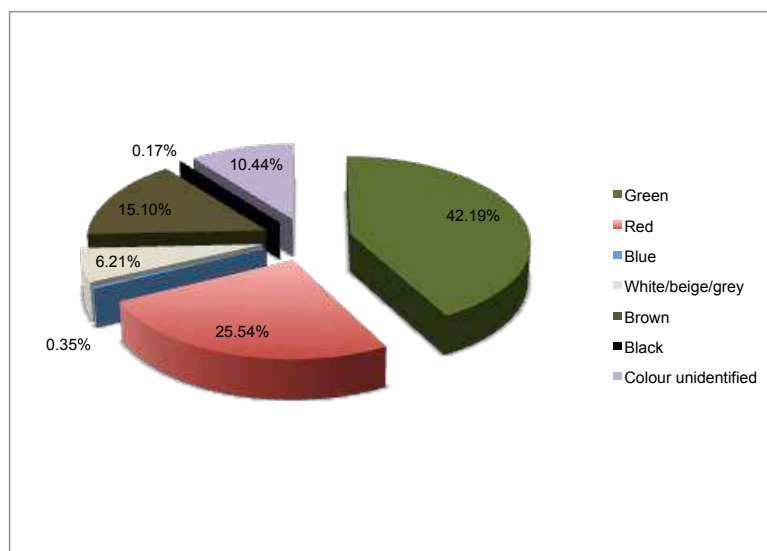


Figure 6: Percentage distribution of bead colours at Aşıklı Höyük.

and limestone were apparently preferred for the production of flat disc beads, the most dominant bead type (Table 4).

Although few in number, flat disc beads made from limestone are evidenced from the earliest phases. Marble and serpentine beads are used for the first time through the end of the 9th millennium B.C (during the transition between Level 4 to Level 3). But their use will increase through the 8th millennium B.C. (throughout Level 2D and 2A-C). Steatite, first seen at Level 3, increases during the latest phases of Level 2 (Level 2A-C). Within various phases of Level 2, some stone and mineral types begin to be used although very few in number or represented by single beads. These include jasper (Level 2J), turquoise (Level 2F-G-H), serpentinite and meerschaum (Level 2D). During the latest phases of occupation at the site (Level 2A-C), stone and mineral types in bead production begin to vary where tufa, faience (?), granite, chloride, quartz and carnelian are introduced within the repertoire (cf. Figure 21).

The most dominant bead colours at Aşıklı Höyük are green and red, in accordance with the prevailing stone and mineral types, steatite and limestone. The third colour group is white/beige, again related to the most frequent stone types, limestone and marble. Other stone/mineral colours include brown, blue and black (Figure 6). Intentional colouring of beads by adding pigments is rare although there are two examples; one is an oval-lenticular limestone bead found with red ochre (Figure 7), the other one is a shell bead (cf. 2.1.3 *Shell beads*).



Figure 7: Oval-lenticular limestone bead, found with red ochre (Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

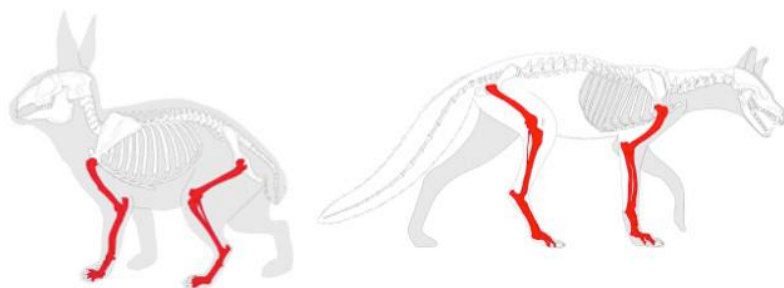


Figure 8: Illustrations of hare (left) and fox (right); preferred bones for bead production, coloured with red (Illustrations modified from the drawings of COUTUREAU & FOREST, 1996 (left) and COUTUREAU & BEMILLI, 2007 (right), that were themselves redrawn after BARONE, 1976 and DUCROTAY DE BLAINVILLE, 1839).

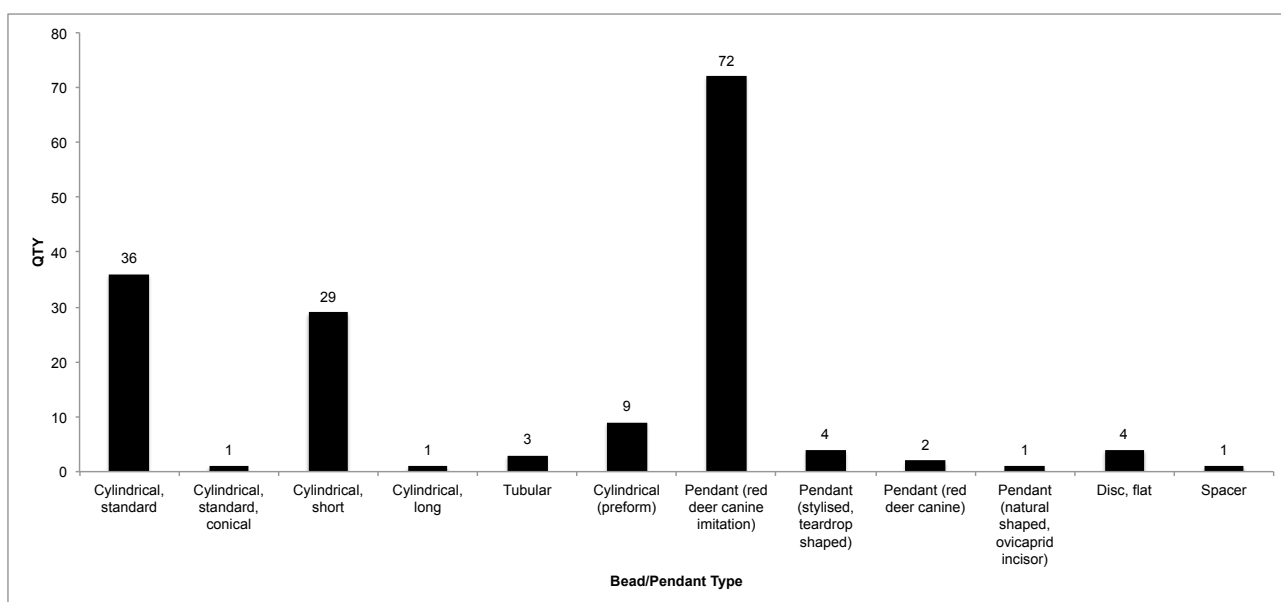


Figure 9: Distribution of animal bone/tooth beads and pendants from Aşıklı Höyük according to bead typology.

