

CULT BUILDINGS
IN ACERAMIC NEOLITHIC SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA:
A CASE STUDY OF NEVALI ÇORI

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ABSTRACT

CULT BUILDINGS IN ACERAMIC NEOLITHIC SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA: A CASE STUDY OF NEVALI ÇORI

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First settlements in Southeast Anatolia begun to appear as early as 10000 BC. Among all the unanswered questions about this early period, cult-related activities and cult buildings are widely studied due to their nature, which has strong connections with the social organization and early symbolism.

During the last decade, Southeast Anatolia has provided new evidence for this early stage of development in human history. This study aims to examine cult buildings that have common characteristics; how they were treated and distributed. The settlement of Nevalı Çori and its cult building is taken as an example and studied in detail. Other cult buildings with the same or similar architectural features are included in this study in order to discuss the roots, the distribution and the continuity of this Aceramic Neolithic tradition.

Keywords: Aceramic Neolithic, Southeast Anatolia, Cult Buildings, Nevalı Çori

ÖZ

AKERAMİK NEOLİTİK GÜNEYDOĞU ANADOLU BÖLGESİ'NDE KÜLT YAPILARI: NEVALI ÇORİ ÖRNEK YERLEŞİMİ

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Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde ilk yerleşimlerin görülmeye başlaması MÖ 10000'lere kadar inmektedir. Bu erken dönem hakkında cevaplanamayan tüm sorunlar içinde, sosyal organizasyon ve erken sembolizmle olan güçlü bağları dolayısıyla kült aktiviteleri ve kült yapıları sıklıkla çalışılan konular arasındadır.

Son on yılda Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi insanlık tarihinin bu erken dönem gelişim evresi hakkında yeni bulgular sağlamıştır. Bu çalışma, ortak özellikleri olan kült yapılarını, bu yapıların ne tür işlemlerden geçtiğini ve bölgede ne şekilde dağılım gösterdiğini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Nevalı Çori yerleşimi ve kült yapısı örnek olarak seçilmiş ve detaylı olarak ele alınmıştır. Aynı ya da benzer mimari özelliklere sahip diğer kült yapıları da bu Akeramik Neolitik geleneğin köklerini, yayılımını ve devamlılığını tartışabilmek amacıyla çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Akeramik Neolitik, Güneydoğu Anadolu, Kült Yapıları, Nevalı Çori

To my friend, archaeologist Hakan Kale

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Southeastern Anatolia had not been identified as a cultural zone during Neolithic period until early 1960's, until The Southeast Anatolian Joint Project, conducted by the University of Chicago and İstanbul University, surveyed the region. The aim of the project was to understand the transition from hunter-gatherer to food producing society and also to investigate the impacts of this transition on cultural developments.

For many years Çayönü was the only site representing southeastern Anatolian Neolithic. Çayönü and other Anatolian Neolithic sites such as Aşıklı and Çatalhöyük were considered as “*late reflections of events, that had taken place in the core area*” of the Near Eastern Neolithic Culture.¹ With the discoveries during the Atatürk Dam survey, the excavations at Nevalı Çori and a couple years later at Göbekli Tepe, it became clear that there was a distinctive PrePottery Neolithic culture in southeast Anatolia. This culture of course, had its connections to and similarities with the Near Eastern cultures, however the evidence that it was not imported is present based on the architectural levels of Çayönü and very early settlements like Hallan Çemi, where cult buildings appear with the beginning of the settlement.

The main objective of this study is to define cult buildings of Neolithic Southeast Anatolia by taking Nevalı Çori as an example and comparing it to other cult buildings of Southeast Anatolia and Northern Mesopotamia. In order to understand the nature of Nevalı Çori Cult Building, it will be studied both individually and as a part of the whole settlement. By breaking the building down into its components such as benches, floors, pillars, sculptures etc., it will be possible to argue on its function –even only briefly due to the lack of detailed artifact studies- and its association with the cult practices.

¹ Özdoğan, M. 1999, 10-1; Özdoğan, M. 1995, 269-78

The characteristics of the aceramic cult buildings based on the evidence from Nevalı Çori can be listed as;

- a. They are large, single-roomed structures
- b. They are subterranean or semi-subterranean
- c. They have stone benches along their walls
- d. Their floors are specially made and multiple times renewed
- e. They have stone monoliths and/or pillars
- f. The monoliths and/or pillars are decorated
- g. They are deliberately filled and/or burnt and rebuilt in the same location
- h. They are located on the fringes of the settlements

Not every one of these features is to be detected at every site, but as mentioned before, one of the aims of this study is to track down the changing patterns of the cult buildings over time. Besides the similarities, the lack of certain components at Nevalı Çori will be taken into consideration as well, such as the paintings and/or reliefs on the benches that are present at North Syrian settlements and Çayönü, but absent at Nevalı Çori. Such differences allow us to interpret the local development of an individual settlement, which is evidently a part of a bigger world at the same time, interacting intensively and sharing new information as M. Özdoğan suggests.²

Based on the assumption that cult buildings of this period share common characteristics, settlements in neighboring areas and a certain time period will be included into the study. The study area is roughly limited by the Euphrates on the west and Tigris on the east and covers some of the North Syria, however the main focus will be on Urfa-Diyarbakır region, on Nevalı Çori, Göbekli Tepe, Çayönü and some recent evidence from Urfa area. Hallan Çemi is the far northeast spot of the study area; Jerf el Ahmar is forming the southern limit of the study area and chosen according its location and architectural characteristics. Aşıklı Höyük, one of the earliest and most widely examined settlements in Central Anatolia, is included to this

² Personal communication with M.Özdoğan.

study in order to argue on the continuity (or the lack of it) of the tradition, to see if anything has been transferred from southeast to west.

In this geographical variety, it would be necessary to examine the environmental settings, to explain the relationship between the settlement and its environment or just simply to understand whether this type of cult buildings is to be found in certain environments only.

Another important question to ask is whether anything from PPNB has ever survived through time and repeated in Central Anatolian Pottery Neolithic. Although there is a gap of roundly couple of thousand years between Nevalı Çori and Çatalhöyük, the custom of burying buildings is present at both settlements. What makes these cult buildings special and different could be that they were an important part of the social memory and the way that they were treated could have been lasted longer than we used to think it has.

The buildings which differ from the others in a settlement, depending on their plan, size, construction, interior features and finds, will be called as “cult buildings” in this study, although the term cult or cultic is not limited just with the built structures and some of those buildings are defined as “public” or “special” by their excavators. “Cult Buildings” are structures in which no domestic activities were being held.

CHAPTER II

SETTINGS OF THE STUDY AREA

II.a. Geographical Settings

Southeast Anatolia is basically the area lying between Southeastern Taurus Mountains and modern Turkish-Syrian border. Taurus mountains form a natural barrier on the north against the high (2000-3000 m) and colder Eastern Anatolia. Starting from the southern piedmont of the Taurus, the plateau (500-1000 m) spreads out and loses altitude towards the Syrian plain. Southeast Anatolia is considered to be a transition zone between the highlands of East Anatolia and semi-arid Syrian plain.

The region has passages and roads leading to the inlands of Anatolia. As well as interaction and sharing information, those routes were used also for trading, for instance, obsidian, native copper, timber and exotic material like seashells.

Although summers are very hot and dry, winters are mild and relatively humid; the area has an average precipitation of 500 to 700 mm per year and most of it falls in winter. Two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, and their tributaries drain the plateau. The vegetation varies from dense forests - mostly types of oak- to steppes towards lower altitudes. The reddish-brown steppe soils are rich in lime and potassium, which makes the soil appropriate for grain production.³ Wild pig, wild cattle, aurochs, wild sheep, wild goat, bear, fox, gazelle, wildcat, land turtle, birds, fresh water fish were the most hunted animals. Legumes, peas, cereal, pistachio, almond, grape, wild grasses were gathered by the people of this region. Together with the raw material resources of Taurus in easy reach, the region had very suitable living conditions.

³ Erinç 1980:78

II.b. Distribution of the Settlements

PPN settlements of this region seem to be gathered in three sub-regions; along Tigris and its tributaries in the east, on the Urfa Plateau, and along the Euphrates in the southwest. Mardin Plateau in the southeast appears to be empty.

Tigris region is represented by two settlements, Çayönü and Hallan Çemi; the distance between them is about 75 km.

Urfa Plateau has the highest number of settlements; Nevalı Çori, Göbekli Tepe, Karahan Tepe, Hamzan Tepe and Yeni Mahalle Höyük. All of them are located on the foothills and on the banks of streams, but not close to Euphrates. Nevalı Çori is the nearest to the river, yet there is still a distance of 3 km in between.

There are two ongoing excavations in the southeast, near Birecik, Akarçay Tepe and Mezraa Teleilat. Akarçay Tepe C14 dates are between 7900-6100 BC, the earliest level at Mezraa Teleilat is a transition level from PPN to Pottery Neolithic dating approximately to 7050 BC. Both settlements are later than the group in Urfa Plateau, located on alluvial land in lower altitudes (355 and 340 m).

Different subsistence strategies are thought to be the reason behind such a distribution.⁴ The early settlements, whose subsistence was highly depended on hunting, were located carefully according to the particular spots where animals were crossing the river. Nevalı Çori, for instance, is close to such a crossing spot, but still in a safe distance to the route of animals. After 8000 BC, when hunting became less important, settlements moved closer to the river. Both at Akarçay Tepe and Mezraa Teleilat, domestication can be traced right from the early levels on.⁵

⁴ Schmidt 2001b:10

⁵ TAY

The number of mounds with Neolithic occupation in Southeast Anatolia is around 60 when survey results are included.⁶ Urfa appears to be the densest area with 27 sites, 14 of them are in Birecik District, mostly gathered along Euphrates, probably belonging to the later group mentioned above. 4 of them have Paleolithic material on their surfaces as well as Neolithic. Adıyaman and Diyarbakır are represented by 9 sites each. In Diyarbakır, the sites are dense in Ergani District, where Çayönü is also located.

The relation between these settlements is a matter of debate. Even in Urfa Plateau where a density can be observed, the distance between two settlements is at least 50 km. Çayönü in the Upper Tigris region is 100 km far from Nevalı Çori. Although Göbekli Tepe was proposed to be a ritual center dominating the region⁷, such a hierarchy is doubtful since we are still far from understanding the nature of the settlements. It is worth mentioning here, Göbekli Tepe, when it was first noticed by scholars in 1960's, was thought to be a Roman settlement on top of a Neolithic lithics workshop. Perhaps, with our knowledge of PPN cultures today, the region should be reinvestigated; it is likely that Göbekli Tepe is not the only example of PPN settlements on an unusual elevation and without a stream running nearby.

II.c. Chronological Chart

The time period to be covered will be aceramic Neolithic; although the time charts seems to vary, it is between early 11th millennium to 8th millennium BC for the selected area. Aceramic Neolithic has three sub phases, PPNA, PPNB and PPNC; most of the settlements in this study are dating to PPNB, while some of them are dating to PPNA, which helps to understand the development and changing patterns of the cult buildings, since the monumental cult buildings of PPNB Anatolia seems to have their roots in the earlier PPNA people and buildings of the region. The chronological data of the selected settlements are as follows:⁸

⁶ Following data is taken from TAY GIS on TAY website.

⁷ Schmidt 2001b:11

⁸ Calibrated radiocarbon dates based on CANeW web site

Table 1. Chronological chart of the settlements mentioned in the study.

Hallan Çemi	10200 – 9200 BC
Çayönü (round buildings)	10000 – 9400 BC
Jerf el Ahmar	9200 – 8700 BC
Göbekli Tepe	9100 – 8750 BC
Çayönü (grill and channeled buildings)	8400 – 8200 BC
Nevalı Çori	8540 – 8300 BC
Çayönü (cobble-paved buildings)	8200 – 7840 BC
Aşıklı Höyük	8200 – 7500 BC
Çatalhöyük	7400/6900? – 6200 BC

CHAPTER III

NEVALI ÇORI AND THE CULT BUILDINGS

Nevalı Çori is located north of Şanlıurfa, 750 m northwest of Kantara Köyü, on an elevation of 490 meters. The stream of Kantara Çayı cuts the site into two sections. The eastern section is better preserved and situated below a limestone hill, on a terrace that is 90 meters long and 40 meters wide. There are two dry wadis bordering the terrace on both sides.⁹ (Fig. 2)

The site was found during the survey conducted by H.G.Gebel in 1980, the rescue excavations continued from 1983 until 1991 by the University of Heidelberg with collaboration of Archaeological Museum of Şanlıurfa.¹⁰ Nevalı Çori is under the lake of Atatürk Dam since 1992. In the last campaign, the architectural remains were numbered and carried to the Şanlıurfa Museum and they are still there, waiting to be reconstructed and displayed.¹¹

The latest findings at Nevalı Çori date back to EBA I. Halaf period is also represented at the site with couple of tholoi, a burial and pottery.¹²

Early Neolithic occupation has a deposit of 2 meters and is divided into five phases according to the building levels. (Levels I-V)¹³ The earliest levels (Level I - II) are dated between 8400 and 8100 BC, which makes them contemporary with the early Çayönü and it is suggested that the occupation lasts until the end of the Cobble-paved Building sub-phase of Çayönü.¹⁴

⁹ Hauptmann 1993: 39, Hauptmann 1999: 70

¹⁰ TAY

¹¹ Hauptmann 1993: 39

¹² Yakar 1994: 13, 21

¹³ Hauptmann 1999: 70

¹⁴ Hauptmann 1999: 78

III.a. The Settlement Plan

The architectural sequence at Nevalı Çori is divided into five phases, from Level I being the earliest right on the virgin soil, to the Level V.¹⁵ The settlement plan shows a developing character considering the simple layout of Level I with only a couple of buildings and some walls, whereas Levels II and III display a more complex picture when looking at the line-up of rectangular structures and the square “Cult Building” appearing with its all interior elements. Level IV and Level V can be called as the end of this development, for there are only several structures in Level IV and just one building in Level V.

The total number of excavated buildings is 29, including the larger, two-phased “Cult Building” and two round houses.¹⁶ The “Cult Building” kept its place in the northwestern part of the settlement from Level II onwards¹⁷ (Fig.3); similarly most of the rectangular buildings, especially the ones that are lined up in the southern area, are rebuilt almost in the same spots throughout the Neolithic occupation.¹⁸ It has been claimed that after demolition and leveling, the old foundation was used again for the construction of the new building.¹⁹

Level I

There are five structures representing this earliest level, two of them (House 25 and House 21A) are fully uncovered and display individual plans clearly. Poorly preserved House 24 is located some north of all the other structures and it seems to be oriented north-south as the House 25. (Fig.4) House 22B is in the west side of the House 25 and it has two almost parallel walls that are curving slightly on their northern edges. House 21A and the unexcavated House 27 were built close to each

¹⁵ Hauptmann 1999a: 70

¹⁶ Hauptmann 1999a: 70, Schmidt 1996: 363

¹⁷ The Cult Building first appeared with the earliest level, Level I; however only traces of it were preserved. See Hauptmann 1999b: 124

¹⁸ Schmidt 1996: 366

¹⁹ Hauptmann 1999a: 70

other, although their orientation is not quite the same. House 14 consists of two pieces of wall, running in the northeast-southwest direction, which makes it roughly parallel to House 21A.

In the northwest of the settlement, there is a 4 meters long outer wall to prove the earliest existence of the Cult Building (House 13A).²⁰

Level II

In this level, a total of seven buildings are to be found. (Fig.5) Four of them (House 23, House 26, House 21B, House 12) are located almost at the same places as their predecessors (House 24, House 27, House 21A, House 14). House 23 stands in the north as House 24 did and the other three are in the southeastern section of the settlement, lying not exactly parallel to each other, but in an obvious line-up, all facing the stream.

A group of walls, RH 2, are situated close to the northeast corner of House 26. Although named as “round house 2”, its function is not clear, it is suggested that they could have been preventing the stream running downhill towards the buildings.²¹

House 22A must have been the northern edge of another building or two buildings; the rest of the structure is not preserved.

Cult Building (House 13B) is located northwest of the other buildings, in northeast-southwest direction, in this level with all of its outer walls and interior features. There is also a wall, running from northwest to southeast, whose northwestern end is connected to the eastern outer wall of the Cult Building. It has been argued that it could have limited the settlement for safety and functioned as a barrier²² or a terrace wall cutting off the settlement from the slope.²³

²⁰ Hauptmann 1993: 41

²¹ Hauptmann 1999a: 71

²² Hauptmann 1993: 41

²³ Hauptmann 1999a: 72

Level III

Level III has the highest number of buildings when compared to other phases of Nevalı Çori and is divided to two sub-phases, III A and III B. (Fig.6)

In the earlier Level III A, the southeastern line-up appears again with a new building added. House 7 is almost on top of the earlier House 26, House 6 is parallel to 7, House 2 is parallel to 6 and built over its possible predecessor House 12. The new, relatively smaller House 3 stands in the east of House 2. These four buildings are all facing the stream as the earlier ones in Level II. West of this group, there is a “M-shaped”, small structure, House 10.

Moving west, House 15 and 16 are oriented differently than the other five. House 15 differs with its long and narrow plan as well.

Level III B saw minor changes; a very large rectangular building, House 8 was built above House 15 and a small part of House 16, roughly in east-west direction. RH 1, located slightly above the northern edge of House 10, is a round building.

Cult Building (House 13 C) remained in the northwest during both sub-phases, this time it was built into the walls of the earlier Cult Building, which caused a decrease in its area. An “U-shaped” structure was situated on the slope, close to the Cult Building. Based on its massive construction and where it was placed, it was thought to have a cult-related function.²⁴

Level IV

House 4, located in the southeastern section, is the only structure, identified as a building in this level. (Fig.7) House 9 and 5 are very poorly preserved; there are only some remnants of walls.

²⁴ Hauptmann 1999a: 75

Level V

The final level is represented by House 1, which is oriented east-west. Western part of it was disturbed by pits and erosion, the northern side is not preserved either due to later disturbance.²⁵

III.b Building Forms and Material

Three different forms of construction can be seen at Nevalı Çori, freestanding rectangular buildings are the most common type. 24 of the 29 excavated buildings are rectangular in plan; with inner walls, dividing the space into small rooms- cells and sub-floor channels.

There are two round structures to be found at the site (RH2 in Level 2 and RH1 in Level 3), both of them poorly preserved. The plan and size of these large round buildings can only be traced by the postholes and lines of pebbles, which also indicates that they were built without using any stone foundations or mudbrick.²⁶ Although being contemporary with the other structures, the function of the round buildings are thought to be different, especially considering the large number of lithics found inside and around them.

Square planned Cult Building appears to be different from the other two forms of structure, not only by its plan, also by its size and interior features such as benches and pillars. According to the excavators, of these three building forms, only the Cult Building has a clearly defined function and named after it.

III.b.a Rectangular Buildings

Although disturbed by the later level, the walls of **House 25** of Level 1 are preserved up to 13.25 x 5.40 meters.²⁷ This rectangular space consists of three main units; a

²⁵ Hauptmann 1988: 102

²⁶ Schmidt 1996: 363

²⁷ Hauptmann 1999a: 70

front room in the south, another room in the middle divided into four cells, and a room at the back, which probably had also two long divisions. One channel, running crosswise the building and three stone settings, close to the northwestern outer wall were found. The stone settings, located about a meter apart from the outer wall, are thought to be related to the posts supporting the roof.²⁸

House 21A is 11.30 meters long and 4.50 meters wide and it was mainly divided into two units. The front unit measures 3 x 4.40 m and this space also has two partitions. The 8.20 meters long 4.50 meters wide back unit was initially divided into two long rooms, and then again by two walls cutting crosswise, into six cell-like small rooms. There are two sub-floor channels running lengthwise the building. Like in many buildings, the channels were formed by leaving open spaces while construction of the foundation platform.

House 26 in Level 2, one of the largest rectangular buildings, measures 18.20 x 6.20 meters and defined as a fine example of the “two-tier channel type” architecture.²⁹ The building is divided into two main sections; the back unit is 16.10 m long³⁰ and has eight rooms, whereas the front part of the building is one single rectangular chamber and there is no passage between those two sections. The interior walls are 0.40 m thick; the exterior walls measure 0.50 m. According to the excavators³¹ the building process of the foundation and the channels of House 26 must have been as follows; the foundation of the building is a platform, built of six lines of large blocks. While building the platform, some thirty cm wide spaces are left and when the platform was covered with stone slabs these spaces formed five channels under the floor. Both the exterior and the interior walls were built after the construction of the platform. The rubble floor was covered with a thick coat of plaster, which continued up to the interior side of the walls and also applied to the exterior, in some places up to 10 cm thick. The plaster of the exterior walls was applied in such a way that the

²⁸ Hauptmann 1999a: 70

²⁹ Hauptmann 1999a: 71

³⁰ Hauptmann 1999a: 71

³¹ Hauptmann 1999a: 71, Hauptmann 1997: 132

ends of the channels were not closed and it is thought that the openings were in order to keep the rooms ventilated and cool or maintain the drainage.

There are some stone settings found along the long walls of the building, which were possibly supporting the posts carrying the roof. In earlier publications³², a stone bench surrounding the building was mentioned.

House 21B, 12.70 meters long and 4.64 meters wide, has two units.³³ The front one is divided into four rooms and the back unit into six, all unequal in size. The back unit has door openings to connect the rooms and two channels lying on the cross axis.

House 12 is not so well preserved as the other two buildings and measures 12 x 5.3 meters.³⁴ Although it is not clear, it can be suggested that the space was divided into two sections, one front and one back; interior divisions are not recognizable. The foundation platform is better preserved than the rest of the building; there are six channels left open crosswise to the long axis and in this case two more channels lengthwise, connected to the ones running crosswise. A line of postholes was again found in both long sides of the building, about one meter far from the walls.³⁵

Up north of these three buildings **House 23** stands with only a couple of its walls remaining, however its plan seems quite similar to those with two main units and inner divisions and at least two channels running crosswise the long axis.

³² Hauptmann 1997: 132

³³ Hauptmann 1999a: 71

³⁴ Hauptmann 1999a: 71

³⁵ Hauptmann 1999a: 71

III.b.b Square Building: “The Cult Building”

The Cult Building I (H 13A)

At this earliest stage at Nevalı Çori, there are at least three rectangular buildings, with inner divisions and one of them with two sub-floor channels in Level 1, in a quite “developed” status, having all the elements required to define the “Nevalı Çori rectangular buildings”. However, the Cult Building I is represented by remnants of a wall and there is no plan of it available. The wall is in the southeast and about 4 meters long, set against the slope.³⁶ According to the excavator, its building material, such as broken stones and pillars, were re-used while building the Cult Building II; and it is also suggested that the Cult Building I was demolished and cleaned away before the construction of Cult Building II and the rest of the building material was reused within the settlement.³⁷

Before the erection of the Cult Building I, there was a pit, scraped off from the conglomerate slope to the valley side of the area, which went at least 3 meters deep in northeast. The building was standing on this “planned” ground, its back walls leaning on the vertically scraped slope and an entrance towards the valley. With this location the building was hanging above the rectangular buildings and gaining a safe, almost cave-like characteristic while still providing the monumental image when looking at it from south, the valley side.³⁸

The Cult Building II (H 13B)

The building stands in the western end of the settlement, its eastern side facing the dry valley, 5 meters from the nearest structure in Level 2. It is located on southwest – northeast axis. Measuring 13.90x13.50 m, Cult Building II was built on an area of 188 m²³⁹, which is almost two times larger than the area House 26 covers, the largest rectangular structure of Level 2. (Fig.8, 10) Although the other buildings were

³⁶ Hauptmann 1993:41

³⁷ Hauptmann 1993:41

³⁸ Hauptmann 1993:42

³⁹ Hauptmann 1999a:74, Hauptmann 1993:43

mostly re-built, still some minor changes in the location occurred. The Cult Building, however, was exactly in the same location. Moreover, in Level 3, the new building was built right inside the old one. (Fig.12)

The northeastern **walls** are preserved up to a height of 2.80 m; the thickness of the walls is changing between 0.50 and 0.90 m.⁴⁰

The **entrance** faces the stream as the rectangular buildings do, and it is placed 0.50 m towards the southwest and not exactly in the middle of the southwestern wall.⁴¹ (Fig.15) Two 1.15 m wide steps lead into the building, the top one is 0.35 m, and the bottom one 0.30 m high.⁴² It is claimed that the entrance should have continued as an open portico with two pillars standing on both left and right sides of the entrance.

The structure was made of a soft, easy to work, white **limestone**, carefully broken into pieces.⁴³ Interior of the building, including the front façade of the bench and the walls, were plastered with white clay, which is 2 cm thick and has traces of black and red paint.⁴⁴

In construction of the bench, quarry-stones and clay were used and that was covered with large, hard, limestone slabs, which are preserved only in the northern corner. (The rest were used in the bench of the later Cult Building.) The floor is up to 15 cm thick and of pieces of limestone fitted into a mortar bed, with a hard, grayish-white shimmering Terrazzo surface, covering an area of 81m².⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Hauptmann 1993:43

⁴¹ Hauptmann 1993:46

⁴² Hauptmann 1993:46

⁴³ Hauptmann 1993:42

⁴⁴ Hauptmann 1999a:74, Hauptmann 1993:46-47

⁴⁵ Hauptmann 1993:46

Inside the building, there is a 1 m wide (2.30-2.50 m wide in the southeast) **stone bench**, surrounding the structure except the southwestern side, where the entrance is. (Fig.14)

On the southeast wall, a 1.85 m wide, 2.50 m deep opening was left while building the bench, to form a **niche**. (Fig.16) It is suggested that there could have been a pedestal at the back of the niche, since the Terrazzo floor does not reach inside the niche more than 0.60 cm and this pedestal could have had a statue standing on it.⁴⁶ The back wall of the niche is formed by a part of the southeastern wall of Cult Building I.

Along the bench, 13 monolithic, decorated, **“T-shaped” pillars** were regularly erected and the distance left between each pillar is about 2.30-2.40 m.⁴⁷ (Fig.17) In cross-section, they are rectangular and measuring about 0.40 to 0.50 m. In this level there are no fully preserved pillars found, they are either only the bottom parts or some fragments. One of the fragments is a “T” shaped capital.⁴⁸

In a later building stage in Level 2, a rectangular **podium**, measuring 1.70 x 1.30 m, was situated on the east corner of the bench, covered with a stone slab and two new “T-shaped” pillars were set into this podium.⁴⁹ (Fig.13) The one at the corner was 1.70 m high and had an incised line on its narrow and visible side. It was standing diagonally with an east-west orientation.⁵⁰ The second one was 1.95 m high, standing in the corner between the northeastern wall and podium.

⁴⁶ Hauptmann 2003:626, Hauptmann 1999a:74

⁴⁷ Hauptmann 1993:45

⁴⁸ Hauptmann 1999a:75, Hauptmann 2000:9

⁴⁹ Hauptmann 1999a:74, Hauptmann 1993:47-48

⁵⁰ Hauptmann 1993:48

The Cult Building III (H 13C)

In Level III, the Cult Building remained exactly in the same location, rebuilt inside the older structure, which caused shrinkage of the area covered, from 188 m² to 178 m².⁵¹ The space is almost a square, each side measuring 13.30 m. (Fig. 9, 11)

The **terrazzo floor** of Cult Building II was mainly re-used and renewed in some places.

The outer **wall** is 1 meter wide. In the northeast, it leans towards the wall of the old Cult Building II, which creates a thickness of 1.50 meters. In southeast the new wall was built in such a way, that a distance of 0.60-1.40 meters were left between the two lines of walls and the total thickness measures 2.50 meters. This opening was filled with rubble and lines of stones. The inner sides of the walls give both the Cult Buildings a “bowl-like” shape, leaning slightly towards the outside. Unlike the ones in Cult Building II, the edges here are rounded.

The **entrance** is in the same location as it was in Cult Building II, almost untouched. Its form remains unclear due to the erosion and some modern disturbance that caused damage on the southwest side, where the entrance is. However, it is thought to be an open entrance, with two pillars on both sides, in order to let light into the building⁵², if the building was roofed at all.

Because of the new southeastern wall, the **niche** of Cult Building II was closed. Instead of the old one, a new niche was opened right against the entrance, about 0.50 m above the bench on the back wall. It is 0.70 m wide, 0.60 m deep and its preserved height is 1.20 m.

Both the bench and the pillars in the middle are made of a hard **limestone**. The possible source of the hard limestone slabs, which was used in building of the bench

⁵¹ Hauptmann 1993:48

⁵² Hauptmann 1993:51

and the carving of the pillars, is suggested to be the Bedirdikmen Tepe, which is about 3 kilometers far from the site. The pillars on the bench are made of a softer kind of limestone.

A **stone bench** again, this time up to 1.30 meters wide, surrounds the walls on three sides. The sidelines measure 7.30 m from northwest to southeast and 7.90 m from northeast to southwest.⁵³ It is made of 5 to 7 lines of stones, bounded with clay, and covered with stone slabs. The slabs are up to 1.90 m long and 0.15 – 0.20 thick with a polished surface.

A total of 12 **pillars** are set into the bench, each with a distance of about 2.50 meters to the next one. Not every pillar is found in-situ or preserved within the building; the number is given according to the spaces left along the bench, where the pillars are supposed to be set into. One of them is fully preserved, even with the T-shaped top; however it was found lying on the ground, not in its original place. The “T-shape” is not quite the same with the ones at Göbekli Tepe and there is only one drawing so far of a pillar with a very worn out top and a top fragment, which has a more Göbekli Tepe style. The pillar is 2.35 m high from top to the pointed bottom. Because of the pointed bottom, it is suggested to be the eastern one of the two pillars, which were standing in the middle of the building, set into the floor. It has two slightly bent arms on its wide sides and two hands with five fingers each under an incised line on the narrow side, in low-relief. The pillars are defined as “anthropomorphic” because of the arm-like lines incised on the sides. According to the excavators, the same style is visible on the rest of the pillars; even most of them are broken into pieces.⁵⁴

The western pillar standing in the middle of the building was found in situ, but only the bottom half of it was preserved.⁵⁵ It stands 4 m far from the entrance and 2.25 m from the northwestern bench. It was originally 3 m high and measures 0.80 to 0.33 m

⁵³ Hauptmann 1993:51

⁵⁴ Hauptmann 1993:50

⁵⁵ The other half of the pillar was found on the surface and can be joined to the bottom half.

cross-section. Like the other one, this pillar has the arms and hands as well in low-relief on its sides.

The **roof** is suggested to be flat and constructed with timber, reed and clay, which was carried by pillars.⁵⁶

Table 2. Nevalı Çori cult buildings and their features

	Location	Size	Entrance	Floor	Bench	Pillars	Niche	Podium
II	Western edge of the excavated area	188 m ²	Built along the southwestern wall	Hard, grayish white Terrazzo	1 meter wide (2.30-2.50 m wide in the southeast)	13 monolithic, sculptured, “T-shaped” pillars along the bench	On the southeast wall, 1.85 m wide, 2.50 m deep	Rectangular, measuring 1.70 x 1.30 m, situated on the east corner of the bench
III	Western edge of the excavated area	178 m ²	Remained untouched	Same Terrazzo floor with some renewal	1.30 meters wide	12 monolithic, sculptured, “T-shaped” pillars	On the northeast wall, 0.70 m wide, 0.60 m deep	–

III.c. Art and Symbolism

Sculptures and reliefs:

There are a total of 11 sculptures made of soft limestone found at Nevalı Çori. Except the one (called as the “pillar with female head”) found in House 3, all of them were from Cult Buildings and found in secondary contexts, buried or built within the walls and the benches of the buildings.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Hauptmann 1993:53

⁵⁷ Hauptmann 1999a:75, Schmidt 1996: 366

Inside the niche of Cult Building III, a larger than life-size head made of limestone was found, set into the back wall of the niche. (Fig.16) The statue, with a badly destroyed face, is 37 cm high, and shows a shaved head, ears that are sticking out, and a curling snake in high-relief at the back of the head. (Fig.18) Considering the brake on the neck, it could have been part of a bigger statue, originally used in Cult Building II.⁵⁸ The snake is almost identical with the snake reliefs carved on a pillar in Schlangenfleilergebäude (Structure A) at Göbekli Tepe. Especially the snake figures on the narrow side of the pillar are made with the same style; a triangular head and curling body. As well as being part of naturalistic scenes, the reason snakes are used so commonly could be the nature of these animals. Changing skins could have been linked to death and renewal of life.

Right below the niche, the bench is missing one big stone slab and the absence of it creates a space measuring 0.75 x 0.60 m. In this space, a limestone statue (named as the “hybrid creature”) was found lying facedown.⁵⁹ (Fig.20) It has a height of 23 cm and a bird-like body with a strongly stylized human head. The front side and lower part of it are damaged. This statue displays a considerable resemblance with the human face carved on a basin found in the Terrazzo Building at Çayönü.⁶⁰ (Fig.41) Another figure, a 23 cm high human head from Göbekli Tepe, shares the same characteristic with the other two, a round face and a long, straight nose. (Fig.57)

Another limestone statue, a 37 cm high human torso, was found in the deposit below the niche.⁶¹ (Fig. 19) The lower part, arms and the head are broken; but the neck and a nose-like projecting part are preserved. The nose could be interpreted as a beak as well considering the other human-bird hybrids of Nevalı Çori. The body is definitely human and likely to be male with broad shoulders and a flat chest. Right below the nose, there is a V-shaped line. Same V-shaped lines can be seen on some of the

⁵⁸ Hauptmann 1993:55, Hauptmann 1999a:76

⁵⁹ Hauptmann 1993:55

⁶⁰ Özdoğan A. 1999:51, Voigt 2000:275

⁶¹ Hauptmann 1993:57

pillars, placed on the narrow side, right below the “head”, reminding the chevron motives on the chest of the limestone statue from Urfa Yeni Mahalle. (Fig.83)

Found in the podium of Cult Building II is a 50 cm long sculpture of a vulture-like bird. Depending on its lower part being flat, it is suggested that this sculpture could have been attached to a stand or a pillar-like structure.⁶² (Fig. 21)

Fragments of a composite sculpture were found built within the stone structure of the northeastern bench of Cult Building II. (Fig.22) There are four pieces joining together, forming a column with a height of more than 1 meter. (“totem-pole” in the publications) In the lower part of it, there are two human figures standing back to back, one of them is very poorly preserved and misses the face and the neck. Their long hair looks like gathered in a net, falling over the shoulders. The more preserved one has deeply incised eyes, which could have had inlays of some sort, a long nose and a pursed mouth.⁶³ As for the body part of the figure, there are two different interpretations, in early publications the body is thought to have bird-like elements.⁶⁴ Later, the body is defined as female, with respect to the rounded belly and breasts and perhaps with respect to the new joint to the top of those human figures, an obvious bird.⁶⁵ This bird is 34 cm high and located on top of the human heads. It is depicted in a standing position, the head is broken away. The figure has a rounded belly and the feathers of its wings are shown by incised thin lines.

A larger than life-size head, carved in high-relief on the front side of a pillar or a stele, was found built inside the podium of House 3 of Level 3.⁶⁶ (Fig. 23) The figure is 29 cm long, the lower part of it is damaged, but the narrow eyes, most of the

⁶² Hauptmann 1993:66

⁶³ Hauptmann 1993:66, Voigt 2000:271

⁶⁴ Hauptmann 1993:66, Voigt 2000:271

⁶⁵ Hauptmann 1999a:76

⁶⁶ Hauptmann 1993:66-7, Hauptmann 1999a:76

nose and the hair (bangs?) are still visible. This sculpture is suggested to be a “female head in the clutches of a bird’s talons”.⁶⁷ On one side of the pillar, there is a bulging line, curving towards the back of the pillar, reminding the lower part of a bird’s wing. Yet there is no second one on the other side, which makes it hard to identify the bird and gives the whole sculpture (or at least the pillar part) an unfinished look. Based on the evident cheekbones, the head is more likely to be female rather than male, however the sex is still not very clear.

Another indefinite figure, this time from an unspecified context, is carved on a 45 cm big limestone slab in high-relief.⁶⁸ (Fig. 24) Interpreted as “frog-like human”, the figure has bent arms and a bulging belly. The upper part (perhaps the face) is heavily destroyed.

There are three indefinable figures incised on a limestone plate.⁶⁹ (Fig. 25) The figures are strongly stylized and have open mouths and legs, their arms reaching out, giving the impression as they were running or dancing.