2.1.2. Ornaments from animal bones and teeth

The second most dominant raw materials used for ornament are the animal bones (160 beads or 13.81% of the bead assem-

blage; 65 belt buckles and 9 belt hooks) and teeth (3 pendants). Their selection stands in direct relation to prevailing broad spectrum hunting strategies in the 9th millennium B.C. Mostly long bones of hare (*Lepus capensis*), fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) and birds⁷ were preferred

7. According to archaeozoological research conducted on the faunal remains of the earliest levels, water birds were frequently hunted as a food source, whereas other large birds such as common crane (*Grus grus*), owls (Strigidae) and raptors (Falconiformes) were occasionally exploited for raw materials (STINER *et al.*, 2014, p. 8405). Although the exact species of the birds exploited as a raw material source for the cylindrical bead production at Aşıklı Höyük have not been identified, we may assume that the aforementioned pattern may be applicable to this situation.

for cylindrical bone beads (Figure 8). Red deer canine (*Cervus elaphus*) and its imitations made from other animal bones were preferred for pendants. Bones from large mammals were rarely used for beads.

Belt buckles and hooks were produced solely from animal bone. Due to heavy polishing, it is difficult to identify the preferred animal species. Long bones of large mammals may have been used for belt buckle and belt hook production.

Among personal ornaments made from animal bone and tooth the majority is made up of cylindrical beads and pendants (48.46% each, respectively). Mostly metatarsal and metacarpal bones of wild hare were preferred for cylindrical bead production. This is most

likely a reflection of the advantageous physical properties of these bones for bead production.

Within the assemblage, there are two red deer canine pendants. At some time, both these pieces were broken and then repaired; after which one specimen appear to have been reused as a 'button', as suggested by the lateral notches used to attach the object to fabrics (CHRISTIDOU, 2010). Deer canine imitation pendants, all made from mammal bones also shows signs of repair, as indicated by a re-perforation on a specimen. The deer canine pendants can also be regarded as 'naturally shaped', since no modifications were undertaken. Another 'naturally shaped' pendant was made from the incisor of an ovicaprid with a perforation on the apex. The majority of pendants are imitations of red deer canine.



Figure 10: Flat, teardrop shaped stone pendant (a); stylized, teardrop shaped, possibly canine imitation pendant (b); red deer canine imitation pendants, notice the re-perforated pendant in the middle, on the right (c); red deer canine pendant, possibly re-used as a 'button' after the breakage (d); pendant made from the incisor of an ovicaprid (e) (a: BAINS, 2013; b, c, d, e: Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

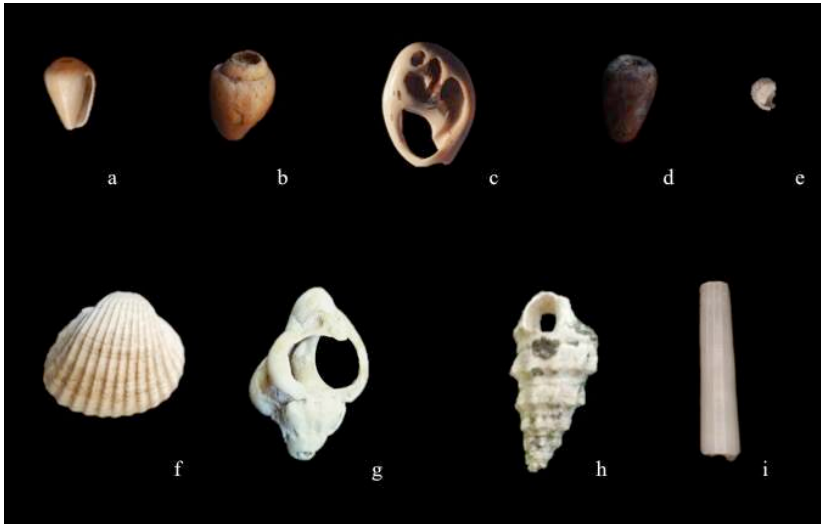


Figure 11: Shell beads from Aşıklı Höyük. a. *Conus mediterraneus*; b. *Columbella rustica*; c. *Nassarius gibbosula*; d. *Cypraea* sp.; e. *Theodoxus* sp.; f. *Cerastoderma edule*; g. *Murex* sp.; h. *Cerithicum vulgare*; i. cf. *Episiphon filum* (Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

Canine imitation pendants can also be divided into sub-categories based on shape; whereas some can be described as stylized ‘teardrops’, others clearly adhere more closely to the original deer canine form (cf. Figure 9 for the distribution of animal bone and animal tooth beads and pendants after bead typology, and Figure 10 for pendants).

Beads and pendants made from animal bone and teeth are evident from the earliest phases of the settlement and their use continues throughout the overall occupation at the site (cf. Figure 21).

2.1.3. Shell beads

Shell beads make up just 2% of the overall bead assemblage. The majority of shells used for this purpose are gastropods from the Mediterranean, such as *Columbella rustica*, *Nassarius gibbosulus*, *Conus mediterraneus*, *Cerithicum vulgare*, *Murex*, and *Cypraea*. Additionally, there is a single example of a bivalve (*Cerastoderma edule*), pierced through the umbo and a single example of a scaphopod (cf. *Episiphon filum*). The only freshwater mollusc shell modified and used for ornamentation is a *Theodoxus* shell, which had been fashioned

into a bead (Figure 11 and Figure 14). A fossil shell, identified as *Cerithiopsiae*, possibly from the Taurus Mountains, and with what could be natural perforations (Bar-Yosef Mayer, 2015, pers. com.), may also have been used as an ornament (Figure 12). An exceptional find within the shell bead assemblage is the *Nassarius gibbosulus* shell bead with red ochre inside, which bears evidence of intentional colouring (Figure 13).



Figure 12: Fossil shell from Aşıklı Höyük (Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

Nassarius, *Conus* and *Columbella* beads are evident from the earliest phases of the settlement; the rest of the different shell taxa within the assemblage are represented by single examples, seen throughout the overall occupation. During the earlier phases of the 8th millennium B.C. settlement (Level 2F-G-H; cf. Figure 21), there is the single example of intentional colouring of shell beads (a *Nassarius* bead found with red ochre inside).



Figure 13: *Nassarius gibbosulus* shell bead with red ochre inside (Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

2.1.4. Clay beads

A small number of clay beads are known from Aşıklı Höyük. It follows that clay was one of the preferred materials for the production of oval, elliptical or flat, disc shaped beads. This bead type appears only in the upper levels (Level 2D), during the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phase (cf. Figure 21).

2.1.5. Copper beads

Copper and malachite beads from Aşıklı Höyük, with further examples from Çayönü (ERIM-ÖZDOĞAN, 2011, p. 214), reflect the earliest use of native copper and malachite in Anatolia. There are several copper sources reported from Central Anatolia (ESIN, 1999; YALÇIN *et al.*, 2015), where Neolithic people may have encountered pieces of native copper and malachite on the surface. Such pieces may have been perceived as green coloured stones and/or minerals.

2.2. Production

A previous study by R. Bains (BAINS, 2013) has conducted Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) analysis on a small group of beads to shed more light on the production of stone beads at Aşıklı Höyük. According to her results, most of stone beads within the sample, identified as finished products, had undergone through final polishing, culminating in the eradication of production marks. Analysis revealed that the majority of beads had been drilled mechanically and biconically, which was probably an easier method for hard minerals, and subsequently polished *en masse*. An interesting specimen with respect to production techniques is a broken flat parallelogram bead with multiple perforations. The bead, which has 4 perforations on the backside, 1 perforation on the lateral side and 2 perforations on the front side, was found on the floor level of a building (Building RI). The perforations on the back and lateral sides were not finished. There are no typologically similar beads within the assemblage. Therefore, we may assume that the specimen reflects an attempt to produce an unfamiliar bead type.