A limestone bowl fragment has a scene showing three figures standing side by side in relief. (Fig. 26) The 13.5 cm high fragment was found in the foundation of House 3.⁷⁰ The centered figure is smaller than the others, has a pointed head, a very rounded belly and four legs. Because of its head being pointed, it is suggested that the centered figure is a Euphrates tortoise.⁷¹ The two other figures are carved on the left and right of the centered one. Both have their arms raised up; their fingers are depicted as small, incised lines. Their bellies are bulging and the legs are open. The left figure is claimed to be male since it is taller than the right figure, which is

⁶⁷ Hauptmann 1999a:76

⁶⁸ Hauptmann 1993:67

⁶⁹ Hauptmann 1999a:76

⁷⁰ Hauptmann 1993:67

⁷¹ Hauptmann 1999a:76

supposed to be female.⁷² In more recent publications⁷³, both the human figures are interpreted as pregnant, whereas rounded bellies do not necessarily indicate just pregnancy, but could also be linked to food and well fed people and still be related to fertility.⁷⁴

Stone figurines of human and of animals and small stone masks are among the small sized limestone finds. (Fig. 28, 29) A lion head with a size of 4.4 cm shares almost the same style with the lion head found at Göbekli Tepe. (Fig. 27, 55)

Except the “pillar with the female head” and the limestone bowl fragment with the “human and tortoise” relief, sculpture at Nevalı Çori seems to be associated with the Cult Buildings. Although all the sculptures were buried within the walls or benches of the building, found in their secondary contexts, it is possible that the sculpture was somehow connected (perhaps limited) to the function of these buildings. In Cult Building III, all the three sculptures were found either inside or around the niche.

In Cult Building II, both the sculptures are associated with the particular architectural elements, which are also causing to identify this building as “different” than the domestic structures, such as the bench and the podium. In this aspect, the two fragments from House 3 could be an exception or this building had some sort of significance although it is not different at all by plan, but smaller in size when compared to the other domestic buildings of its level. At this point, since there is no information about the actual size of the settlement, there is a chance that House 3 could not be the only exception.

Sculptures at Nevalı Çori have characteristics that are relatively new to our knowledge about PPN cultures, like human-animal linkages, birds and bird-human hybrids. The scenes and the depicted animals are not directly related to hunting and hunted animals; on the contrary they were shown together with human beings

⁷² Hauptmann 1993:67

⁷³ Hauptmann 1999a:76

⁷⁴ Voigt 2000:272

without any indication of violence. Sex is not very clearly indicated, which is the most striking difference between iconographies of Nevalı Çori and Göbekli Tepe, where the figures are all male with one single exception. The style of Nevalı Çori sculptures varies between very stylized examples (hybrid creature, limestone plate) and quite realistic descriptions (pillar with female head).

Table 3. Sculptures at Nevalı Çori

Building	Figure	Size	Position	Condition
Cult Building III	Human head with a snake on its back	37 cm	Inside the niche	Face damaged
Cult Building III	Human-bird creature	23 cm	Below the niche	Front side and lower part damaged
Cult Building III	Human torso (possibly male)	37 cm	In the deposit below the niche	Lower part, arms, head broken
Cult Building II	Vulture-like bird	50 cm	In the podium	Well preserved
Cult Building II	Composite column (totem-pole)	above 1 m	Built within the stone bench	Partly preserved. The column is incomplete
House 3 (Level 3)	Pillar with female (?) head	29 cm	Built inside the podium	Lower part of the face damaged
House 3 (Level 3)	Limestone bowl fragment with relief (two human and a tortoise)	13.5 cm	in the foundation	The bowl is partly preserved, the scene is incomplete
?	Frog-like human	45 cm	unspecified	Upper part damaged?
?	Lion head	4.4 cm	?	Probably the head of a complete figure

Clay objects:

A total of 1289 pieces of clay objects recovered at Nevalı Çori, 665 of them are figurines, and the rest includes beads, pendants, miniature vessels, spheres and waste and lumps. Clay objects have been found mostly in pits and open spaces, Cult Buildings are clean in terms of clay finds, only six spheres were found built into the walls.⁷⁵

Among 665, only 30 are clearly zoomorphic. There are 169 female figurines; the male figurines are counted as 179. Based on the rather poor quality of them and where they were found, it is suggested that clay figurines could be associated with daily rituals.⁷⁶

III.d. Burials

Burial custom is intramural at Nevalı Çori; they are usually sunk to the floors or placed within the foundation platforms, some of them are decapitated. A point was detected between the neck and the upper jaw of a female burial and therefore it is suggested to be a sacrifice for the new building, a “Bauopfer”. (Fig. 30, 31)

⁷⁵ Morsch 2002:147

⁷⁶ Hauptmann 1999a:77

Table 4. Burials at Nevalı Çori

Level/ Building	Location	Quantity	Sex	Age	Position	Level of Preservation
I – House 21A	Sunk beneath the clay floor of the foundation platform	6+	-	-	2 inhumations in Hocker position	6 full skeletons, 5 skulls and several long bones
I – House 25	Sunk beneath the clay floor	2	-	-	1 in contracted position	1 full skeleton, 1 missing the skull
II – House 21B	Sunk beneath the clay floor	4	1 F	25- 30	Female lying on her right side in Hocker position	4 full skeletons
III – House 3	Under the floor	1	-	-	?	1 full skeleton
III – House 2	Under the floor of the foundation platform	12	-	-	1 lying on its right side in Hocker position with a large round stone in place of the missing skull	11 full skeletons, 1 missing the skull
III – House 6	Within the foundation platform	?	-	-	In 3 different areas in the platform	Remnants?
III – House 7	In pits	4	-	-	Groups of bones	?
IV – House 4	Within the foundation platform	?	-	-	?	Remnants?
V – House 1	Under the floor	1	-	3-5		1 skull

III.e. Function

The excavated area is approximately 10 % of the original settlement; it is worth to mention here that any attempt to define the intra-site pattern would be insufficient. Based on the area exposed, the pattern includes a division between the rectangular

structures and the Cult Building. The Cult Building is located west of the area with a distance to the rectangular structures in southeast, standing side by side. The round structures are situated in between, closer to the rectangular buildings.

Since there is very little information on the artifact distributions, it is difficult to understand the function of rectangular structures.⁷⁷ The area is affected by erosion; therefore artifacts were usually not recovered *insitu*. The sub-floor channels could indicate a function, as storage by providing ventilation, yet there is mostly no meaningful differentiation between the sizes of the rooms. Some buildings consist of rooms with spaces differing from 11 m² to 3 m²; there are also buildings with rooms of 4-5 m². In this case it could be possible to suggest that the rectangular buildings were used both for storage and living purposes, although it does not fit the situation perfectly.

Recently it is discussed whether the rectangular buildings had an upper story.⁷⁸ In this model, the lower floor is reserved for storage and the upper floor is suggested to be the living space with larger rooms. Then an average building at Nevalı Çori could be used to store about 40.000 kg of grain, which is the total amount to feed almost 250 people for a year.⁷⁹ Assuming the whole 4 ha was settled, by taking the average structure space 70 m² and considering the open spaces between buildings as well, Nevalı Çori must have had 340 buildings, which makes a population of 2040 if each building was occupied by a family of 6 people. Taking into account that usually 30 % of the buildings in a village are not in use⁸⁰, the population is calculated 1428. Theoretically, five buildings would be enough storage for the whole 1428 people at Nevalı Çori, note that this population is calculated by taking the highest variables. If the excavated area is not the storage area of the entire settlement; the “two story buildings” model is not reasonable.

⁷⁷ It is argued “...clear deposits on the floors of the rooms are very rare.” Schmidt 1996:363

⁷⁸ Bartl 2004:425

⁷⁹ Bartl 2004:426

⁸⁰ Moore, Hillman, Legge 2000:274

Çatalhöyük is almost three times larger in size than Nevalı Çori, the estimated population of Çatalhöyük varies between 5000 to 10000. By taking a family of four per building it is calculated 5060 – 6748, whereas the latest assumption takes the population down to 1500 – 2000.⁸¹ If the number of persons per building were 4 at Nevalı Çori, the population can be calculated 952 and perhaps even 952 people seems exaggerated, considering the possibility that all buildings were never in use at the same time. The lowest population to be calculated for Nevalı Çori is 680 if the habitation was covering just the 50 % of the 4ha.

Instead of taking average structure spaces, Naroll suggested that a rough population estimation could be obtained by calculating one-tenth of the floor area in square meters occupied by dwellings.⁸² He defines the dwelling area as the whole area under the roof of houses. According to this suggestion, 47 people should occupy the excavated part of Level III, the level with the highest number of buildings at Nevalı Çori.⁸³ 47 people makes about 8 people per building and if we assume that the same layout of buildings found in the excavated part was repeating throughout the entire 4 ha, such a dense habitation gives a population of 2720 and about 2060 if there was only one cult building at Nevalı Çori. On the other hand, a very rough suggestion could be a population of 470 for the entire Nevalı Çori, assuming 10% of the inhabitants were living in this Level III area, for the excavated area being the 10% of the original settlement.

For Çatalhöyük, the number of buildings is estimated 408 to 2050 by taking different variables into account, such as the open areas and the 30% of the buildings being usually not occupied within a settlement. When Naroll's formula applied, population estimation between 2040-8200 could be calculated.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Cessford 2005:323, 326

⁸² Naroll 1962:588

⁸³ The Cult Building III is included as a roofed space.

⁸⁴ Cessford 2005:324-326

According to the same formula, 71 people should occupy the most widely excavated level at Çayönü contemporary with Nevalı Çori, which makes 4-5 people in each of the 15 buildings. In the event that the entire 2 ha was occupied, the number of buildings is estimated 240, which gives a total of 960 to 1200 people at Çayönü.

Although widely used by archaeologists, Naroll's formula for calculating population is criticized due to some limitations, mainly taking the one-tenth of the floor area is argued to be too general.⁸⁵ Moreover, taking the entire roofed space into consideration means taking the non-used, "non-living" architectural features as used spaces as well, which will lead to a higher value of occupied space per person. In this calculation there is also no functional distinction between the rooms, for instance between working spaces and sleeping areas. However, all these may cause underestimation of populations as Kolb suggests, which actually is not the problem with the high number of populations calculated for PPN settlements in this study.

Among the critiques to Naroll's method, it is mentioned that the subsistence models of his sample societies varies between farmers to nomads and such a variation damages the accuracy of his formula.⁸⁶ Subsistence at most of the PPNB settlements in Southeast Anatolia was of a mixed type, hunting and gathering was still the dominant part of the diet together with early farming. On the other hand, the average size of buildings is much larger in Southeast Anatolia compared to those of Mesoamerican dwellings and we do not know the family structure and size let alone the social organization. Kolb's calculation of 6.12 m² roofed area per person leads to the much denser population estimated for Nevalı Çori.

Since the sites are excavated to some degree, which is usually a 10 to 20 % for the ones mentioned here, the full layout of the settlements and how much of the whole area was in use cannot be figured out. This limitation causes a wide range of population estimations. High numbers like 1500 to 2000 can of course be

⁸⁵ Kolb 1985:583

⁸⁶ Kolb 1985:583

questionable in terms of organization and perhaps subsistence and for those settlements mostly appear in a relatively developed stage regarding architecture, the matter why 1500 or 680 people suddenly decided to build houses and settle down is still unanswered. Even 680 people are much more crowded than a modern day village in the region, population estimations based on samples from Mesoamerica or Africa does not seem to be perfectly accurate for PPNB settlements or Southeast Anatolia since the evidence recovered so far indicates a complex society that is developing intensively instead of being stable, which also makes them hard to classify as villages or towns. In this respect, perhaps a different system, originated from hunter-gatherer life style, should be considered.⁸⁷

The distribution of lithics at Nevalı Çori display high concentrations in the open areas and inside the round houses, pointing out that the daily activities were held in the open areas and the round structures could be functioned as workshops. Contemporary Çayönü subphases display a similar nature. During Grill Buildings Subphase, open areas between the structures as well as the rooms of the buildings were used for daily activities like tool making and food preparation. In Channeled Buildings Subphase small workshops built of frail material were surrounding a rectangular building, which is defined as “home”.⁸⁸ As the definition of early Neolithic is changing from “a shift in subsistence” to “a new model of living”, the house is not only a shelter where domestic activities are being held, it is also a “home” for the family, a social unit representing symbolic values.⁸⁹

At Çayönü, as it is the case in almost all cult buildings in the region, the cult buildings are clean of any trace of domestic activities. Only two groups of flints appear near to the Cult Building of Nevalı Çori; core preparation flakes close to its southeastern corner in Level II and “points of unusual type” inside and north of it in Level III.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Personal communication with M. Özdoğan.

⁸⁸ Özdoğan, A.1999:42-46

⁸⁹ Watkins 1990:337

⁹⁰ Schmidt 1996:370

The Cult Building obviously served for some sort of public-ritual activity, besides its structural features that distinguishes the building from the others, all the large sculptures except one piece were found within the Cult Building. The problem here is that none of them were found in situ, they were either buried into the walls or found in the deposit. Assuming that the sculptures were initially used in Cult Building I and reused in the later phases does not explain why they were used as building material. One can speculate that once the first Cult Building was demolished, its contents were not “sacred” anymore and perhaps that is why another three sculpted pieces were found elsewhere in the settlement.

The Cult Building can take up to 110 persons, 20 of them sitting on the bench.⁹¹ Although we do not know the nature of the ritual practices and how much space is needed, those practices, even when the entire space was in use, included only a small group of the inhabitants, 7-8 % of the estimated maximum population.

⁹¹ The calculation is based on a person occupying 2 m², Verhoeven 2002: 247

Table 5. Rectangular buildings at Nevalı Çori (drawn after Hauptmann 1999a)

LEVEL	BUILDING	SIZE	MAIN DIVISIONS	INNER DIVISIONS	CHANNELS	
1	House 25	13.25 x 5.40	3	7	1	
1	House 21A	11.30 x 4.50	2	7	2	
2	House 26	18.20 x 6.20	2	9	5	
2	House 21B	12.70 x 4.64	2	10	2	
2	House 12	12 x 5.3	2 ?	?	6	
2	House 23	?	2 ?	?	2 ?	
3	House 7	14.30 x 6	2	11	10	
3	House 6		2 – 3		4	Workshop ?
3	House 2	15.60 x 6.15	4	11	7	
3	House 3	8.10 x 5.40	3 ?	?	3	Sculpture found
3	House 16	9 x 6.10	?	?	4	
3	House 8	?	2 ?	?	4+ ?	
4	House 4	12 x 8	2 ?	7+ ?	3	
5	House 1	10 x 6	2	7	None	Has a bench

CHAPTER IV

CULT BUILDINGS IN OTHER SETTLEMENTS IN THE REGION

IV.a. East and Southeast Anatolia

IV.a.a. Hallan Çemi

Hallan Çemi (10200-9200 BC⁹²), located 50 km north of Batman, is a small mound that covers 7 hectares, on the west bank of Sason Çayı, a tributary of the Batman River.⁹³ The mound is ca. 640 meters high from sea level and situated on the foothills of a sub-range of Eastern Taurus Mountains.⁹⁴

The excavations went on for four years between 1990-1994; there are four estimated building levels, only the upper three of them were excavated. (Fig. 32) The total number of structures exposed is 13 and not each of them is giving full plans. The oldest level consists of circular stone platforms (suggested to be foundations of storage silos), low plaster features (probably hearths) and irregular expanses made of plaster-like material (some of those are believed to be remains of free-standing structures built of undurable material).⁹⁵ The second level has five structures; three of them have stone paved floors and apart from the pavements, these structures do not differ from the earlier ones in terms of construction techniques and material.

The latest level, Level 1, is represented by four structures and Rosenberg claims that two of them differ from the common C-shaped⁹⁶ domestic structures, depending on

⁹² CANeW website

⁹³ Rosenberg 1994:121, Rosenberg 1999:26

⁹⁴ Rosenberg 1994:121

⁹⁵ Rosenberg 1999: 26-7

⁹⁶ “U-shaped” in earlier publications.

their plan, building material, technique and interior features.⁹⁷ (Fig. 33) These two circular, semi-subterranean buildings (A and B in published plans) are recovered on the southeast corner of the excavated area. They are almost two times larger (5-6 meters in diameter) than the other structures of this level and built of flat sandstone slabs, whereas in earlier levels river stones were used.⁹⁸ The stone slabs are rounded on the edges and set horizontally to form the exterior wall; a second line of vertically set slabs is surrounding the interior space. There are gaps of ca. 10 cm. left regularly along the inner face of the wall, thought to have held wooden posts lifting the roof.

They both have stone benches and floors of a mixture of yellow sand (crushed sandstone) and plaster about 1-2 cm. thick, which were renewed multiple times.⁹⁹ An opening was left, roughly on their southern sides, to form the entrance, where the outer wall doubles like a “pincer”.

Based on these structural differences and some other evidence such as the floors being clear of domestic activities, the presence of imported material like obsidian and copper ore and the complete aurochs skull found in the circular buildings¹⁰⁰, it is suggested that these two buildings have served a public function instead of domestic.

Besides from basic structural characteristics, such as the benches and the floor treatments, there are some iconographic resemblances between Hallan Çemi and the Urfa region as well. The “curving snake” motif, commonly seen in Nevalı Çori and Göbekli Tepe, is present at Hallan Çemi as a carved bone fragment. At Kortik Tepe, a very destructed PPN site located southeast of Batman on the bank of Tigris, stone bowls with incised snake decorations are recovered. For the architectural features are

⁹⁷ Rosenberg 1994: 124-5, Rosenberg 1999: 27

⁹⁸ There are four excavated structures from Level 1 and the two domestic structures are built of sandstone as well. The change in building material is probably associated with the level not with the characteristic of the buildings.

⁹⁹ Rosenberg 1994:124

¹⁰⁰ According to Rosenberg, the skull should have been hung on the northern wall, facing the entrance.

poorly preserved, to make a comparison is not possible. Interestingly, almost all the stone bowls are found associated with burials.¹⁰¹

Bucrania is usually associated with the Central Anatolian Neolithic, especially Çatalhöyük is famous with its plastered bull skulls and horns attached to walls and platforms, the aurochs skull at Hallan Çemi could be one of the earlier examples of such a tradition. An aurochs skull was also recovered in Skull Building at Çayönü¹⁰² and three aurochs skulls with horns in a small round house at Jerf el Ahmar¹⁰³; in both cases they are thought to be hung on the walls.

Although there is not much architecture remained from the domestic structures of Hallan Çemi in order to compare them to the circular structures, they are certainly built for a special purpose by spending a lot of time and effort. The nature of Hallan Çemi reminds one of the very first steps towards a settled life, since the subsistence totally depends on hunting and gathering while some attempts to domesticate were made.¹⁰⁴

IV.a.b. Çayönü

Çayönü (10000-6300 BC¹⁰⁵) is located 7 km southwest of Ergani in Diyarbakır and lies on the north bank of Boğazçay, a tributary of Upper Tigris.¹⁰⁶ The mound measures 5.6 ha where the PPN habitation at Çayönü covers 2 ha and is divided to

¹⁰¹ Özkaya and San 2004:689-690

¹⁰² Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1998: 588, Özdoğan, A. 1999: 52

¹⁰³ Stordeur 2000:1

¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, cereals are completely absent at Hallan Çemi and the only animal that seems to be domesticated is pig, not sheep or goat as it is mostly the case in other sites, for further information see Rosenberg et al. 1995.

¹⁰⁵ CANeW website

¹⁰⁶ Özdoğan, A. 1999:38

six sub-phases¹⁰⁷ and the cult buildings associated with the sub-phases are as follows¹⁰⁸;

Table 6. Sub-phases of Çayönü

1	Round buildings (10200-9400 BP)	-earliest Skull Building -possibly earliest Flagstone Building
2	Grill buildings (9400-9100 ?)	-Flagstone Building -Skull Building (two phases)
3	Channeled buildings (9100-9000)	-Skull Building -Flagstone Building (?)
4	Cobble-paved buildings (9000-8600 ?)	-Skull Building (two phases) -Bench Building -Building BL -Pebble Plaza
5	Cell buildings (8600-8300)	-Terazzo Building -Clayey plaza with standing stones

Flagstone Building (F), named after its floor built of large flagstones, is a rectangular structure with rounded corners, located in the southeastern edge of the settlement as the other two cult buildings. (Fig. 34, 35) As a result of the destruction the stream has caused, the southern part of the building is lost and the dimensions of the whole structure cannot be revealed, only the width was measured approximately 10.70 m.¹⁰⁹

The building was terraced into the slope; the northern wall, built of flat broken stones, is preserved up to a height of 1.30 m and has two buttresses that are 1.20 m wide and 50 cm. deep.¹¹⁰ Two meters south from the buttresses, there are two

¹⁰⁷ Özdoğan, A. 1995:81, Özdoğan, A. 1999:41

¹⁰⁸ Table redrawn according to Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1998:584

¹⁰⁹ Schirmer 1990:378

¹¹⁰ Schirmer 1983:473

standing stones, aligned with the buttresses and a third one is set in the east of the building, right in front of a bench.

Skull Building (BM) went through several modifications and stood more or less at the same place during the first four levels of occupation at Çayönü. (Fig. 36, 37) The earliest Skull Building was in shape of a half circle with double walls. There is a gap of 30 cm left between the walls, covered with large stones.¹¹¹ Several skulls were found on the floor and many skeletons¹¹² were recovered in a pit dug in the center of the building. Whether the southern half of the structure was circular or rectangular like its successors remains indefinite due to the disturbance caused by the later building levels.¹¹³

The later phases of The Skull Building display roughly the same layout. It is a rectangular structure, measuring 9.70 to at least 8 meters; the northern part of it is set into the slope and the southern end, that is where the entrance supposed to be, is heavily destroyed by erosion.¹¹⁴ Southern part of the building is a courtyard-like large space with a plastered floor. There are three¹¹⁵ interconnecting, small rooms in the north of the building, which measure 1.80 to 2.30 m.¹¹⁶ and these are separated from the rest of the space by a mudbrick bench, which has two standing stones set into it. Later, a high wall was built on this bench, which made the rooms more isolated but still connected to the main space by two openings. At its latest phase, Skull Building had a polished “altar” in front of the western wall and the rooms were paved with pebbles.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Schirmer 1990:378

¹¹² There are about 70 skulls and skeletons of at least 400 individuals counted.

¹¹³ Schirmer 1990:381

¹¹⁴ Schirmer 1983:469, Schirmer 1990:381, see also Özdoğan A. 1999:50 where she claims that the destruction was caused by EBA terracing and also the presence of a southern wall is questionable.

¹¹⁵ Four rooms in earlier phases.

¹¹⁶ Schirmer 1983:469

¹¹⁷ Özdoğan, A. 1999:50

Along with at least 450 individuals buried here, there were animal bones, a boar tusk, stone and malachite beads and one copper bead found with the burials.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the earliest clay vessel at Çayönü was recovered lying on the floor of Skull Building.¹¹⁹

After the burning down of the Skull Building, some meters north of it, the **Terrazzo Building (BT)** was constructed. (Fig. 38, 39) It is a single roomed structure, measuring 11.75 x 9 m., with outer walls 0.8 to 1.2 m. wide.¹²⁰ The walls are built of rough stones and have buttresses along, which are 1 m. wide and 0.25 m. deep. The building was named after its red terrazzo floor that consists of limestone set in lime mortar.

The only artifact found inside this building is the basin fragment with a human face relief carved on it.¹²¹ (Fig. 41)

Bench Building (BK) is a small, rectangular, single-roomed structure set into the slope and was in use during the “Cobble-paved buildings sub-phase”, contemporary with the latest phase of Skull Building and before Terrazzo Building. A massive stone bench is running along its walls, its floor is of fine sand and there is a drainage channel.¹²²

Right from the earliest levels, non-domestic buildings appear only in the eastern section of Çayönü. The “**plaza**” was also located in this area; covered with pebbles during the “Cobble-paved buildings sub-phase” and coated with a reddish clayey soil in the “Cell buildings sub-phase”. This clayey plaza covers an area of 60x20 m. and

¹¹⁸ Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1998: 584, Özdoğan, A. 1999:51

¹¹⁹ Özdoğan, A. 1999:50

¹²⁰ Schirmer 1990:382

¹²¹ Özdoğan, A. 1999:51

¹²² Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1989:71

had two rows of large standing stones set into its floor, which were broken and laid flat before the renewal of the floor.¹²³

A small stone fragment decorated with incised snake motifs is another example of the snake iconography widely seen in this area in PPN. (Fig. 42)

IV.a.c. Göbekli Tepe

Göbekli Tepe lies 15 km northeast of Şanlıurfa, in an altitude of 800 m. Covering an area of approximately 7 ha, the mound itself is standing on top of a limestone bedrock and also surrounded by limestone ridges, at the bottom of the southern ridge there are springs present.¹²⁴

The rocky plateau in the vicinity was used as a quarry; there are some structures, cut into the bedrock. One of them is the round structure on the western plateau that is 9 m in diameter and sunk 15 cm into the bedrock. A low, about 1 m wide bench is surrounding the polished floor and there are two recesses in the center, proposed to be pillar bases. Right to the north of this structure, there are two pits with diameters of 3 and 4 m, depths of 1.10 and 1.70 m. The larger pit has steps leading down and a pedestal in the center. There are tens of “cup marks” cut into the bedrock, nearby and inside the round structure.¹²⁵ Cup marks and pits cut into the bedrock are discovered recently at Hamzan Tepe and Karahan Tepe, two aceramic Neolithic sites in Urfa.

Another common feature, found both at Göbekli Tepe and Karahan Tepe is T-shaped pillars in quarry situations. There are two of them at Göbekli Tepe, one on the northern and the other on the southern plateau. The northern one is almost 7 m high, found with a pillar base that measures 3x3 m.¹²⁶

¹²³ Özdoğan, A. 1995:87

¹²⁴ Hauptmann 1999a:78-79

¹²⁵ Beile-Bohn et al. 1998:47-49, Hauptmann 1999:79

¹²⁶ Schmidt 1998a:4, Çelik 2000:7, Çelik 2003:45

Three main levels of occupation are identified at Göbekli Tepe, the uppermost one, Layer I, is actually a level of destruction, caused by agricultural activities held from the Middle Ages to modern times. Layer II dates to EPPNB-MPPNB, Layer III to PPNA-EPPNB.¹²⁷

Layer II structures on the southern part are six rectangular rooms that have stonewalls¹²⁸, terrazzo floors and T-shaped pillars. Owing to the number of pillars that are found in each room, this structure has called “**Doppelpfeilergebäude**” (Double Pillar Building). Almost all the pillars were found broken into pieces and they are much smaller in size compared to the pillars of the earlier level.¹²⁹

To the southeast, there is the only structure of Level II that has decorated pillars is to be found. The “**Löwenpfeilergebäude**” (Lion Pillar Building) is a semi-subterranean, single-roomed, rectangular structure, which measures 6.5 x 4.4 m and is located in the southeast of the mound. The northern wall is preserved to a height of 2 m.¹³⁰ (Fig. 43)

It has four T-shaped pillars standing and two more built into the side walls facing each other.¹³¹ Two of the freestanding pillars (1.60 and 1.45 in height) have lions depicted in low-relief on their upper parts. (Fig. 43) The lions have open mouths as they were growling and clearly shown male organs as it is the case in almost all the animal figures at Göbekli Tepe. The southern pillar (1 m high) built into the wall is decorated as well and thought to be in secondary context. Reminding very much of Nevalı Çori pillars, it has parallel lines (hands) and a deep vertical line (tie or krawatten) above them, incised on it.¹³²

¹²⁷ Schmidt 2002:24

¹²⁸ preserved up to 1 m in the east

¹²⁹ Schmidt 2000:26-30

¹³⁰ Hauptmann 1999a:79

¹³¹ Schmidt 1999:16

¹³² Schmidt 1999:17

Between the northeastern pillar and the northeast corner of the structure, a stone bench was placed. The floor of Löwenpfeilerggebäude is terrazzo.

The next and the so far earliest level¹³³ is represented by four round or oval structures, with benches and decorated T-shaped pillars that are more than 3 m in height. The pillars are set as they were delineating the structures (in some cases, pillars look as if they were set before the walls) and there are two of them in each structure, standing in the center. This type of arrangement resembles Nevalı Çori Cult Buildings very much, however the motifs on the pillars demonstrate a different world.

Snakes seem to be quite commonly chosen to decorate pillars. There are single snakes, groups of them, even a “net” of them; they are depicted as wavy lines that form the body and slightly pointed heads. The collection so far recovered includes foxes, boars, wild cattle, gazelle, ram, birds (duck-like birds, long-legged birds, perhaps storks), insects, spiders, bucrania and some geometric motifs like H-shapes and rings. (Fig. 44, 45, 47, 48) Animals appear both alone and in groups of two or three. Pillar 33 of Structure D displays the most crowded scene at Göbekli Tepe, which has large birds, two small foxes, H-shaped motifs and snake bodies on its wide sides and spiders, heads of the snakes and rows of triangles on the narrow side. The wide side on the left contains some wavy lines and a single fox, which is a very rare example of animal without male indication at Göbekli Tepe.¹³⁴ (Fig. 46)

Pillar 18 of Structure D is the only example from the oldest level that has Nevalı Çori type of bent arms carved on the wide sides of the pillar. Unlike the pillar with the same motif of Löwenpfeilerggebäude, Pillar 18 is decorated also with a fox and some geometric motifs.¹³⁵

Göbekli Tepe has a wide collection of sculptures. Two pillars are sculptured with animal figures; the first one is a reptile-like animal depicted in high-relief on the

¹³³ Two 14C samples taken from the fill are dating around 9000 BC (cal.), see Schmidt 2001a:49

¹³⁴ Schmidt 2003:6-7

¹³⁵ Schmidt 2002:24, Schmidt 2004:103

upper, T-shaped part. (Fig. 49) The animal is about 80 cm long and has a long tail and legs bent upwards. Similar reptile reliefs are to be found on limestone fragments and as small, broken parts of figurines. (Fig. 50) The position of the animal on the pillar has a strong similarity to the “goddesses giving birth” reliefs on the walls of Çatalhöyük.¹³⁶ (Fig. 79, 81, 82)

Second sculptured pillar is 1.20 m high and has a bear-like animal sitting at the top of the pillar that seems to be holding a human head between its paws. (Fig. 51) The pillar looks as if it was unfinished and the lack of details makes it hard to identify the human head.¹³⁷ More animals on human heads are present at Göbekli Tepe. A 40 cm long fragment, found in the fill of an early structure, displays the lower body of an unidentified animal holding a human head. (Fig. 52) Another fragment, 34 m long, is suggested to be a bird on a human head. (Fig. 53) This time the human face is clearly visible, although there is only a wing-like line on one side to prove the bird.¹³⁸ This kind of human-animal linkage is common at Nevalı Çori as well, where some of the examples are very badly damaged like the ones at Göbekli Tepe.

Ithyphallic animals and persons, bird-like animals, lions, boars, a torso, a life-sized human head, large phalloi are among the plastic finds. (Fig. 54, 55, 56, 57) It is worth to mention here, like Nevalı Çori, almost all the sculptures at Göbekli Tepe are found within the room fills and wall debris or on the surface.

On the eastern plateau, there are three phalloi carved on the bedrock, three of them in same style, the largest one is 25 cm long.¹³⁹ (Fig. 58)

There are also carved stone fragments present at the site, such as small limestone fragments with incised parallel lines or snakes (Fig. 59), and the only female figure (Fig. 60) found at Göbekli Tepe carved on a stone slab. It was placed on the floor of

¹³⁶ Beile-Bohn et al. 1998:69-71, Schmidt 1999:10

¹³⁷ Schmidt 1999:9-10

¹³⁸ Schmidt 1998a:2-3

¹³⁹ Schmidt 1998b:30

Löwenpfeilergebäude, probably in secondary context. The figure is a 30 cm long woman with a strange shaped head; the closest link to her head could be the “heart-shaped” snakeheads of Göbekli Tepe. Her legs are wide open and there are two stick-like objects coming out from or going in to her genital organ. This figure has been interpreted in many ways, it is suggested that the woman was giving birth or the whole scene was representing a sexual act.¹⁴⁰ Keeping in mind that it is the only female representation, it is also possible that this scene has nothing to do with birth giving, on the contrary, it includes violence and the woman is not shown with dignity.¹⁴¹

According to results of a geomagnetic survey done in 2003, the round and oval structures are to be found all over the mound. With the four excavated structures, the total number is expected to be at least 20 structures and more than 200 pillars.¹⁴²

IV.a.d. New Sites From Urfa Region

Karahan Tepe, located in Tektek Hills, about 63 km east of Şanlıurfa, was discovered in 1997. The mound has an average altitude of 680 m and there is a dry streambed running in north-south axis in the east of it.¹⁴³

Some 266 T-shaped limestone pillars are scattered around an area of 32.5 ha. The pillars are popping out of the ground with a distance of 1.5 to 2 m to each other.¹⁴⁴ There is a strong resemblance between the Göbekli Tepe pillars and the ones observed at Karahan Tepe in terms of shape and size. In a partly destroyed area in the east of the mound, there are two pillars and one of them has a snake carved in high-

¹⁴⁰ Schmidt 1999:21, Hauptmann 1999:80

¹⁴¹ Personal communication with M. Özdoğan.

¹⁴² Schmidt 2003:5

¹⁴³ Çelik 2000b:6

¹⁴⁴ Çelik 2000b:7

relief on one side. The lower part of this “snake pillar” is broken, the remained part measures 1.28x75x21.¹⁴⁵ (Fig. 69)

Similar to Göbekli Tepe, a 4.5 m high T-shaped pillar is found in quarry situation, to the west of the mound. There are also “cup marks” carved into the bedrock and a platform with steps detected around the site.

Another pillar, preserved only as a 60 cm long fragment, has one animal leg in high-relief on each of the wider sides and the narrow side is deeply incised to form vertical lines. (Fig. 70) This particular pillar could be interpreted as a version of Nevalı Çori pillars that have human arms on their wide sides.¹⁴⁶

A limestone fragment with animal depictions is one of the surface finds. (Fig. 71) A rabbit and two pairs of animal legs can be identified and although the style is not similar, this limestone piece should have been used for the same purpose as the limestone fragment found at Nevalı Çori that has incised animal-like figures on it.

Surface finds at Karahan Tepe consist of a number of flint tools, several obsidian tools, stone beads, animal bones, small axes, basalt grinding stones, a stone bowl, a large limestone basin and a male figurine.¹⁴⁷ According to Çelik, it is quite possible that an excavation will reveal terrazzo floors though there is none visible at the surface.¹⁴⁸

A distribution plan of the pillars might be helpful to understand the layout of the settlement, however the finds and the area that the settlement covers give some preliminary ideas. T-shaped and decorated pillars are often connected with ritual buildings, and the high number of them at Karahan Tepe is quite surprising. Although it is very early to discuss the nature of this settlement, one can speculate

¹⁴⁵ Çelik 2003:45

¹⁴⁶ Çelik 2000b:7, Çelik 2003:46

¹⁴⁷ Çelik 2003:46

¹⁴⁸ Çelik 2000b:7

that also domestic activities took place here based on the existence of animal bones and grinding stones.

Hamzan Tepe lies about 10 km south of Şanlıurfa city center in an elevation of 600-700 m. The mound is heavily damaged both by erosion and the garbage dump area of Şanlıurfa, located some 30 m towards east. What has preserved from the damage covers an area of 5 km² and depending on the surface finds, there are two phases detected at Hamzan Tepe, Lower Paleolithic and PPN.¹⁴⁹

Not much architecture has remained at the site, only traces of walls and one single T-shaped pillar was found on the surface. “Cup marks” are also present around the site.¹⁵⁰ (Fig. 72)

IV.b. Northern Mesopotamia

IV.b.a. Jerf el Ahmar

Jerf el Ahmar (9200-8700 BC) is a small village, approximately 50 km to the modern Turkish-Syrian border and 100 km to Göbekli Tepe. Located on two hills cut by a narrow valley, the settlement has nine building levels at the eastern mound and six levels at the western; a total of sixty structures are recovered.¹⁵¹ The plans of them display a progress from round to rectangular with rounded corners and finally to completely rectangular in the latest level, which is a transition level from PPNA to PPNB according to the excavators.¹⁵² The houses are connected to each other in some cases and sometimes separated by small passages or courtyards.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Çelik 2003:47, Çelik 2004:3

¹⁵⁰ Çelik 2003:48

¹⁵¹ Stordeur 2000:1

¹⁵² Stordeur 2000:1, Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:53

¹⁵³ Stordeur et al. 1996:1

Clear evidence of cult buildings appears towards the later levels; Level I and –1 at the eastern, Level II at the western mound, although there is one example in Level III at the eastern mound. Each of the cult buildings is associated with (sometimes surrounded by) domestic structures. (Fig. 61)

“The House of the Aurochs Skulls” in Level III, is the first structure displaying some non-domestic character, however it is necessary to mention that this building contained a hearth and a number of stone tools, indicating that domestic activities could have held inside.¹⁵⁴ (Fig. 62)

The building is round in plan with a diameter of 4 m and contained one complete aurochs skull and three more with the horns and upper parts. A necklace of sun-dried clay beads was associated with one of the skulls. Considering the positions of the skulls, it is suggested that they were hung on the walls of the building.¹⁵⁵

A round cult building at the eastern end of the settlement represents Level I/east. This subterranean building is divided into cells and benches and has wooden pillars to support the flat roof, which was made by covering a wooden framework with earth.¹⁵⁶ At the bottom of one of the pillar sockets, two human skulls were found. The plan and the inner division of this building is very similar to house 47 at Mureybet.

Building **EA30**, belonging to Level II/west, is a large round structure, encircled by approximately ten houses varied in plan from oval to rectangular. EA30 is a subterranean building, sunk in a 2.30 m deep pit. (Fig. 63) A stone retaining wall was constructed to support the sides of the pit and ten wooden poles were inserted into the wall in order to hold the roof.¹⁵⁷ The space is divided into six small cells and two benches.