Concerning the belt buckles, Christidou (CHRISTIDOU, 2013) has shown that the manufacturing sequence would have commenced with the choice of mammal bone, followed by cutting and perforation stages. After this, the intended form was given, a process that continued with grinding and scraping. Traces of mending and reuse are also observed on some examples.

Therefore, the belt buckle production and use sequence can be described as follows :

- Choice of mammal bone
- Cutting
- Perforating
- Grinding
- Scraping
- Mending
- Reuse

The most solid evidence for local bead production at Aşıklı Höyük comes from cylindrical bone beads and deer canine pendants, as suggested by the occurrence of preforms and

related worked bone finds. As we can trace the production sequence through various related finds, it can be assumed that these types were produced within the settlement.

2.2.1. Production and use sequence of the cylindrical bone beads

As discussed above, the choice of a particular animal bone for bead production at Aşıklı Höyük was clearly multi-dimensional. Following the preparation of the raw material, the first stage of the production was the sawing process. R. Christidou states that the surfaces of bird bones were scraped prior to sawing, while other bones, e.g. long bones from hare, show no such traces (CHRISTIDOU, 2011). Again, according to SEM analysis conducted by R. Bains, the sawing process was probably conducted with the use of a sharp, hand-held tool; the bone was sawn back and forth a quarter of the circumference at a time, resulting with the unaligned sawing marks (BAINS, 2013). There are also worked

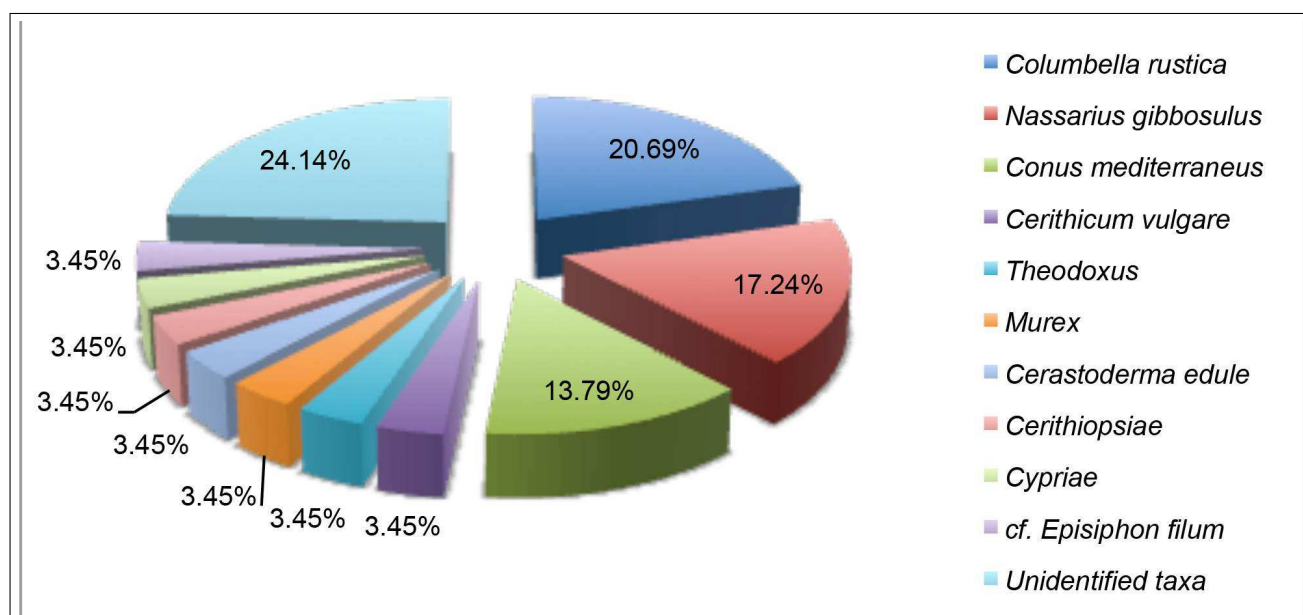


Figure 14: Aşıklı Höyük shell beads, percentage distribution according to shell taxa.



Figure 15: A diagram for the production and use sequence of the cylindrical bone beads found at Aşıklı Höyük

bone pieces, which display clear manufacture marks : Examples where the manufacturing process had commenced but was never completed, the preform (as well as the debitage) having been abandoned.

After the sawing process, the pieces were fractured into beads measuring 1-2 cm each (cf. Figure 15 for the proposed production and use sequence of cylindrical bone beads). Some examples could be identified as preforms due to the cut marks, which could also have been used as beads with aesthetical motivations (CHRISTIDOU, 2011). There is also evidence of pendant production within the site, suggested by a broken fragment of an herbivore (possibly a red deer) canine, found on the floor level of an

open activity area and also another red deer canine bead preform.

Polishing was not a standard procedure since we see both cutmarks and breaking marks on the bead surfaces. But the polished look stems from the intensive use of the beads, whereas there is also evidence of mending and reuse. In the case of the deer canine imitation pendants, re-perforation is observable : in some cases, after the breakage of the hole, the surface of the fracture was smoothened and then the object was re-perforated. R. Christidou has previously suggested traces of mending and re-use on a genuine deer canine pendant and also a realistically represented deer canine imitation pendant (CHRISTIDOU, 2010;

CHRISTIDOU, 2013; YELÖZER, 2016, p. 78-80; YELÖZER & ÖZBAŞARAN, 2014) (Figure 16). During the course of the ongoing work, this practice is also observed on a bead group consisting of deer canine imitation pendants combined with copper beads found with an adult female burial during the latest phases of the 8th millennium B.C. settlement (cf. Figure 10c). The wider implications of this situation will be discussed below (cf. 2.3.2 *Ornaments from animal bones and teeth*).



Figure 16: A discarded bead group consisting of cylindrical bone beads and red deer canine imitation pendants found in an open area fill at Aşıklı Höyük (Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

Besides the open activity areas, especially during the 9th millennium B.C. settlement phase, most of the cylindrical bone beads and deer canine imitation pendants made from different mammal bones are found in contexts

such as midden deposits of open area fills, suggesting that discard was the latest stage of the production and use sequence of the ornaments.

The multi-functioned external activity areas of the 9th millennium B.C. settlement phase reveals worked bone specimens, bone bead preforms and debitage related to bead production, however no definable beadworking areas and/or ateliers inside the buildings were identified all through the sequence (Figure 17).

2.2.2. Production methods of the shell beads

Although manufacture marks analyses on the shell bead assemblage have not been conducted yet under microscope, some different production methods are identified after Francis (FRANCIS JR, 1982, p. 713). It could be suggested that while some of the shell beads were perforated by gouging (Figure 18a), some were perforated using the method of percussion (Figure 18c and Figure 18d). In some cases, sawing and grinding methods were also applied –observed especially on the *Nassarius gibbosulus* and cf. *Episiphon filum* shells (Figure 18b and Figure 18e).