¹⁵⁴ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:55

¹⁵⁵ Stordeur 2000:1

¹⁵⁶ Stordeur 2000:1

¹⁵⁷ Stordeur 2000:2, Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:53

In the center of the building a human skeleton was found, which was missing the skull and the vertebrae. It is still undetermined if this skeleton belongs together with the skull that was found in a corner inside the building.¹⁵⁸

Next and the uppermost level (-1) at the east reveals another round building (**EA53**) at the southern limit of the settlement. It is 8 m in diameter and sunk in to a depth of 2 m. (Fig.64) Very similar to Building EA30, a stone retaining wall was built, which had over thirty wooden pillars set in it and then plastered with a thick coat of mud.¹⁵⁹ It is suggested that this plaster had been painted.

Instead of being divided into cells like the other cult buildings at Jerf el Ahmar, Building EA53 consists of one large room and a surrounding bench. (Fig. 65) This 1 m wide bench is set against the retaining wall and forms an equilateral hexagon. A wooden pillar, covered with clay, was placed at each angle of the hexagon. The front side of the bench was covered with large polished and decorated stone slabs.¹⁶⁰ The decoration is a frieze of triangles in relief that runs along the whole bench and the pillars were also decorated, so that the frieze continued uninterrupted. (Fig. 66) Some stone slabs have wavy or broken lines as well and one well-preserved pillar provides evidence to think that the upper parts of the pillars were decorated as well, with large chevrons and a long wavy line, reminding the snakes of Nevalı Çori and Göbekli Tepe.¹⁶¹

Grooved stones are among the most common finds at Jerf el Ahmar. Interestingly, snakes seem to be the most frequently repeated motif, also birds of prey (resembling the vulture figures at Çatalhöyük), four-legged animals, insect-like creatures, horn-

¹⁵⁸ Stordeur 2000:2

¹⁵⁹ Stordeur 2000:3, Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:54

¹⁶⁰ Stordeur 2000:3, Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:54

¹⁶¹ Stordeur 2000:3

shaped figures and some geometric motifs are depicted.¹⁶² (Fig. 67) Nevalı Çori points are claimed to be common at Jerf el Ahmar.¹⁶³

IV.c. Central Anatolia

IV.c.a. Aşıklı Höyük

Aşıklı Höyük lies in the narrow valley of Melendiz River in Aksaray and covers an area of 3.5 to 4 hectares. The buildings are mostly of mudbrick, with rectangular or trapezoidal plans; the use of stone as a building material is limited to storage bins and special structures.¹⁶⁴ Domestic buildings have an inner space varying from 6 to 16 m², divided into 1-3 rooms.¹⁶⁵

Settlement layout shows a close-packed character, the houses are built next to each other and in some places there are narrow passages and courtyards left. Such a layout is to be found at Çatalhöyük as well. (Fig. 68, 77)

Part of a building complex, Building T is proposed to be "...a shrine, used for religious ceremonies."¹⁶⁶ The building complex stands on the eastern fringe of the settlement, just at the edge of the southeastern slope of the mound and is destroyed by erosion; perhaps even at the times it was being used, according to the terrace walls on the east to strengthen the building.¹⁶⁷

This complex consists of two roughly square structures (HV and T) and a narrow courtyard (HJ) in between them. Building T (6.5x6.5 m) is smaller than HV (9x9 m)

¹⁶² Stordeur 1996:1-2

¹⁶³ Schmidt 2001a:52

¹⁶⁴ Esin and Harmankaya 1999: 118

¹⁶⁵ Yakar 1994: 45

¹⁶⁶ Esin and Harmankaya 1999:124

¹⁶⁷ Esin and Harmankaya 1999:124

and forms the southwestern part of the complex. This special building has its floors and walls painted red; in one of the renewal attempts, half of the floor was painted yellow and polished. Building T includes post-holes for large wooden posts, a low and narrow bench covered with red plaster running along the walls except the eastern one, a large hearth and a stone canal for draining liquid.¹⁶⁸

In a room (AB), painted purplish-red, within this complex, right to the southwest of Building T, two burials were found. One pit has a young woman and a middle-aged man buried together, inside the other one there is a young woman in her early twenties with traces of trepanation on her head buried with an infant. These burials are also painted red.¹⁶⁹

Esin suggests that the porch or portico-like structure to the west of HV, overlooking the river, is another feature to underline the importance of this structure and indicates that the structure was used by an elite class.¹⁷⁰

Interestingly there is very little evidence of symbolic or ritual behavior, which is represented by animal figurines and a decorated small stone plaque.

¹⁶⁸ Esin 1996:37, Esin and Harmankaya 1999:124

¹⁶⁹ Esin 1996:37-8, Esin and Harmankaya 1999: 124

¹⁷⁰ Esin and Harmankaya 1999:124

CHAPTER V

CHANGING PATTERNS

V.a. Evolution of cult buildings over time

The greatest change that occurred is the transition from round plans to rectangular ones, which also indicates the transition from PPNA to PPNB. Early settlements like Hallan Çemi and Jerf el Ahmar are good examples of small-scaled villages with round structures, where mobile hunter-gatherer groups took the first steps to a settled life style. Çayönü is probably the best settlement in Anatolia to observe the progress from round to rectangular in detail. Besides being the only cult building at Çayönü that has a round predecessor, Skull Building is also the only structure, which had served for a specific cult, that is to say the dead cult. Flagstone Building is either contemporary or a little later than the earliest Skull Building and although it has a rectangular plan, its walls are rounded on the corners.

Such a transition is visible at Göbekli Tepe as well. The early level contains large, round structures, whereas the later level has rectangular ones, quite similar in plan with Nevalı Çori cult buildings. At Nevalı Çori, the cult building appears in a very developed form with an almost square plan. Although there are remains of round structures present at the site, the settlement begins with rectangular, channeled buildings.

The settlement layout of Hallan Çemi and the earliest level of Çayönü resembles in a way considering that they both have open spaces in the center and round buildings around the open space. The use of open spaces continued at Çayönü through time, in “cobble-paved buildings” sub-phase, a large pebbled plaza came into use, which was perhaps a new version of central open areas. Later, even when it was coated with clay and decorated with standing stones, the plaza was used for daily activities.

At Jerf el Ahmar, the special buildings are in the center and the domestic structures are surrounding them. However at the latest level, which is also a transition level to PPNB, the special building was located on the western end of the settlement. This structure (EA53) is single-roomed unlike its predecessor and has a surrounding bench. Jerf el Ahmar stands between the early Hallan Çemi and the later settlements of Urfa region chronologically and although the transition from round plans to rectangular is evident in domestic buildings, the cult buildings remain round in plan.

V.b. Regional differentiations

In Central Anatolia, Aşıklı Höyük has its close-packed pattern of rectangular buildings right from the beginning. There is no connection between the architectural layout of Aşıklı Höyük and the hunter-gatherer villages of Southeast Anatolia, although the subsistence at Aşıklı depends on intensive hunting and gathering. The cult building at Aşıklı is not subterranean contrary to the Southeast Anatolian and Upper Mesopotamian tradition. The intrasite patterns of those two regions are clearly different, in southeast, rectangular or round, buildings are freestanding and there are usually open spaces left for daily activities. Çatalhöyük is a later example in Central Anatolia, where the close-packed pattern of Aşıklı continues but the cult building is not present; instead of single roomed, large cult buildings, a domestic cult is to observe at Çatalhöyük.

T-shaped pillars seems to be limited to –in other words, limiting the- Urfa region although standing stones are to be found at every settlement mentioned in this study, except the earliest ones such as Hallan Çemi. Building EA53 at Jerf el Ahmar has most of the characteristics of Southeast Anatolian cult buildings, although large sculpture is missing. Jerf el Ahmar round cult buildings are more elaborately decorated in comparison to those of Hallan Çemi.

Tell ‘Abr, a recently discovered site in Syria has a large, round, subterranean building, which is almost identical with EA53 of Jerf el Ahmar. (Fig. 73) Standing stones with arms in low-relief are strongly reminding the anthropomorphic style of

Nevalı Çori pillars. (Fig. 74) Bucrania, a frequently used motif on T-shaped pillars at Göbekli Tepe, exists at Tell 'Abr as well, carved on large stone slabs. (Fig. 75, 76)

An anthropomorphic statue was found during construction work in Urfa city center. It was carved out of limestone and has a height of 1.90 m.¹⁷¹ (Fig. 83) The eyes are indicated as two small holes, the arms are on the sides and the hands are joining just above the male organ. Chevrons on his chest could be connected to the same motifs visible on pillars both at Göbekli Tepe and Nevalı Çori.

Another statue, very similar to Nevalı Çori pillars in style, is recovered nearby a village in Adıyaman-Kilisik.¹⁷² (Fig. 84) The 80 cm long statue has a T-shaped top, a long, straight nose, arms in low-relief on the sides and hands on the narrow side. Between the hands there is the head of a human figure in relief. Below this figure, there is a large hole. It seems likely that this statue was a miniature pillar. This statue is important for it expands the limits of the Urfa culture; unfortunately it is from an unknown context.

¹⁷¹ Çelik 2000a:4

¹⁷² Verhoeven 2001:8

CHAPTER VI

VI. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Neolithic period is no longer defined as the beginning of “sedentary farming life” since there is the evidence of the early settlements of Southeast Anatolia. The early people of the region built settlements and cult buildings while exploiting the rich and varied environment and experimenting domestication. Based on the evidence recovered so far, with the shift from hunting-gathering to husbandry, the monumental cult buildings disappear in the region. By the end of PPNB most of the settlements were either abandoned or got smaller in size. Even at Nevalı Çori, the Cult Building remained untouched for the last two levels while the settlement was gradually shrinking. This “Neolithic collapse” is explained by a number of theories; one of them is a migration towards west, triggered by a socio-cultural motive.¹⁷³ It is suggested that this movement led to the increase of settlements in Central Anatolia and continued moving west; while moving, people took their cultural elements with them but left the “temple-based” organization behind. This theory is based on the socio-economic and cultural differences between Near Eastern and Central Anatolian Neolithic. It is also assumed that the later Near Eastern temple based economy has its roots back in the PPNB cultures of Southeastern Anatolia, where the “temples” are dominating the settlements both economically and in terms of size and construction.¹⁷⁴

In regional scale, “domination” is matter of debate. For a time period when subsistence was mainly based on hunting and raw materials were in easy reach, it is hard to think of a reason why a settlement would dominate another one. Göbekli Tepe was suggested to be the site on top of the hierarchical rank among the settlements in Urfa region.¹⁷⁵ This attempt is, in a way, very similar to the obsidian-

¹⁷³ Özdoğan, M. 1997:16-17

¹⁷⁴ Özdoğan, M. 1999:230

¹⁷⁵ Schmidt 2001b:11

based theories, which were proposed to explain the large size and elaborate architecture of Çatalhöyük when it appeared in a time Anatolia was considered empty during Neolithic period. Göbekli Tepe is obviously different from what we know as “Neolithic settlements” and future research may reveal more unexpected results.

Even as early as Hallan Çemi, there is evidence of special buildings in Southeast Anatolia; buildings that are large and semi-subterranean with benches and specially treated floors. Hallan Çemi provides evidence for the roots of the later examples of these buildings in the region, whereas Aşıklı Höyük indicates a connection between Southeast and Central Anatolia. Throughout thousands of years the “special and sacred” attribute of them seems to have been transferred; even today in Urfa, local healers are using flint tools they collect from the profile of Yeni Mahalle Höyük in the center of Urfa.

With the recent discoveries of the statues mentioned before and sites like Karahan Tepe, Hamzan Tepe and Yeni Mahalle Höyük, PPNB at Urfa region came to an interesting stage. These new evidences prove that the PPNA-B occupancy could be denser than it is thought to be. In this respect, an intensive survey covering the region, including the high hills and intermountain areas and perhaps going through the unidentified material so far recovered here will be helpful to complete the picture.

Even if they are found empty inside, PPN cult buildings in Southeast Anatolia have an almost standardized type of plan, however local additions are to be noticed. In Urfa Plateau, located on the foothills, the “pillar settlements” seem to be indicating a local culture. Towards Tigris, at Çayönü, pillars are absent, yet the single-roomed, large cult buildings with benches are of the same tradition. This type of buildings can be traced as far as Aşıklı Höyük towards west, although the settlement layout is completely different between these two regions. Later settlements in Central Anatolia have this close-packed layout from their earliest levels on but cult buildings do not exist in this region.

The permanency of these settlements may be questioned, especially of Nevalı Çori since it has the shortest life span (around 200 years) among the other settlements mentioned in this study. Although their subsistence was still depending highly on hunting and gathering; sheep and goat, cereal and legume were domesticated at Nevalı Çori. Besides, the effort given in constructing the buildings and especially the floors, pillars and walls of Cult Building, maintaining and rebuilding can be considered as “too much” for a temporary dwelling.

Function assessment of these certain type of buildings is usually limited to defining them as either “cult”, “public” or “special”. Except for some cases when it is clear that the building was serving a specific purpose, such as the Skull Building at Çayönü, the question of how these buildings were used remains unanswered partly because of the lack of knowledge about the characteristics of the ritual behavior of this early period of time. On the other hand, one of the common features of these buildings, Terrazzo floors, and narrow channels along the floors recovered in some of the buildings could indicate an activity including liquids.

Whether these buildings were roofed or not is another issue that is closely related to the function of them. A roofed structure surely provides more privacy, at Nevalı Çori, as mentioned before, only a small percentage of the population could fit into the Cult Building, so it can be pictured as a small group using the structure and gathering in privacy; performing cult or making administrative decisions. On the other hand, if the building was not roofed, these gatherings would become a more public character, perhaps everybody was gathering around the building and could at least witness or maybe join in. Considering that Southeastern cult seems more public if compared to later Central Anatolia, this alternative should not be overlooked.

At sites like Nevalı Çori, Göbekli Tepe, Çayönü, Aşıklı Höyük and Çatalhöyük, buildings are intentionally buried and in some cases objects were left inside, they were treated as they were “dead”. Most of the cult buildings were found untouched; the building materials were not reused. This treatment; filling the building, leaving objects within and keeping it intact require communal effort and care. Considering

the size of the standing stones and pillars, together with the world of wild animals and other symbols depicted on them, these cult buildings must be representing something associated with the social memory and perhaps with the hunting-gathering nomadic roots.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

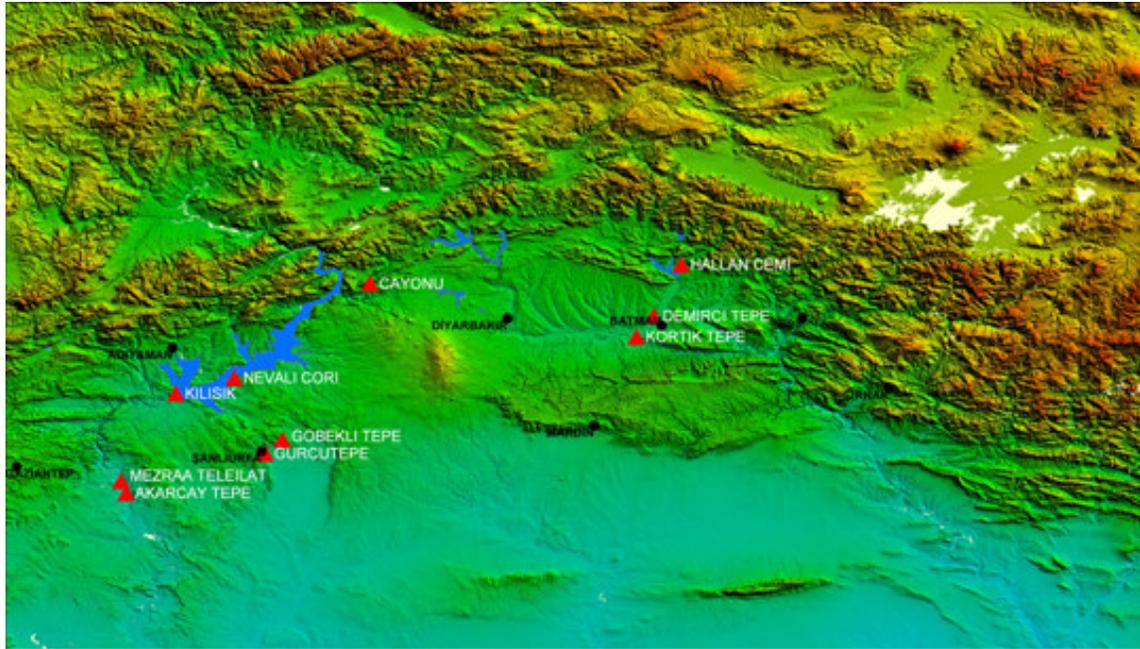


Figure 1 Map showing sites mentioned in the text.



Fig. 2 Nevalı Çori. General view from southeast.