2.3. Discussion

Here, the assessment of the ornaments from Aşıklı Höyük will be evaluated within the context of regional comparisons and afterwards the continuities and changes based on ornamentation at Aşıklı Höyük will be discussed.

2.3.1. Ornaments from stones and minerals

As introduced above, the stone bead assemblage is dominated by steatite and limestone, followed by marble and carnelian. Steatite and

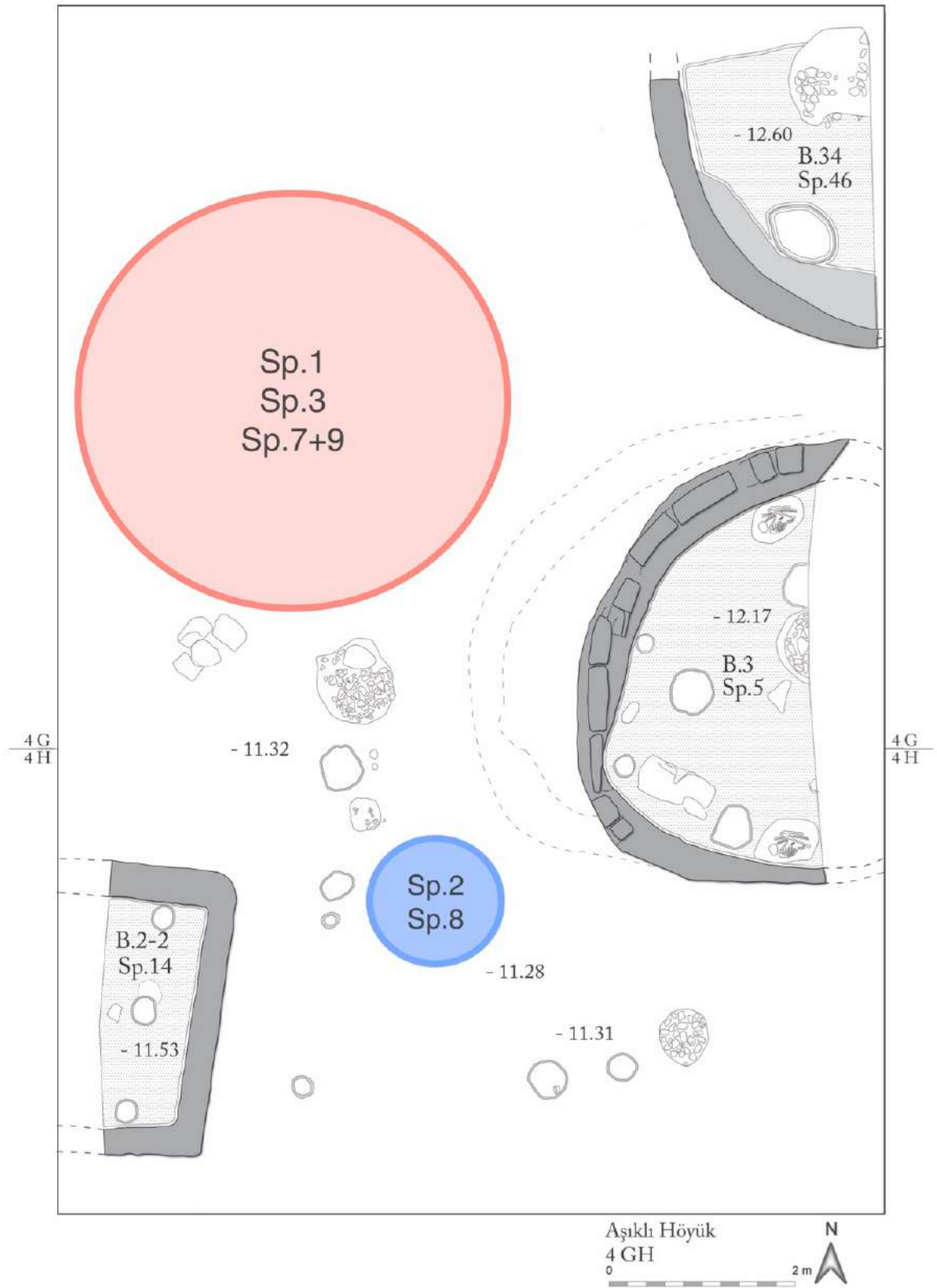


Figure 17: Possible bead production areas (?) in the 9th millennium B.C. settlement (Level 4, 4GH Deep Trench Plan: Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

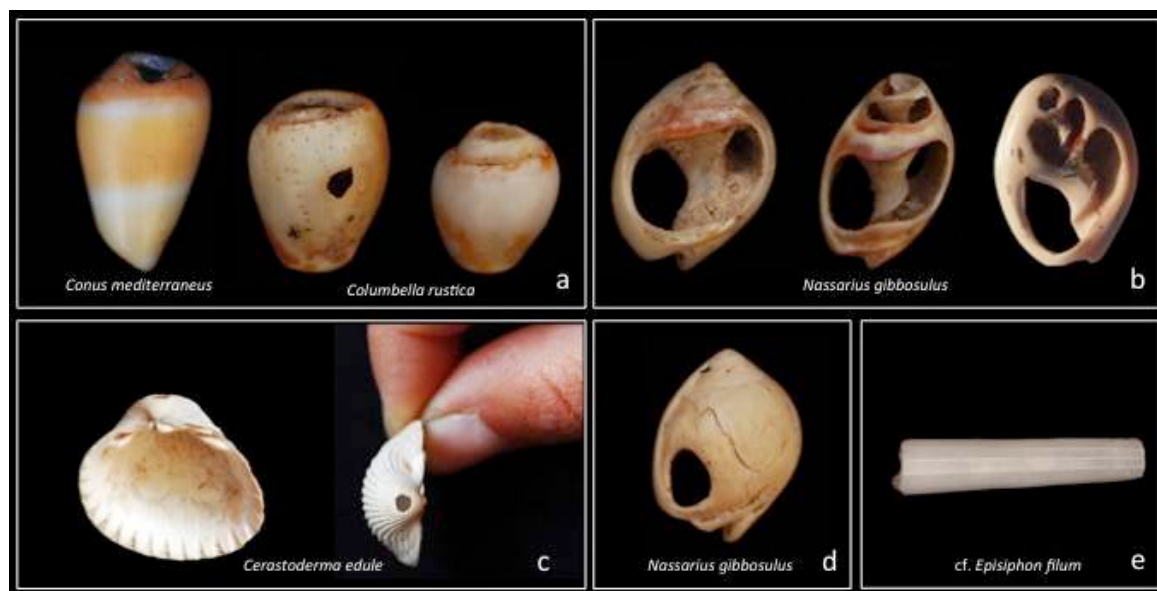


Figure 18: Proposed shell bead production methods at Aşıklı Höyük. Gouging (a); percussion (c and d); sawing and/or grinding (b and e) (Aşıklı Höyük Research Project).

limestone were apparently preferred for the production of flat disc beads, the most dominant bead type. There is a similar pattern also in the Aceramic Neolithic settlement of Boncuklu Höyük in the Konya Plain. As at Aşıklı Höyük the flat disc beads made from limestone (which is thought to have been procured from a local source at Bozdağ, approximately 20 km from the settlement) make up the majority of the bead assemblage at Boncuklu Höyük. According to Baysal (BAYSAL, 2013; BAYSAL, 2014b, p. 60; BAYSAL, 2014a, p. 30), in a wider context, stone disc beads are one of the major unifying elements of the Neolithic ornamentation practices in Anatolia and even beyond, as far as the Levant (BARYOSEF MAYER, 2013b). Keeping in mind the similarity between the two sites, the use of the most accessible raw material for the production of the most commonly produced bead type suggests that accessibility was a determining factor in material choice.