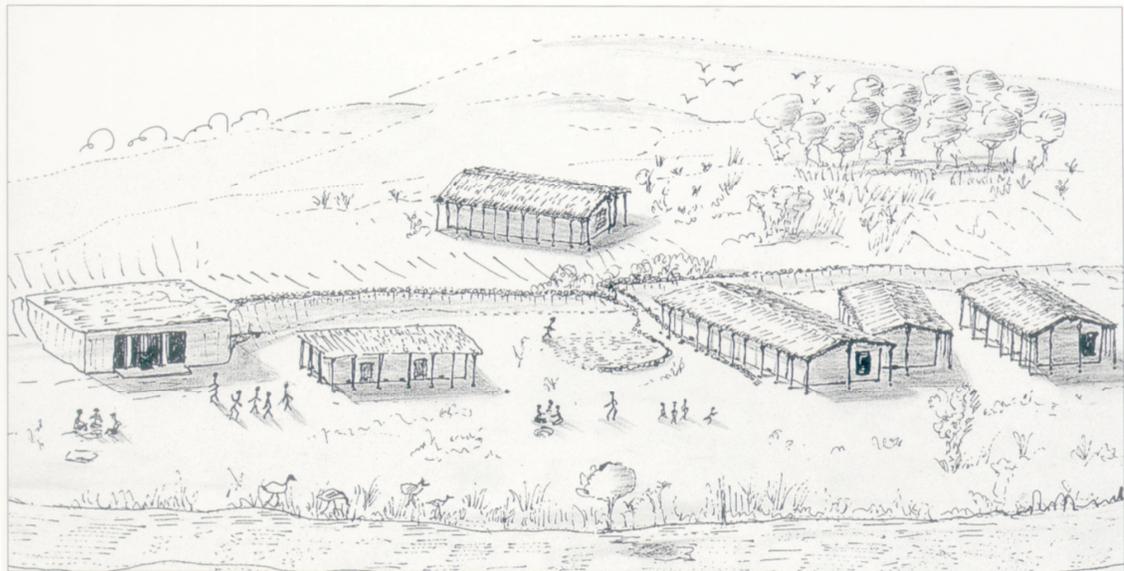


Fig. 3 Nevalı Çori. Reconstruction of settlement II. (Hauptmann 1999a:41)

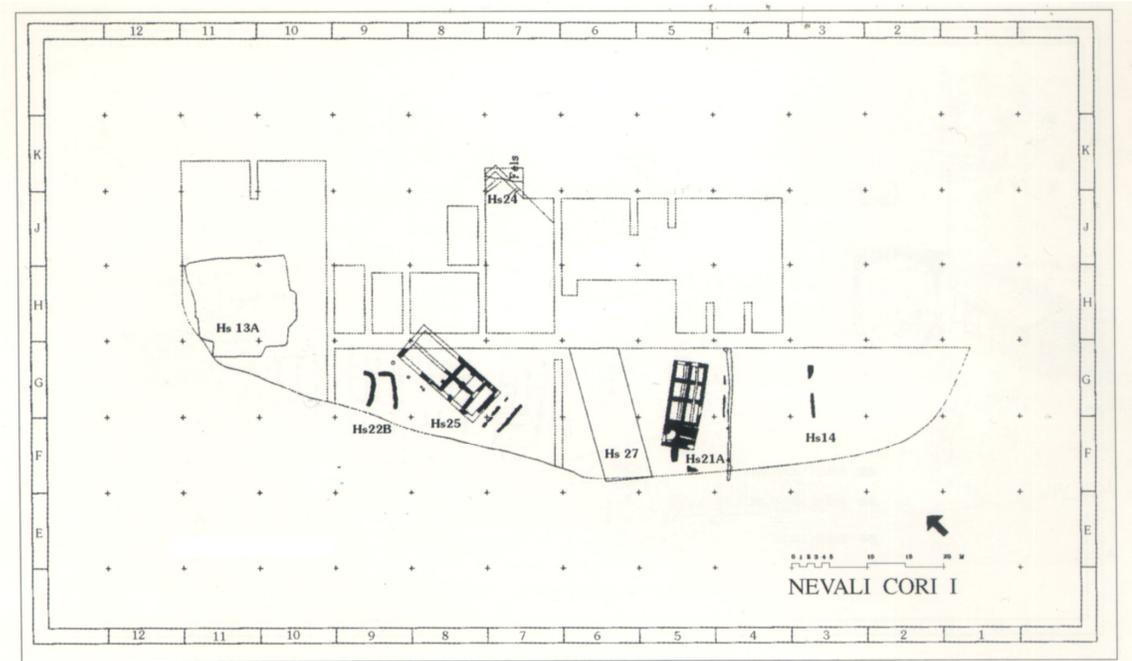


Fig. 4 Nevalı Çori. Level I layout. (Hauptmann 1999a:39)

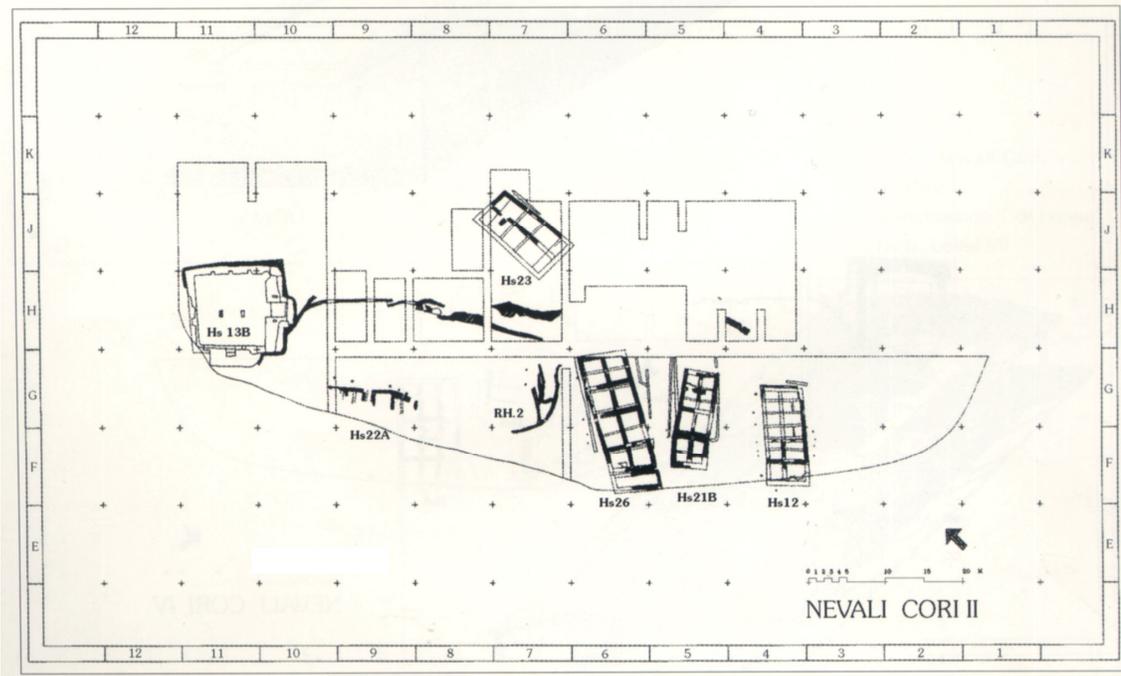


Fig. 5 Nevalı Çori. Level II layout. (Hauptmann 1999a:39)

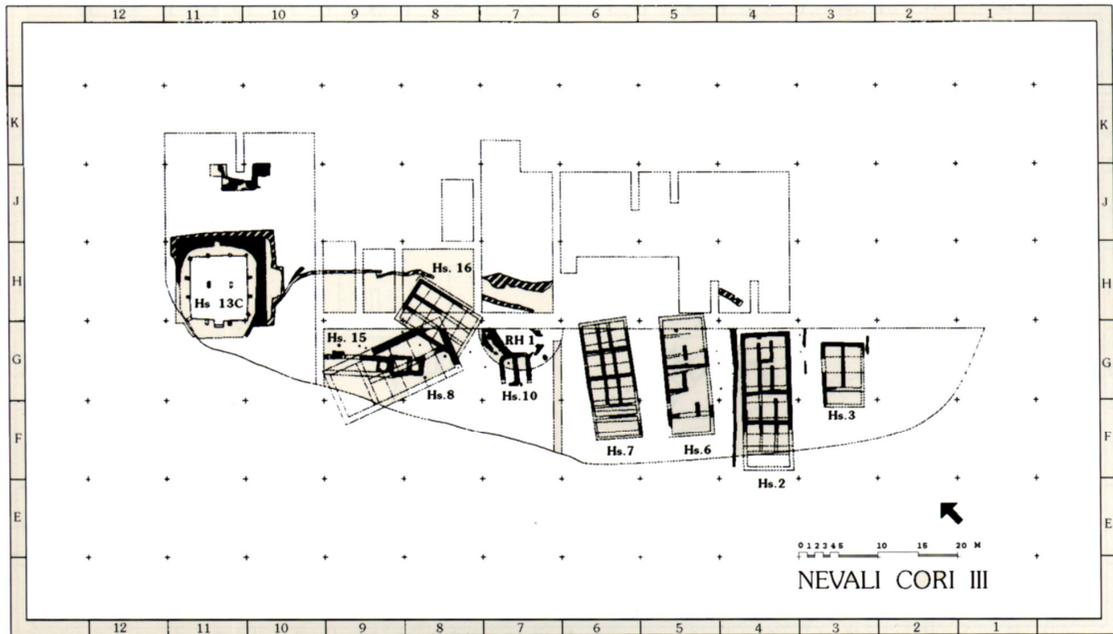


Fig. 6 Nevalı Çori. Level III layout. (Hauptmann 1999a:40)

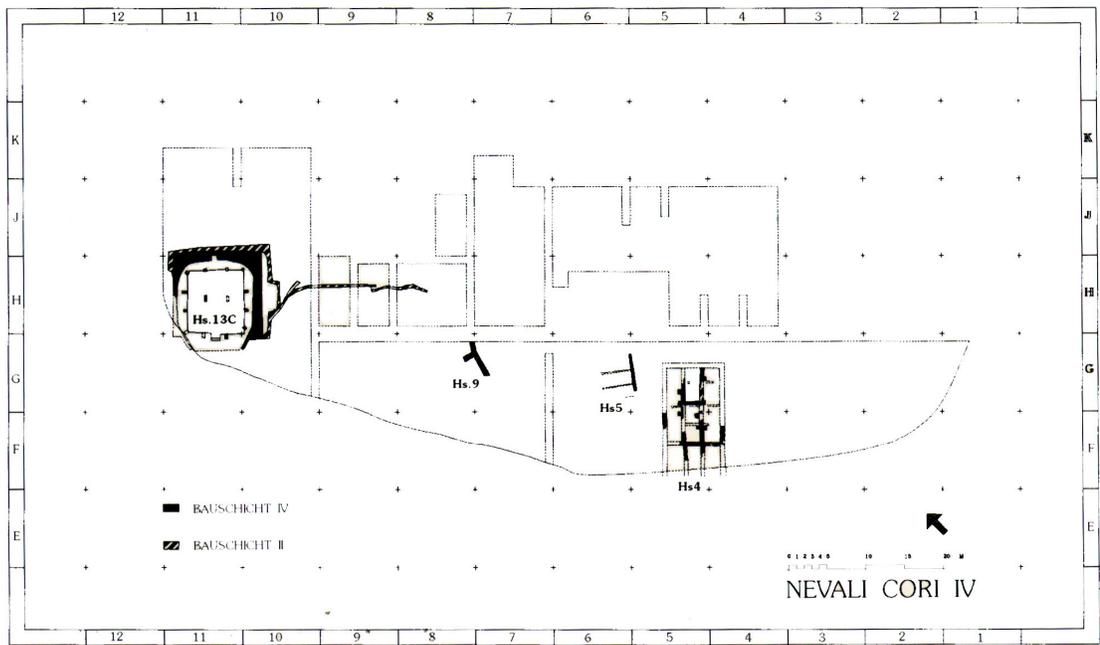


Fig.7 Nevalı Çori. Level IV layout. (Hauptmann 1999a:40)

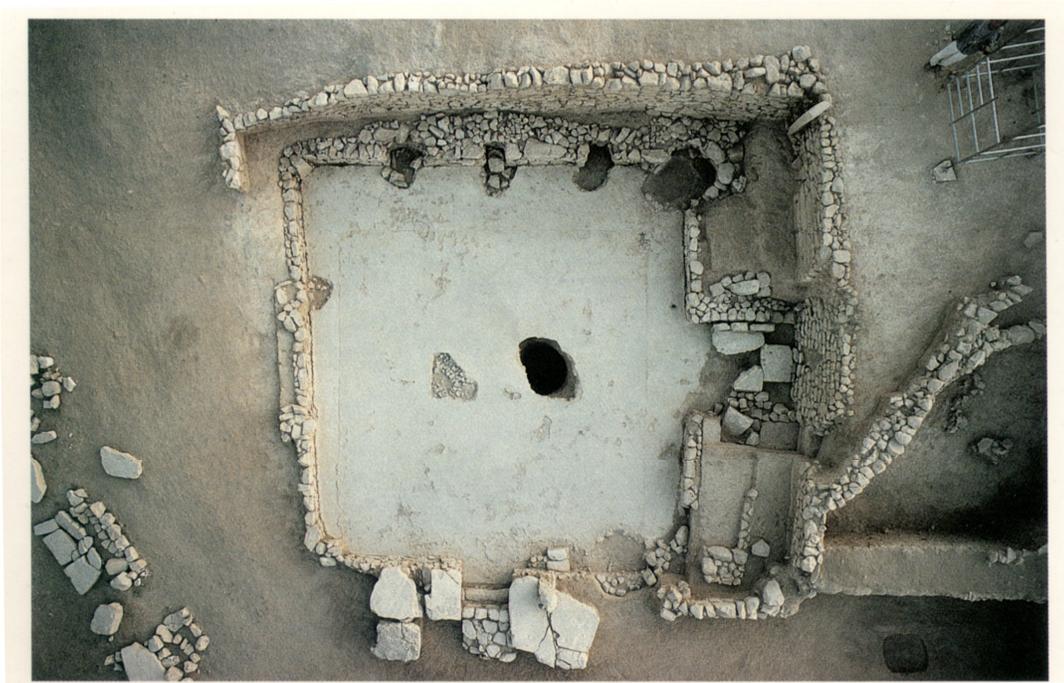


Fig. 8 Nevalı Çori. Cult building II. (Hauptmann 1999a:42)



Fig. 9 Nevalı Çori. Cult Building III. (Hauptmann 1999a:42)

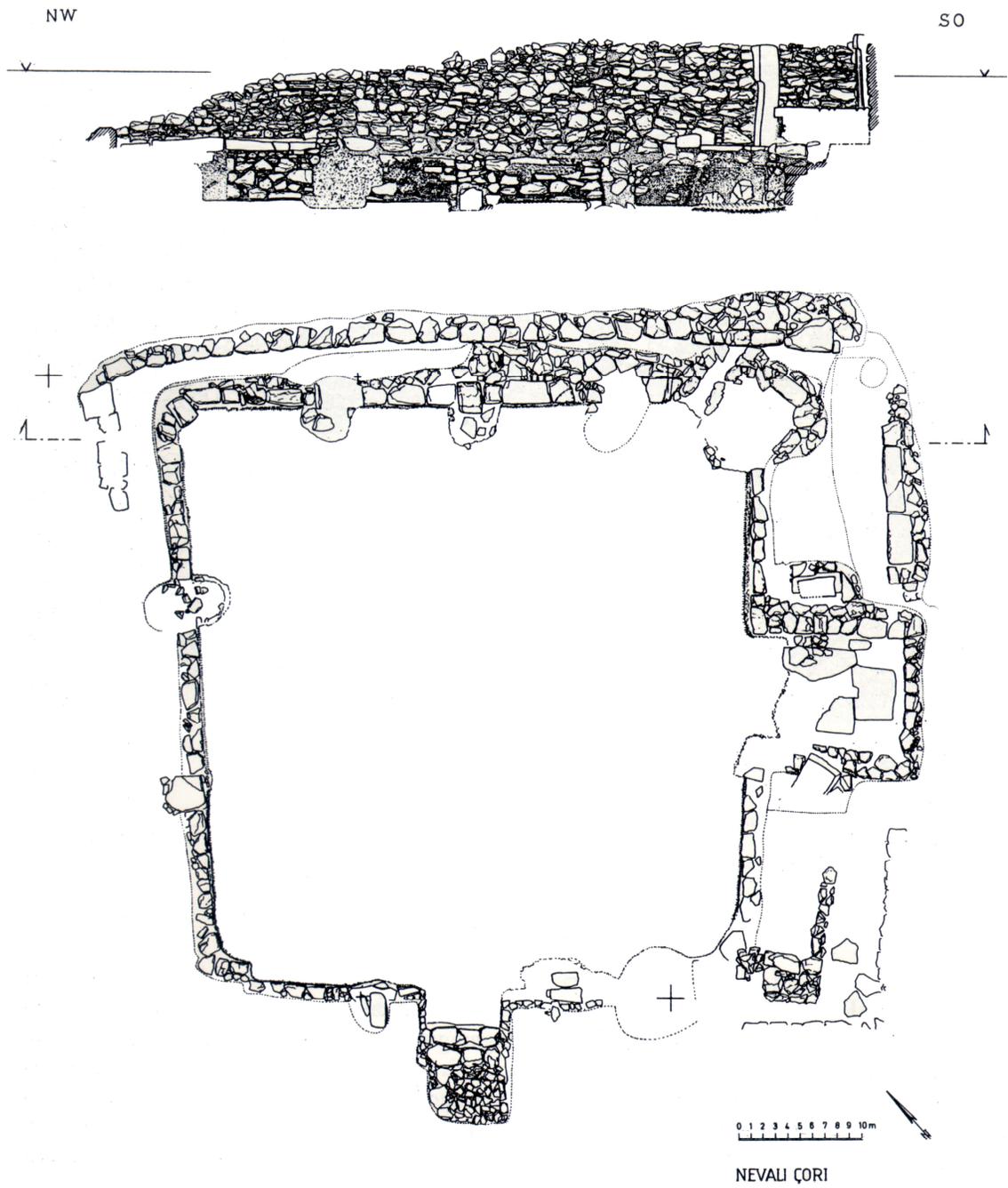


Fig. 10 Nevalı Çori. Section drawing and ground plan of Cult Building II. (Hauptmann 1993:44)

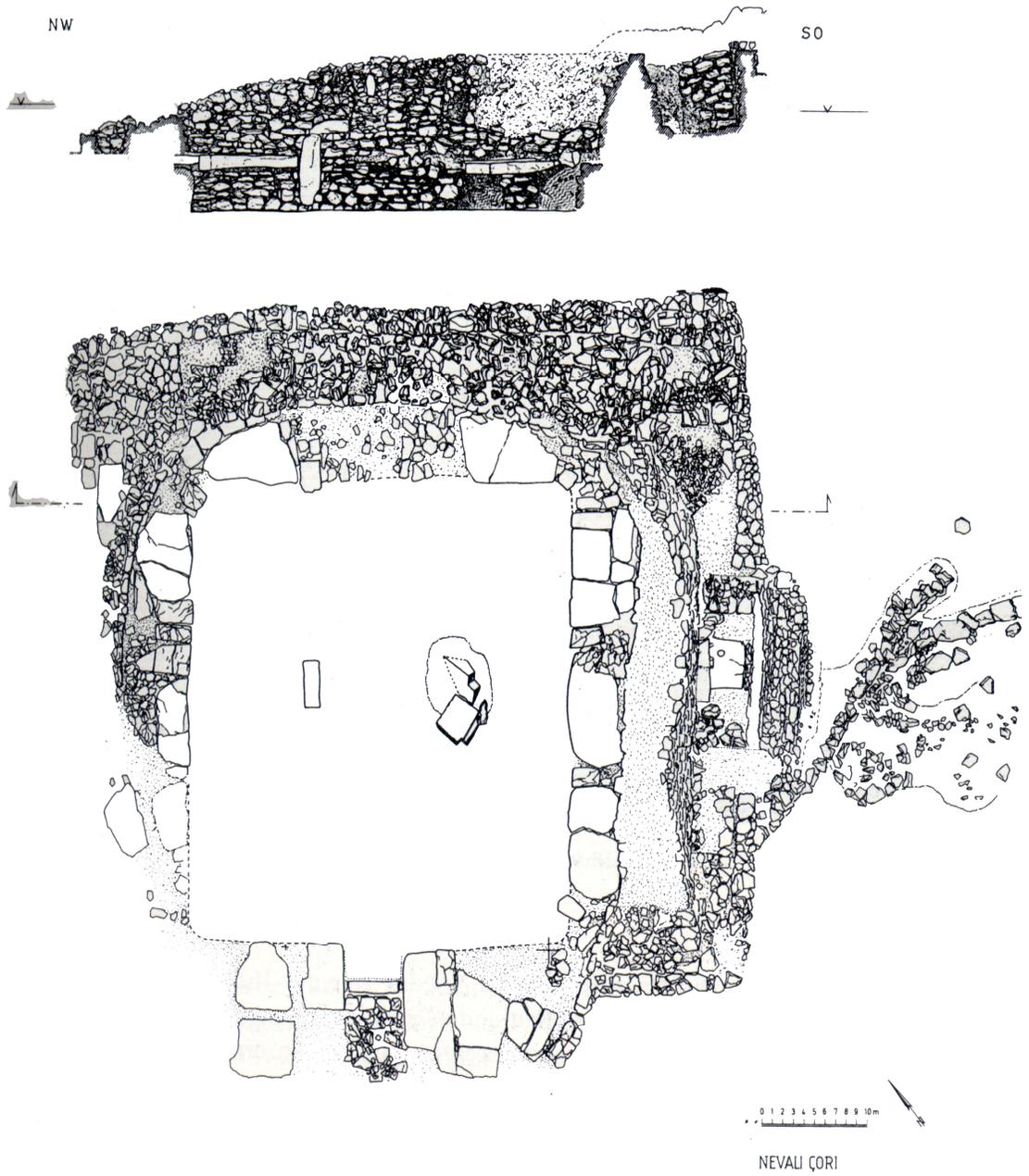


Fig. 11 Nevalı Çori. Section drawing and ground plan of Cult Building III. (Hauptmann 1993:49)

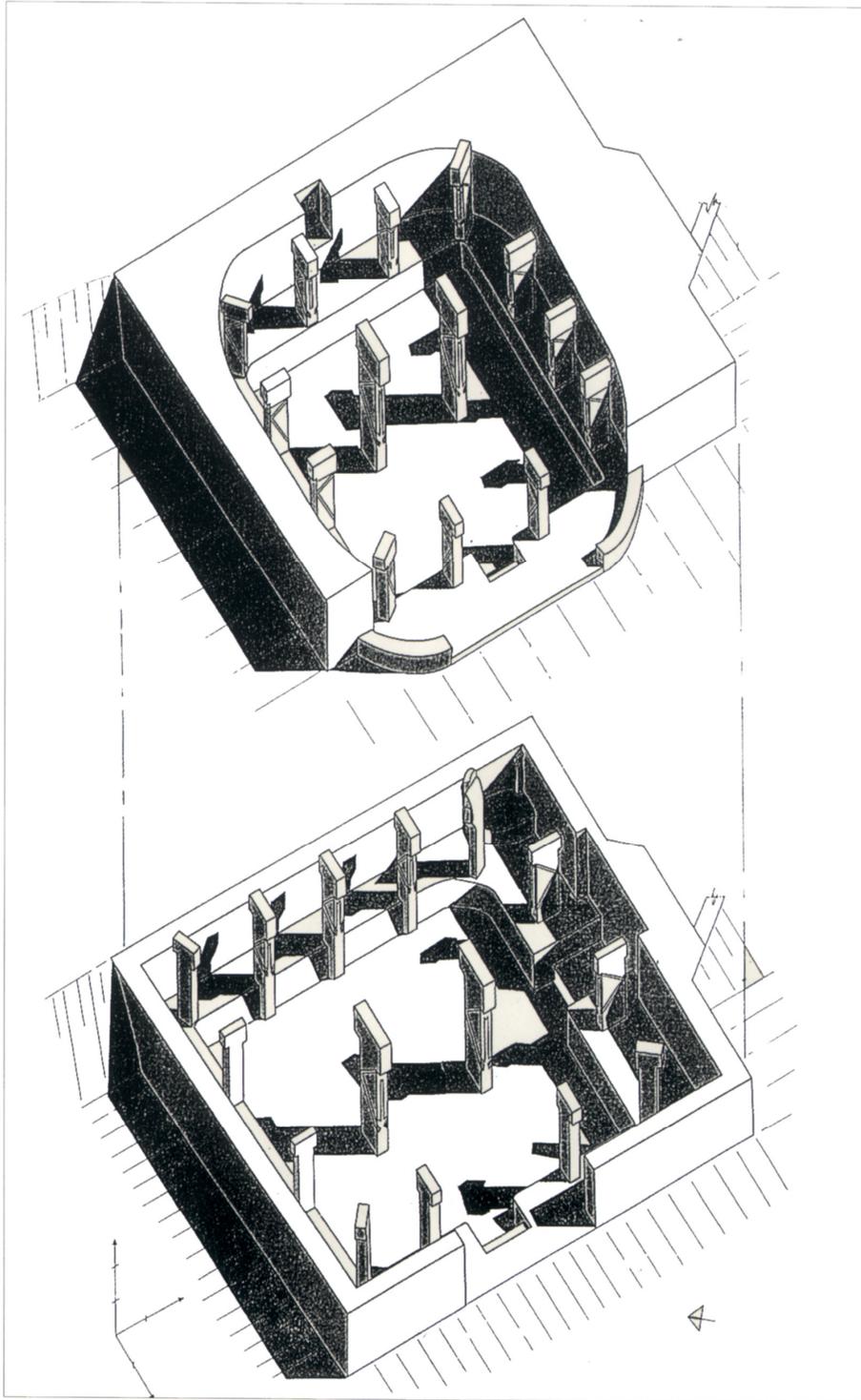


Fig. 12 Nevalı Çori. Axonometric reconstruction of cult building II and III. (Hauptmann 1999a:43)



Fig. 13 Nevalı Çori. Podium and pillars in the southern corner of Cult Building II. (Hauptmann 1993:47)



Fig. 14 Nevalı Çori. Bench and pillars in the northern corner of Cult Building II. (Hauptmann 1993:48)



Fig. 15 Nevalı Çori. View of Cult Building II from northeast. (Hauptmann 1993:52)



Fig. 16 Nevalı Çori. Bench and niche of Cult Building II, see the limestone head in the backwall of the niche. (Hauptmann 1993:53)

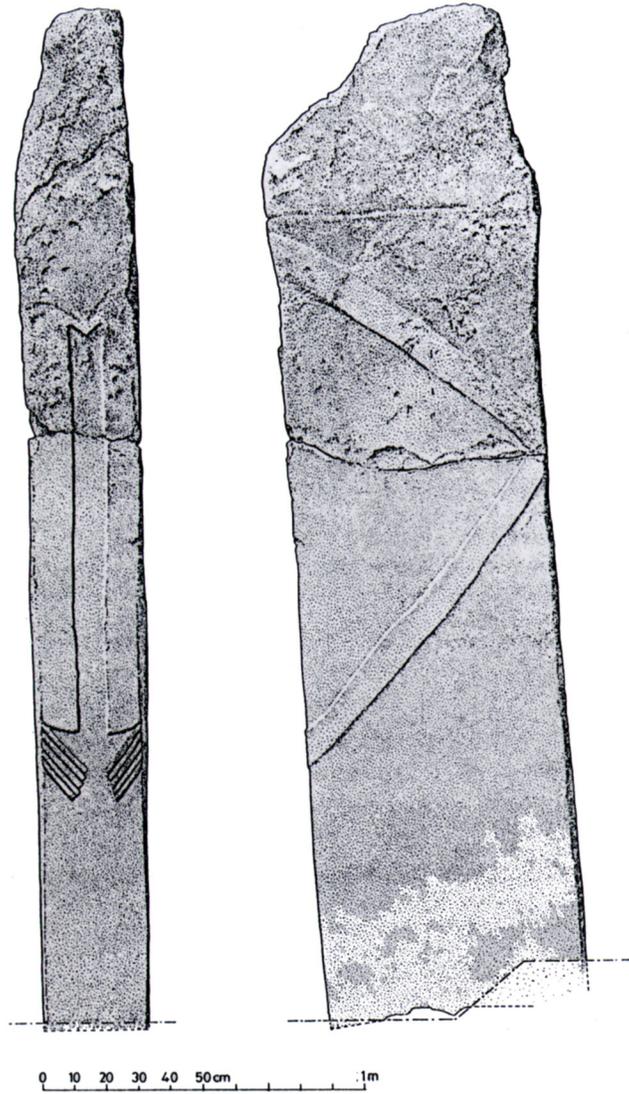


Fig. 17 Nevalı Çori. Pillar with “arms” from Cult Building II.



Fig. 18 Nevalı Çori. Limestone head with snake relief. (Hauptmann 1993:59)



Fig. 19 Nevalı Çori. Limestone torso. (Hauptmann 1993:62)



Fig. 20 Nevalı Çori. Limestone “hybrid creature”. (Hauptmann 1999a:45)



Fig. 21 Nevalı Çori. Vulture-like bird. (Hauptmann 1999a:48)



Fig. 22 Nevalı Çori. Limestone composite sculpture. (Hauptmann 1999a:47)



Fig. 23 Nevalı Çori. Pillar with “female” head. (Hauptmann 1999a:46)

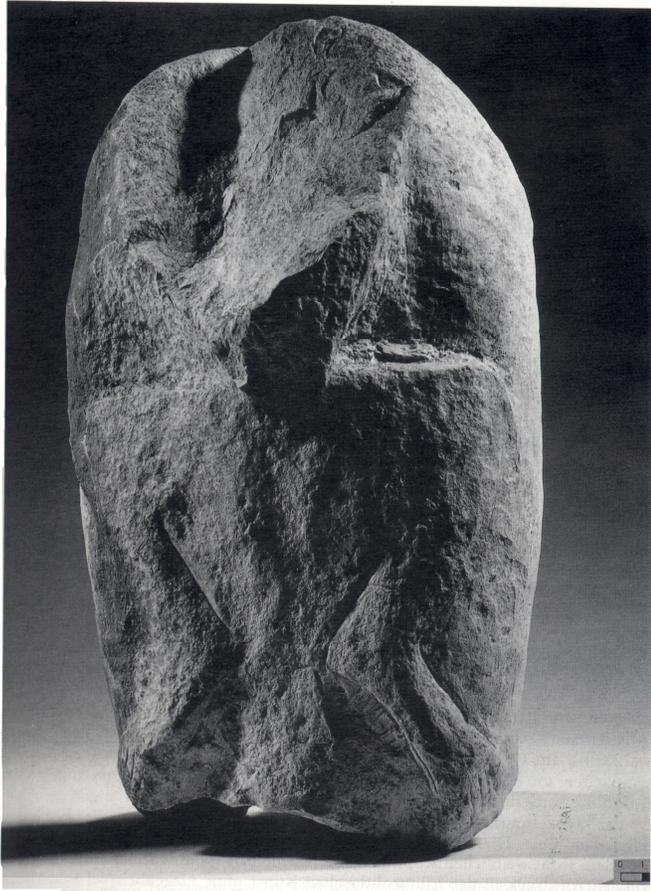


Fig. 24 Nevalı Çori. Limestone “frog like human”. (Hauptmann 1993:65)

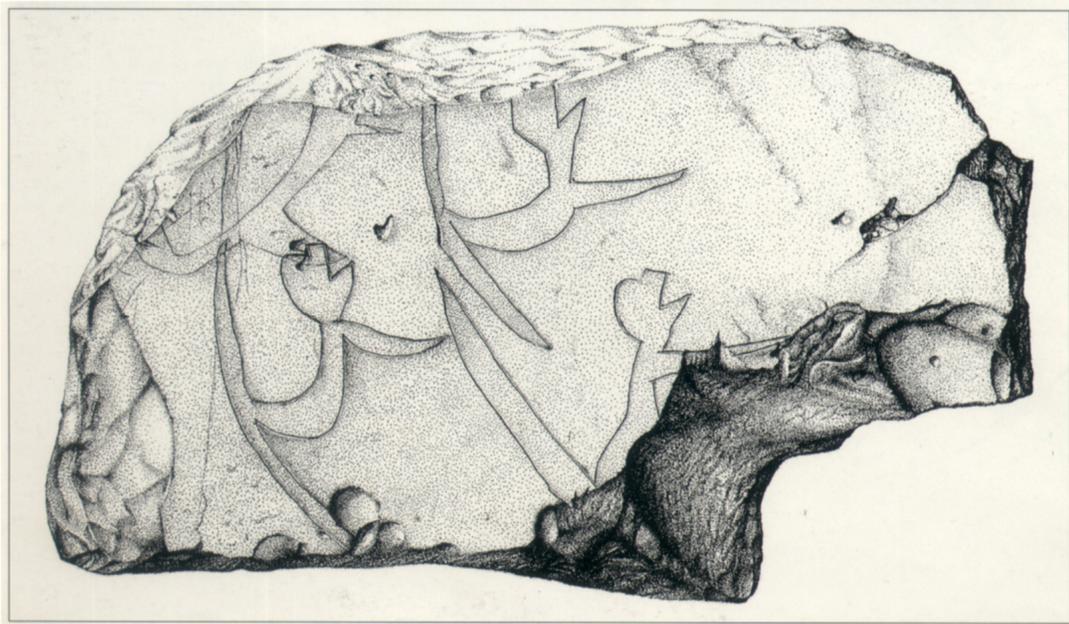


Fig. 25 Nevalı Çori. Limestone plate with stylized figures. (Hauptmann 1999a:48)



Fig. 26 Nevalı Çori. Limestone bowl fragment with relief. (Hauptmann 1999a:48)



Fig. 27 Nevalı Çori. Miniature lion head. (Hauptmann 1999a:50)

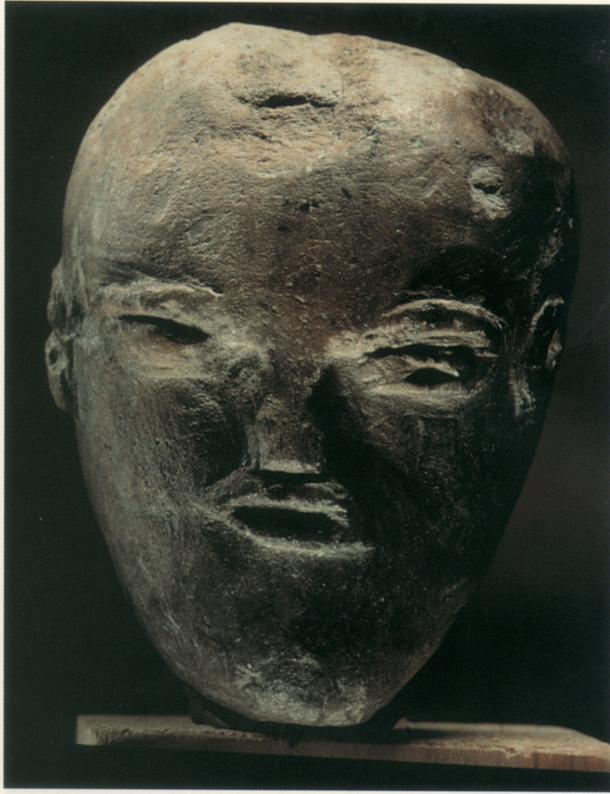


Fig. 28 Nevalı Çori. Miniature head of limestone. (Hauptmann 1999a:49)

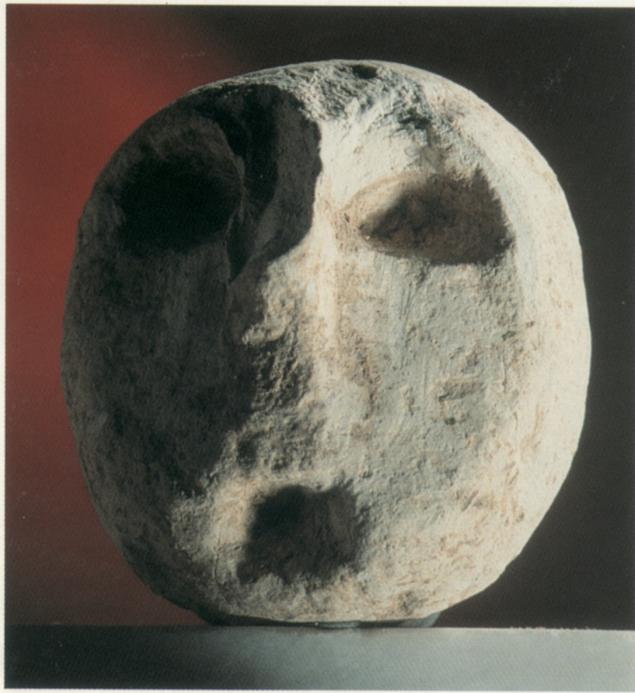


Fig. 29 Nevalı Çori. Miniature masque of limestone. (Hauptmann 1999a:49)



Fig. 30 Nevalı Çori. Burial from House 2 of Level III. (Hauptmann 1993:58)



Fig. 31 Nevalı Çori. Burial from House 21 of Level I. (Hauptmann 1993:58)

APPENDIX B

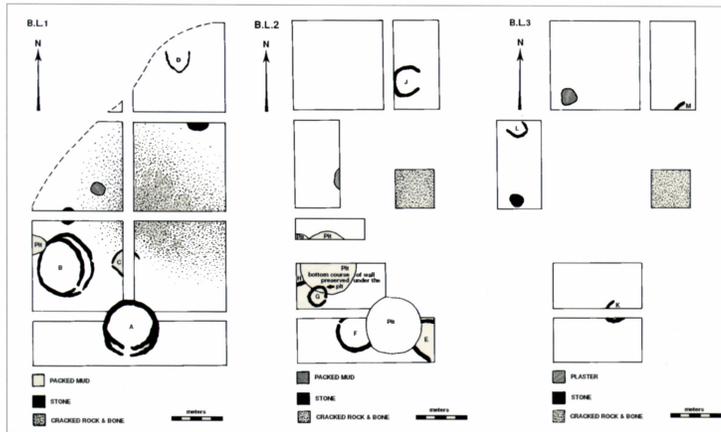


Fig. 32 Hallan Çemi. Plans of excavated building levels. (Rosenberg 1999:11)



Fig. 33 Hallan Çemi. Public buildings A and B. (Rosenberg 1999:15)