What is interesting is that while obsidian is the most exploited and the most accessible material for tool production at Aşıklı, there is only one example revealing the use of obsidian for ornamentation. Even more interesting is that this piece was recovered from the fill of a special purpose building, located in the public area of the 8th millennium B.C. settlement. This find might suggest that raw material source availability was not the only motivation for ornament production and use. Furthermore, an obsidian provenance study of the bracelet shows that it may be of Eastern Anatolian origin, and therefore reflect interaction between regions and communities (ASTRUC *et al.*, 2011, p. 3423). A similar specimen, reported to be a comparable profiled bracelet, is also known from Neolithic Çukuriçi Höyük on the Aegean littoral (HOREJS *et al.*, 2015, p. 303). Obsidian is also used as a raw material for ornament production during the late Neolithic, as reported from the Halaf levels of Domuztepe in southeastern Anatolia and

Tell Arpachiyah in northern Iraq (HEALEY & CAMPBELL, 2014).

Another parameter we see in stone and mineral choice for bead production is the hardness grade of the material. Either soft but not fragile or hard but fragile stones were preferred for bead production at Aşıklı Höyük. It is especially difficult to work on hard but fragile stones and minerals that have low resistance to fracture, therefore it has been suggested that the existence of beads made of such minerals (e.g. carnelian) could indicate a higher skill level of some bead producers at the site (BAINS, 2013, p. 13). However, since carnelian is not a local mineral and no related bead production debitage have been identified, it cannot be ruled out that these beads were produced off-site and brought to the settlement as finished products. Thus, instead of indicating the skill level of the bead producers at Aşıklı Höyük, the data indicates some insights into interaction networks. Considering that carnelian is the preferred material for oval, flat/oval and lenticular beads, and seeing that these are the least frequently observed bead types in the assemblage, we can assume that carnelian beads did not constitute a standard component of ornamentation at Aşıklı Höyük but likely reflect more personal choices or interaction with different regions/communities and also convey symbolic meanings in relation to these factors at the same time.

While green and red, as discussed above, are commonly preferred bead colours during the Neolithic in a wider spatial context, the burial practices at Aşıklı Höyük which we see some individuals interred with green coloured single beads also forms an interesting colour-

use pattern. During the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phase, eight individuals were found buried with single green beads, whereas the rest (n=16) were buried with bead groups consisting of beads from various colours, forms and raw material. The use of green colour in such a practice may suggest that the colour green was symbolically charged.

2.3.2. Ornaments from animal bones and teeth

Bead production using animal bone and teeth at Aşıklı Höyük can be summarized as follows :

- Bones used for bead production at Aşıklı Höyük are consistent with the commonly hunted animal species.
- Long hollow bones from hare, fox and birds were the preferred bones for bead production.
- Observable patterns in pendant production differ from the above. The red deer canines were apparently preferred for pendants but due to their scarcity, among other factors that may be related to symbolic behaviours and choices, its imitations were frequently made on various animal bones.

Cylindrical beads and pendants dominate the assemblage of beads made from animal bones and teeth. Cylindrical beads made from the long, hollow and easily perforable bones of wild hare are also evident at the contemporary site of Boncuklu Höyük in the Konya Plain. Baysal has suggested that this choice might be attributable to prevailing social values and meanings connected with this animal

(BAYSAL, 2013, p. 8). In addition to the Aceramic Neolithic sites of Aşıklı and Boncuklu Höyük, the archaeological record (also from later periods) has produced evidence that ‘special’ powers were probably attributed to skeletal parts of some animals (including parts of the skull and the paws). This tradition might be traced back to certain physical activities that animals and humans perform with these parts of the body (CHOYKE, 2010, p. 200-201).

The aforementioned insights serve to expand our knowledge of ornament production on animal bone at Aşıklı Höyük. Considering that cylindrical beads were being made on bone from species already hunted for nutritional purposes, it does not surprise that this bead type became a standard ornament at the site. Notably, for the earlier levels of the settlement the faunal assemblage features much higher species diversity; wild hare, fish from the Melendiz River, and different bird species were frequently hunted (STINER *et al.*, 2014, p. 8405). Especially in these earlier levels a multi-purpose exploitation and manipulation of small prey as a raw material source for ornament production cannot be ruled out.

Red deer canine pendants at Aşıklı Höyük were clearly symbolically charged, thus confirming previous observations for a broad geographical area and a significant time span. It is evidenced that these beads have been mimicked using different animal bones, stones and minerals, and even *Spondylus* shell, (in the case of the latter at the Neolithic settlement of Uğurlu (BAYSAL & ERDOĞU, 2014, p. 374)) since the Palaeolithic. Covering a wide area from Europe to the Near East, this trend is thought to be related to the over-

all scarcity of deer canines and also to symbolic relations between hunting activities and ornamentation. In other words, it serves as a mirror on the relationship between animals and humans (CHOYKE, 2001, p. 252). It is also emphasised that the imitated forms and materials carry a social and symbolic meaning of their own (BAYSAL, 2015*b*, p. 18). As also observed at Aşıklı Höyük, red deer canine imitation beads also have flattened and stylized versions at the Pottery Neolithic settlement of Çatalhöyük in the Konya Plain. It is suggested that while genuine red deer canines need only perforation through its root to be converted into an ornament, the imitation and stylized forms made of bone were first chipped of large mammal long bone cortex, abraded into shape, and then perforated after the shape was roughed out (BAINS *et al.*, 2013, p. 361).

The prolonged use life history of ornaments suggested by the traces indicating intensive use of the items, mending and re-use is particularly evident in the case of the bone beads, deer canine pendants and its imitations. The polished look that stems from intensive use is clearly observable on cylindrical bone beads. In some cases, the objects function was possibly transformed after the curation process. A pendant made from red deer canine, found at the earliest levels of the 9th millennium B.C. settlement at Aşıklı Höyük illustrates this particular situation. R. Christidou (CHRISTIDOU, 2010; CHRISTIDOU, 2013) suggests that the specimen may have been used as a ‘button’ after the breakage, as observed by the vertical notches concentrating at the sides of the hole and the use-wear traces on the fracture (cf. Figure 10d).

This practice continues during the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phase, suggested by an assemblage of deer canine pendants and copper beads including re-perforated pendants found with an adult female burial. Here, we may speak of a shift in use and a quite special treatment for red deer canine pendants. Considering that the deer canine imitation pendants are evident from the earliest occupation phase at the site, this example brings forward issues of memory and communal history expressed through these objects. According to Baysal and Miller (BAYSAL & MILLER, 2016, p. 17), the phenomenon of curation and re-use, observed also in other Neolithic settlements, indicates that prehistoric beads carried an importance beyond solely motivations of display. Emphasizing that most of these curated beads with prolonged life histories have lost their original aesthetical qualities, symmetrical forms and their primary quality as a bead with their broken holes, they suggest that the meaning of these objects was beyond their physical properties, forms and aesthetical aspects.

2.3.3. Shell beads

The shell bead assemblage, dominated by marine mollusc shells from the Mediterranean, may reflect the interaction level of the Aşıklı community with the possible direct and indirect circulation networks of the Mediterranean shells⁸. Considering the small number of the shell bead assemblage, one may suggest that

the level of interaction of the Aşıklı community with the possible circulation networks of marine shells were also low. As BAYSAL & MILLER (2016, p. 16) indicates that the inhabitants of the contemporaneous Boncuklu Höyük preferred beads made from the local stones and used them more intensively although they had access to certain 'exotic' raw materials such as marine shells. A similar situation is applicable to Aşıklı Höyük.

Another suggestion for interaction between regions through a particular perforation method in *Nassarius* shell bead production is suggested between Boncuklu Höyük in the Konya Plain and Shillourokambos in Cyprus (BAYSAL, 2013, p. 10; SERRAND *et al.*, 2005, p. 126: fig. 5i). These two Aceramic Neolithic sites are contemporaneous with Aşıklı Höyük. Considering that Cappadocian obsidian diffused via a network linking Neolithic Central Anatolia with Cyprus (BALKAN-ATLI & BINDER, 2012, p. 76), we can assume that additional raw materials, including shells for ornamentation, were also subject to exchange along these same channels.

One specimen within the shell bead assemblage at Aşıklı Höyük, identified as a fossil shell (*Cerithiopsiae*) from the Taurus Mountains, has similar examples from the Pottery Neolithic settlement of Çatalhöyük. Unlike Aşıklı Höyük, it is suggested that fossil hunting, in addition to the use of marine mollusc shells, indicates that the Çatalhöyük in-

8. BAR-YOSEF MAYER (2013b, p. 139) suggests that « The presence or absence of certain bead types can inform us about long distance contacts as the result of exchange of raw materials and finished products, the diffusion of ideas or the movement of artisans along specific routes, and the possible value of unique types either economic or symbolic. »

habitants were involved in an extensive exchange network spanning much of the Near East (BAR-YOSEF MAYER *et al.*, 2010, p. 376-385). It is also stressed that the un-perforated fossil shells at Çatalhöyük could be interpreted as exchange items, 'gifts' or 'souvenirs' that served as 'amulets', but not as beads (BAINS *et al.*, 2013, p. 358; BAR-YOSEF MAYER, 2013a, p. 332; BAR-YOSEF MAYER *et al.*, 2010, p. 387).

There is also evidence of colouring of beads made from organic materials such as shells at the contemporaneous site of Pınarbaşı in the Konya Plain, where shells were coloured with red ochre, (similar to the Aşıklı Höyük specimen; cf. Figure 13) or turned into black via heating (BAYSAL, 2013, p. 6).

2.3.4. Clay beads

The few number (n=6) of clay beads forms an interesting pattern considering that clay is one of the most extensively exploited raw materials at Aşıklı Höyük, especially as a construction material, but also as a raw material for various artifacts. Similar to Aşıklı Höyük, clay is regarded as the most extensively used raw material, as a construction material, and also for various artifacts such as clay objects, figurines, pottery, stamp seals and beads at the Pottery Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük in the Konya Plain. It is reported that Çatalhöyük clay beads were made of alluvial clays available in the vicinity of the site, and varied in typology from tubular and flat disc beads to

lenticular beads and pendants; it is also stated that they are strikingly rarely present, comparing to the stone and bone beads (BAINS *et al.*, 2013, p. 346-355) . There is also a single example of a clay bead from the 9th millennium B.C. settlement of Pınarbaşı and nine clay beads are also reported from Boncuklu Höyük in the Konya Plain (BAYSAL, 2013, p. 6). While the Pınarbaşı and Boncuklu Höyük clay beads are regarded as crudely made examples, it is stated that the clay beads from Çatalhöyük are more neatly formed; other examples of Neolithic clay beads comes from Çukuriçi Höyük in the Aegean littoral, with polished clay beads reflecting a higher quality and craftsmanship (BAYSAL, 2015b, p. 15-16).

2.3.5. Contextual and chronological distribution of the ornaments: continuities and changes

During the 9th millennium B.C. settlement phase, majority of the ornaments are found in open activity areas and midden deposits, mostly as broken and discarded pieces, suggesting the end of their use-life histories. Besides the open activity areas, especially during the 9th millennium B.C., most of the cylindrical bone beads and deer canine imitation pendants made from different mammal bones were abandoned in contexts such as midden deposits of open area fills. They could have been thrown away, lost or employed in ritual practices⁹. However, in the 8th millennium B.C., the great

9. Involvement of beads in rituals was attested for the PPNA Northern Mesopotamia at Tell Mureybet and Jerf-el Ahmar. Indeed, groups of beads made from cylindrical bones and stones were found in various non-funerary contexts, sometimes associated to bucranium or horns (ALARASHI, 2014).

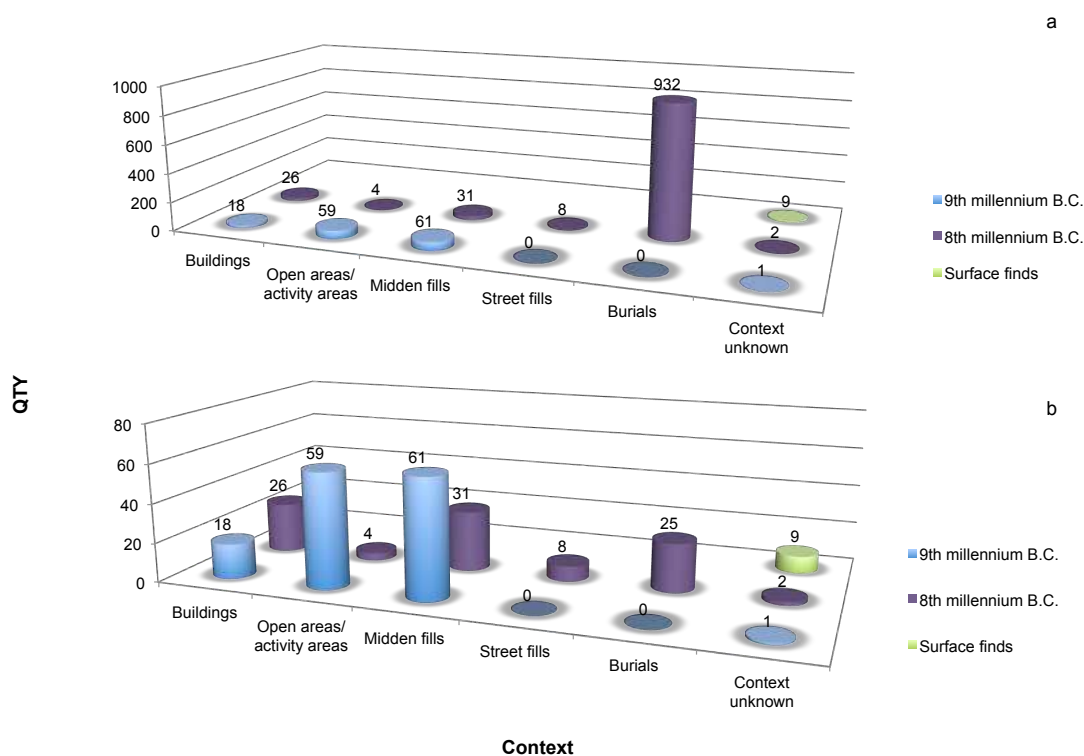


Figure 19: Comparison of the spatial distribution of ornaments between the 9th and the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phases at Aşıklı Höyük. Quantity of each bead in bead groups found with burials indicated (a); each bead group found with burials counted as single ornaments (b)

majority of the ornaments are found together with burials as bead groups (Figure 19).

Here, we may briefly introduce the burial practices of the Aşıklı community in order to comprehend the changes in the concept of ornamentation and burial practices. During the overall occupation span of almost 1000 years at Aşıklı Höyük, 89¹⁰ individuals, both female (n=34) and male (n=16), and within all age groups (54 adult and 35 neonate, infant and child burials) have been buried within the settlement, under the floors of the buildings in *hocker* position. 12 of the burials belong to the

9th millennium B.C. settlement phase, while 77 of them belong to the 8th millennium B.C. (YELÖZER, 2016, p. 144).

Although one may suggest that there is an increase regarding the number of buried individuals within the settlement through the later levels, the difference in the number of burials may be related to the difference of the excavated areas between the 9th and the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phases. But still, we may speak of a change in the burial practices. During the 9th millennium B.C., the burials had no ‘belongings’ with them; through the

10. Number of individuals included in this study.

latest levels of the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phase, we begin to see individuals buried with objects such as awls, antlers, belt-buckles, obsidian tools, baskets, beads or bead groups and in some cases, a combination of these objects (DURU, 2013, p. 209-212; ESIN & HARMANKAYA, 2007, p. 265; ÖZBAŞARAN, 2011, p. 110; ÖZBAŞARAN, 2013, p. 4-5; ÖZBAŞARAN & DURU, 2015, p. 48).

Regarding the contextual distribution of the ornaments; burials with ornaments mostly belong respectively to females, neonate/child burials and male burials. The bead groups are found with adult burials (with the exception of a child burial, found with a bead group and red ochre placed in mouth) and mostly consist of stone and mineral beads. In the single case of an adult female burial, a combination of red deer canine imitation pendants made from animal bones with copper beads were found (ESIN, 1995, p. 65). The single beads are found with female and infant/child burials (n=9), and as discussed above, although there is no consistency in the form and the raw materials of these beads, eight of them are green. Considering the examples such as bead groups found together with the skeletons in burial pits during the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phase, it could be suggested that the concept of ornamentation started to change and gain a new meaning. This suggestion will be discussed below.

Although few in number, the three dominant bead types (cylindrical beads, flat disc beads and pendants) are evident from the very earliest levels of the site. Through the later levels of the 8th millennium B.C., bead types begin to increase, the repertoire now including

single examples of different bead types such as the square lenticular bead, conical bead and the butterfly bead. This development could be related either to new and varied production techniques or to increased interaction with different communities.

The prominent features regarding continuities and changes in ornamentation between the 9th and the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phases are as follows :

During the 9th millennium B.C.,

- Cylindrical bone beads constitute the majority, followed by red deer canine imitation pendants.
- Shell beads are mostly from Mediterranean, except a *Theodoxus* freshwater mollusc.
- There are very few examples of flat, disc beads made of limestone and barrel shaped beads.
- There are a few belt buckles and belt hooks that belong to this phase.

Both beads and belt buckles show a significant increase in number and also change regarding context and use during the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phase (Figure 20).

There are certain prominent features of ornamentation during the 8th millennium B.C.,

- In this phase, there is a great variety in raw material choice, bead colours and types. Certain bead types represented by single examples, such as the collared butterfly bead and the conical bead begin to emerge. Regarding the collared butterfly bead, which is a sub-type of the characteristic 'butterfly beads', a widespread

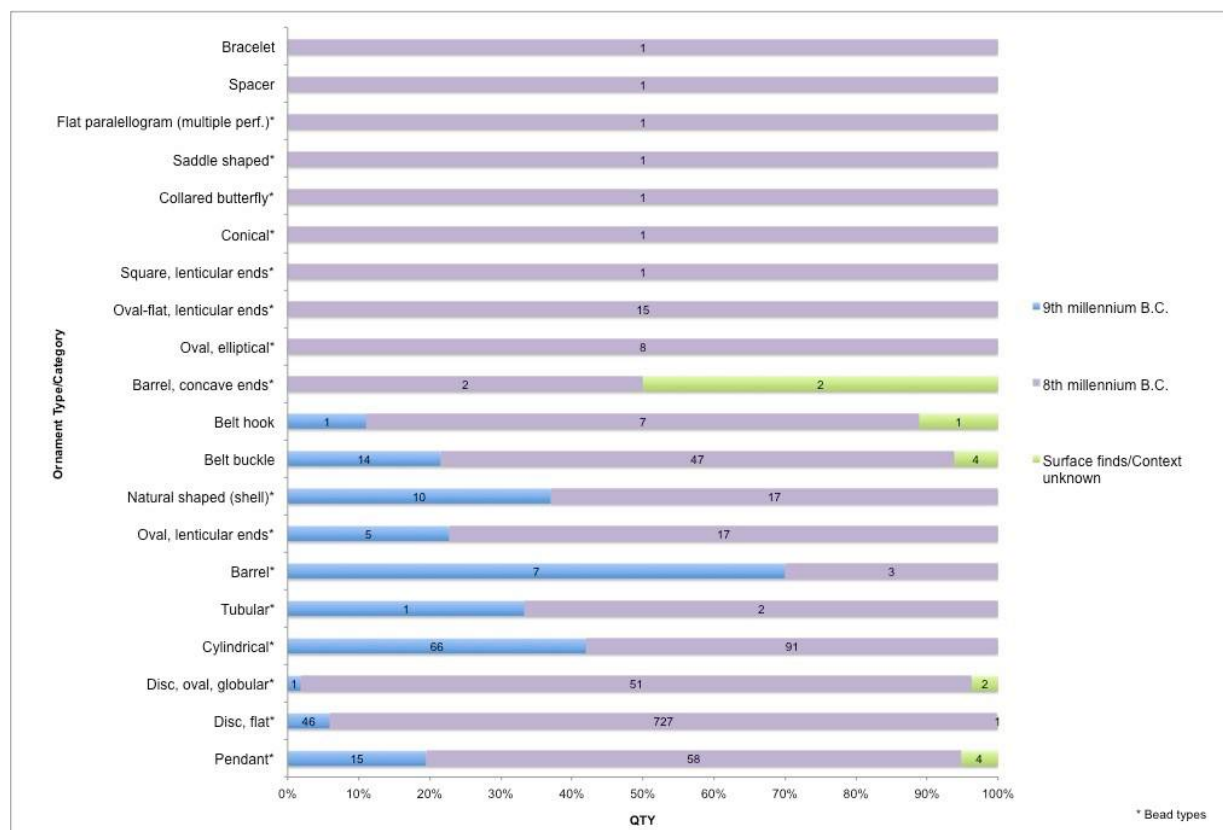


Figure 20: Comparison of the chronological distribution of ornament categories and types between the 9th and the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phases at Aşıklı Höyük

form in Neolithic Southwest Asia known especially from the Abu Hureyra settlement on the Euphrates (ALARASHI, 2016; MOORE *et al.*, 2000, p. 291), it could be suggested that these new types could indicate an increase in interaction with different communities and regions.

- The bead groups are found with skeletons in burial pits, directly related with individuals, which may indicate a shift in the burial practices of the community but also the perception of ornamentation and ‘ownership’ of the ornaments. This
- shift regarding the concept of ornamentation during the later levels of the occupation at the site occurs at the same time with the introduction of various raw materials and bead types in the repertoire as mentioned above.
- The continuing elements are the cylindrical bone beads and the red deer canine imitation pendants. These can be considered as the transmitted elements related to a possible shared/common history and identity of the community.

Conclusion

The new elements we begin to see during the 8th millennium B.C. and the difference in their spatial distribution patterns are the indicators of change (to see the changes and continuing elements, cf. Figure 21). These indicators can be interpreted as follows :

- The individuals of the 9th millennium B.C. settlement phase were buried with no 'belongings'. The change in the 8th millennium B.C. may be interpreted as a shift from 'item' to 'possession', which further suggests that these items began to gain a new 'personal' meaning. During the latest occupation phase of the settlement, the assemblage of red deer canine pendants and copper beads found with an adult female burial¹¹ as discussed above, may suggest a shift in value with a reference to the shared past of the community. The prolonged use life history of the pendants as suggested by the re-perforated specimens within this assemblage could indicate that these objects may have had been intensively used by the deceased during her lifetime¹² but also that these objects may have had been valued by the community as a marker or a symbol of their communal history, and transferred between individuals and/or generations¹³.
- The increase in the scope of the raw materials used and types preferred could indicate either an increase in the skill levels of the bead producers and users within the community or interaction and communication with different Neolithic groups from regions where those raw materials are readily available.
- The single example of an obsidian bracelet specimen could be indicative of a long distance trade/exchange or interaction network. This, with the variety in bead types and raw materials, strengthens the suggestion that the Aşıklı community began to interact more with the 'outer world' during the latest phases of the occupation. Although marine shells could also be evidence for an interaction network, the small number of the assemblage suggests that the Aşıklı community may have chosen to be distant to such a network. Therefore, one could suggest that they began to interact more with

11. Regarding the finding position of the bead group on the head of a female burial, Esin interprets the bead group as a 'diadem' (ESIN, 1995, p. 65).

12. For a similar comment on not re-perforated but heavily worn shell beads found with an adult female in a grave at Çatalhöyük see BAINS *et al.*, 2013, p. 358.

13. In her study of the beads from the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic (mid-7th to mid-6th millennia B.C.) settlement of Aktopraklık in northwestern Anatolia, E. Baysal also notes that "*The extreme degree of wear of some hard-stone examples (...) suggests very prolonged use, possibly over the course of several decades or more than one generation*" BAYSAL (2016, p. 54).

		Raw material					Form	Colour	With burials				
		Stone/mineral	Animal bone/tooth	Shell	Clay	Copper			Infant	Women	Men	Single bead	Bead group
8th millennium B.C.	Level 2	A-C	Camelians Quartz Chlorite Granite Faience (?) Tufa	<i>Cerithicum vulgare</i> <i>Murex</i> sp.			Cylindrical, long Cylindrical, conical ends Spacer Collared butterfly Barrel, collared ends Conical Square, lenticular ends Oval, flat, lenticular ends Oval, elliptical Saddle shaped	Blue					
9th millennium B.C.	Level 3	A-C	Serpentine Marble	<i>Cerithiopsis</i> sp. <i>Cypraea</i> sp. <i>cf. Episiphon filum</i>			Oval, lenticular ends Disc, oval	Red					
9th millennium B.C.	Level 4	A-C	Red deer canine (natural shaped) Bird Hare Fox Imitations of red deer canine Ovicaprid incisor (natural shaped)	<i>Nassarius gibbosulus</i> <i>Columbella rustica</i> <i>Theodoxus</i> sp. <i>Conus mediterraneus</i>			Tubular Disc, flat Barrel Cylindrical Pendant	White Green					
9th millennium B.C.	Level 5	A-C	Limestone	<i>Nassarius gibbosulus</i> <i>Columbella rustica</i> <i>Theodoxus</i> sp. <i>Conus mediterraneus</i>			Tubular Disc, flat Barrel Cylindrical Pendant	White Green					

Figure 21: Changes and continuing elements in ornaments between the 9th and the 8th millennium B.C. settlement phases at Aşıklı Höyük

different regions but kept distance to certain elements at the same time.

- Considering the small numbers of belt buckles and hooks, one might ask whether these combined items could be indicators of ‘ownership’ (?).
- As indicators of continuity, it is clear that some of the ornaments were in common use among the Aşıklı community, with a shift in value and perception through time. These include the cylindrical bone beads as local production and the red deer canine pendants, genuine and imitations. These pendants had possibly a strong meaning for the Aşıklı community. We see its imitations from various animal bones quite often. And this trend possibly belonged to a wider level of identities and perception, as we have discussed above.

Considering this continuity, it could be suggested that these items began to gain a symbolic meaning, reflecting the communities’ bounds to their past. But at the same time, the new generations must have valued them in another way than their ancestors had, since they begin to be evident in different contexts, such as burials. This new relationship between the ornaments and the individuals may also suggest emerging individual identities. Regarding ornament technologies at the Pottery Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük, Wright (WRIGHT, 2012) suggests that although personal ornamentation was a mean of expressing and creating social identities, the role it played in

constructing social relationships and identities was multi-dimensional; therefore it is emphasised that personal ornaments placed in graves may also reflect the preference of the mourners rather than reflecting only the individual identities. With this suggestion in mind, we may interpret the continuities and changes in burial practices and ornamentation at Aşıklı Höyük as an indicator of both emerging individual identities and new social relationships within the community.

These continuing and changing concepts in ornamentation as discussed above, brings out further questions on the social structure of the community, as well as communication and interaction issues. Diversity and variety in raw materials, strongly indicates increasing interaction and communication with different Neolithic groups and also geographies over the occupation. The single example of the obsidian bracelet, which most probably has Eastern Anatolian origin, also strengthens this suggestion. Another indicator of interaction and communication can be traced through some features, common for many Neolithic communities in Anatolia, which in some cases cover even wider contexts in terms of time and space. These, as Baysal suggests, are the types of beads that are most commonly found geographically and temporally, which could also be indicators of social identity. Quoting her words, we can say that these types of Neolithic beads form a non-verbal language and media of communication between different Neolithic groups (BAYSAL, 2012).

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