APPENDIX C

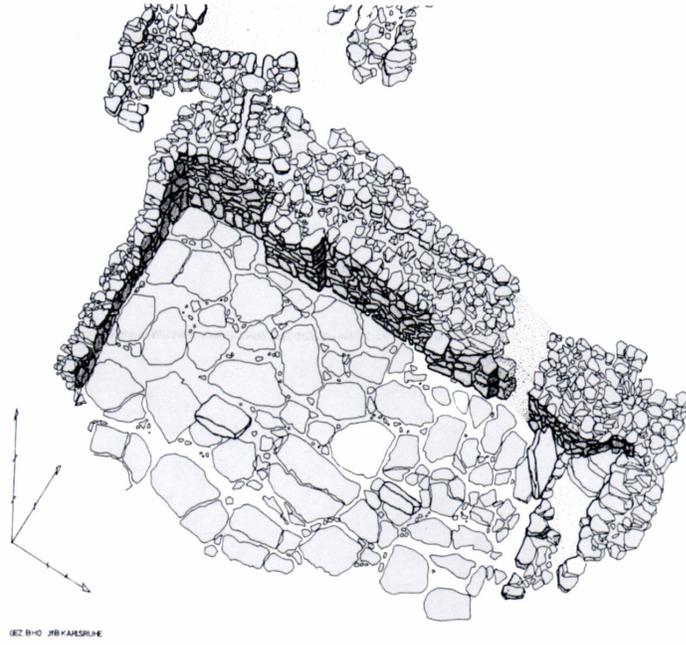


Fig. 34 Çayönü. Isometric plan of Flagstone Building. (Schirmer 1983:474)

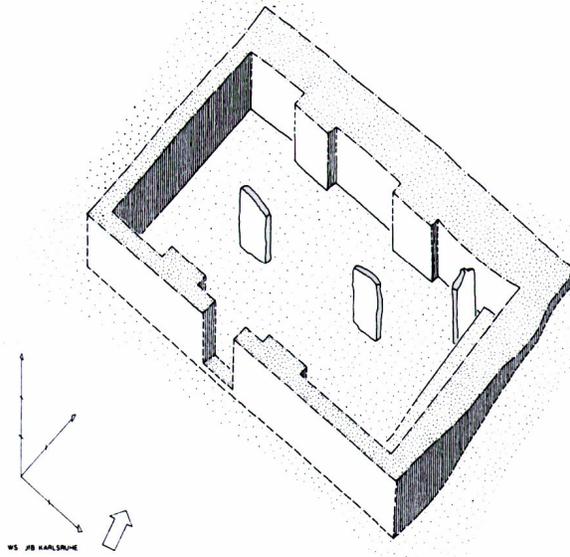


Fig. 35 Çayönü. Isometric reconstruction of Flagstone Building. (Schirmer 1983:475)



Fig. 38 Çayönü. Plan of Terrazzo Building and surroundings. (Schirmer 1983:466)

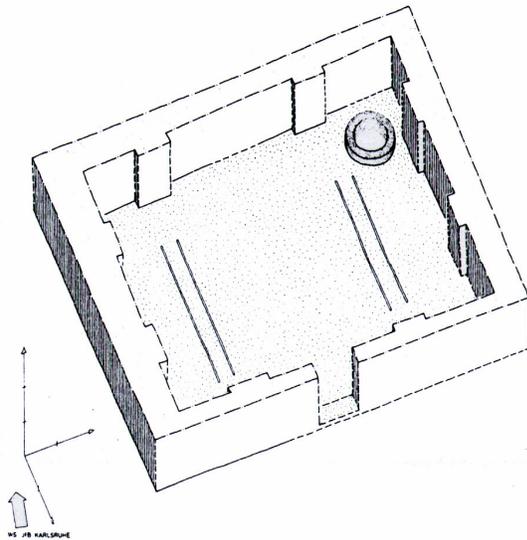


Fig. 39 Çayönü. Isometric reconstruction of Terrazzo Building. (Schirmer 1983:468)

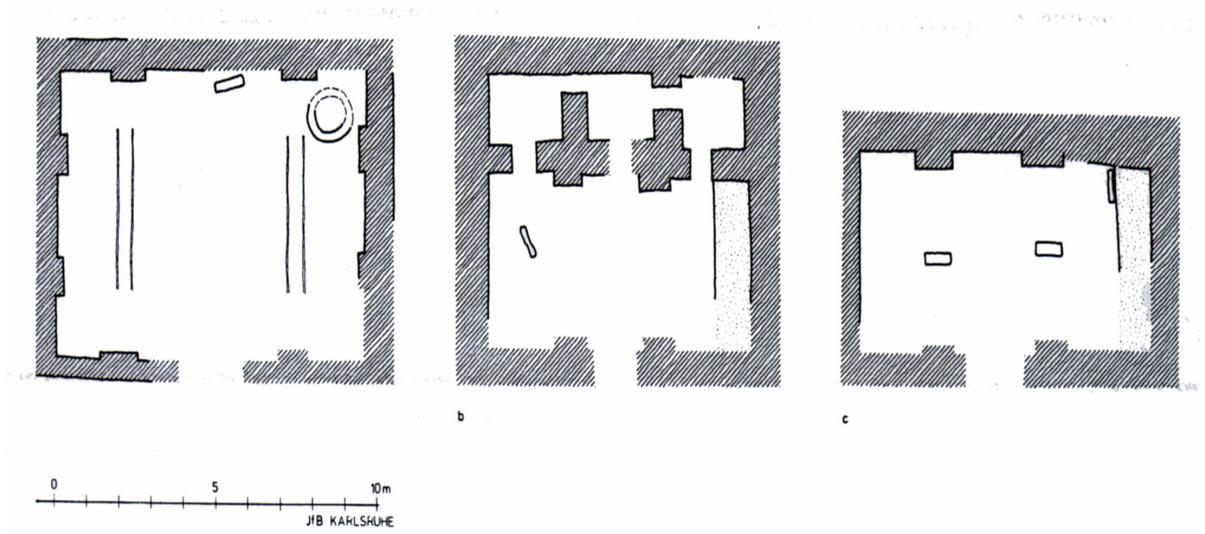


Fig. 40 Çayönü. Terrazzo Building (a), Skull Building (b), Flagstone Building (c). (Schirmer 1983:476)



Fig. 41 Çayönü. Basin with a human face relief found in Terrazzo Building. (Özdoğan, A.1999:30)



Fig. 42 Çayönü. Stone carved in shape of a snake. (Özdoğan, M.1996:23)

APPENDIX D



Fig. 43 Göbekli Tepe. “Löwenfeilergebäude” and detail from the pillar. (Hauptmann 1999a:51)

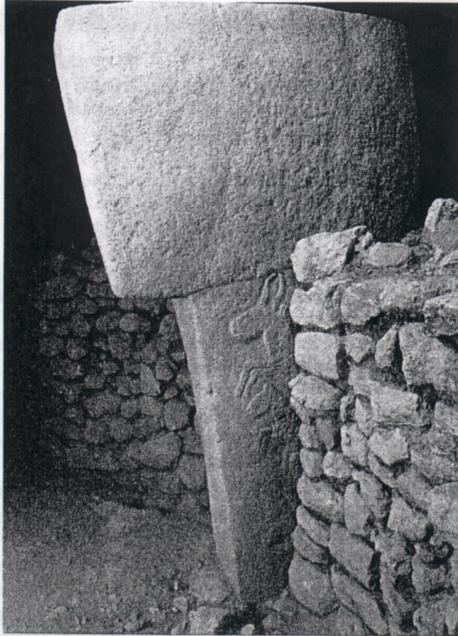


Fig. 44 Göbekli Tepe. Pillar 21 of Structure D with reliefs of a gazelle and wild ass (left), Pillar 22 of Structure D with reliefs of a fox and a snake. (Schmidt 2003:4)



Fig. 45 Göbekli Tepe. Pillar 38 of Structure D with reliefs of a fox, a wild boar and three birds (left), Pillar 33 of Structure D with relief of a fox. (Schmidt 2003:6)

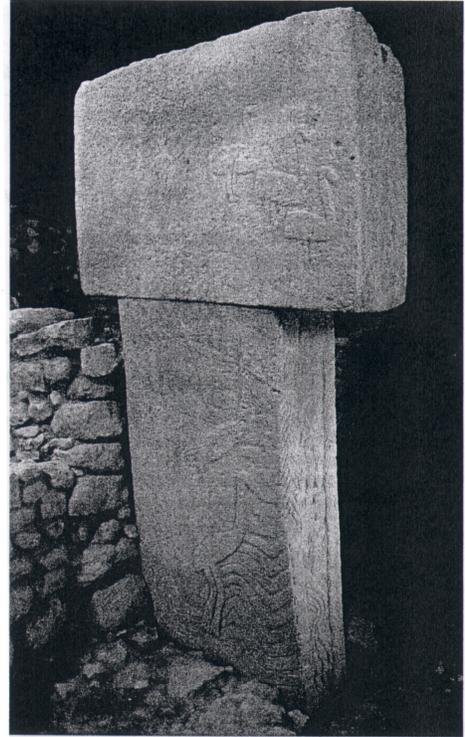


Fig. 46 Göbekli Tepe. Narrow side of Pillar 33 of Structure D with snake, H-shaped motifs, spider reliefs in the middle and V-shaped motifs and snake heads on the sides (left and bottom right). (Schmidt 2004:105), the wide side of Pillar 33 with birds. (Schmidt 2003:7)

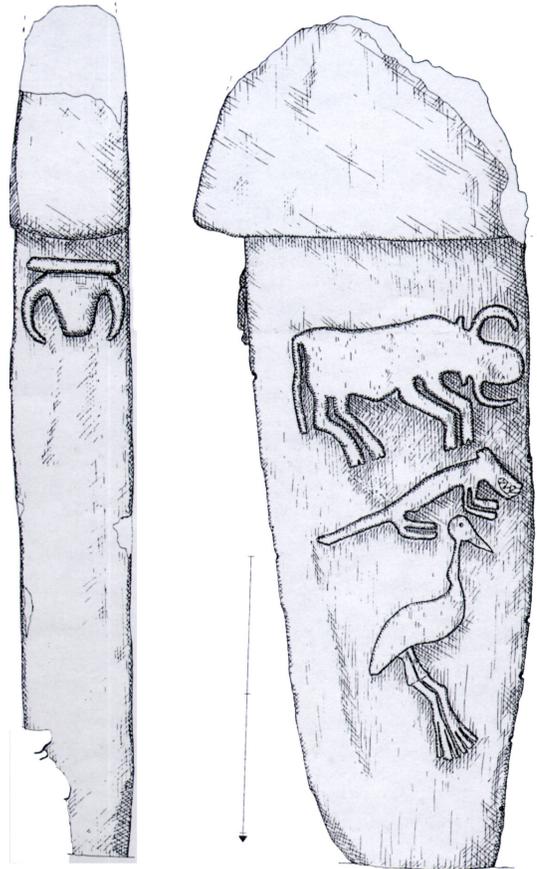
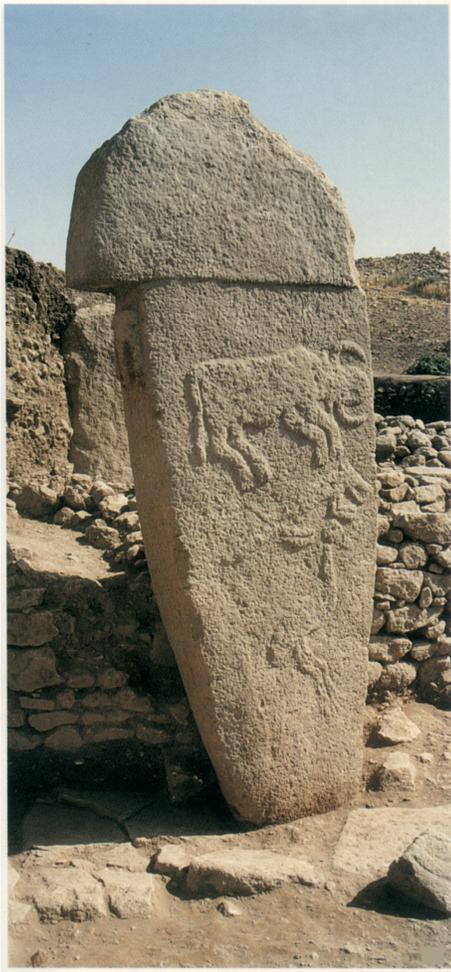


Fig. 47 Göbekli Tepe. Pillar 2 of “Schlangenpfeilergebäude” (Structure A) with reliefs of wild cattle, fox and bird; bucrania on the narrow side (Hauptmann 1999a:50, Schmidt 1998:38)

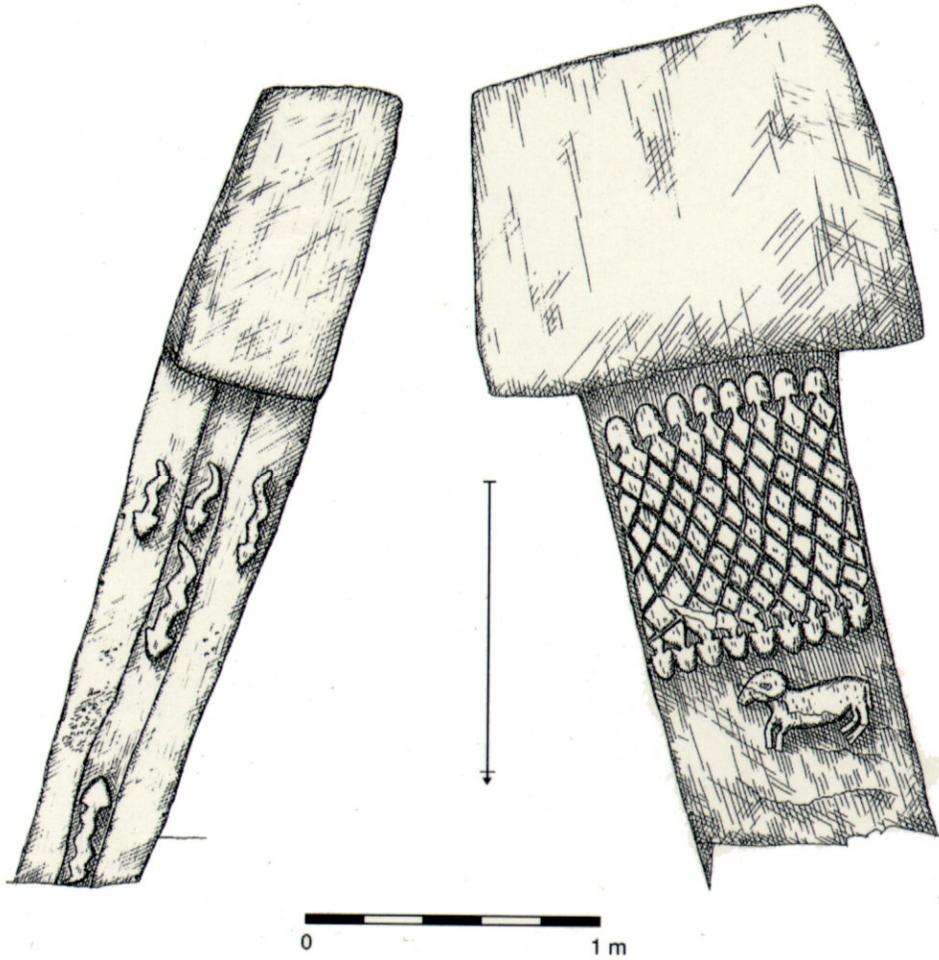


Fig. 48 Göbekli Tepe. Pillar 1 of Structure A with reliefs of snakes and a ram. (Hauptmann 1999a:54)



Fig. 49 Göbekli Tepe. Pillar with animal relief. (Hauptmann 1999a:52)

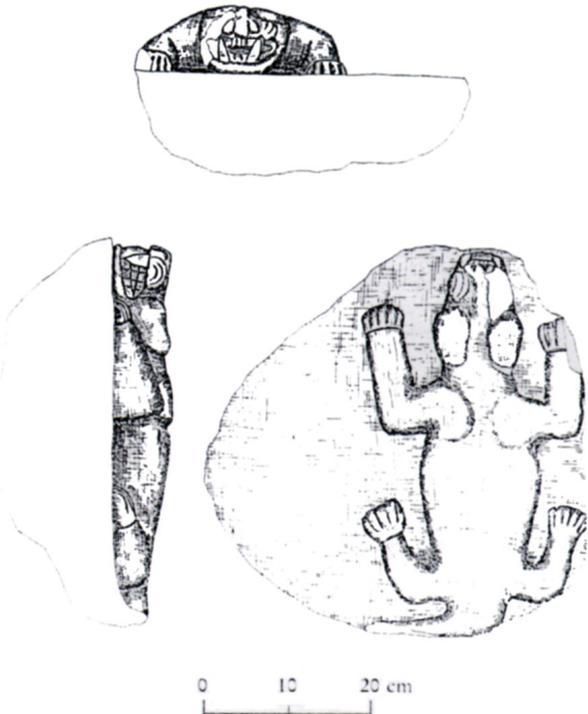


Fig. 50 Göbekli Tepe. Limestone fragment with animal relief. (Hauptmann 1999a:53)



Fig. 51 Göbekli Tepe. Pillar with a bear-like animal. (Hauptmann 1999a:52)

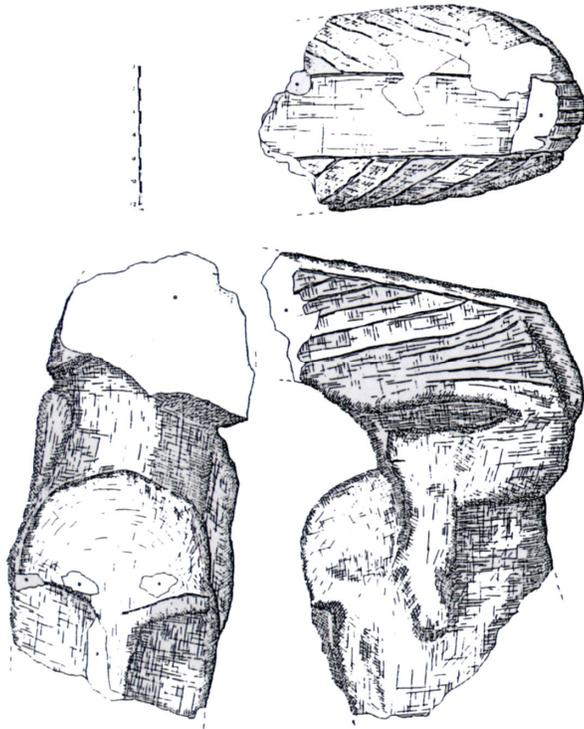


Fig. 52 Göbekli Tepe. Sculpture of an animal holding a human head. (Schmidt 1998:3)

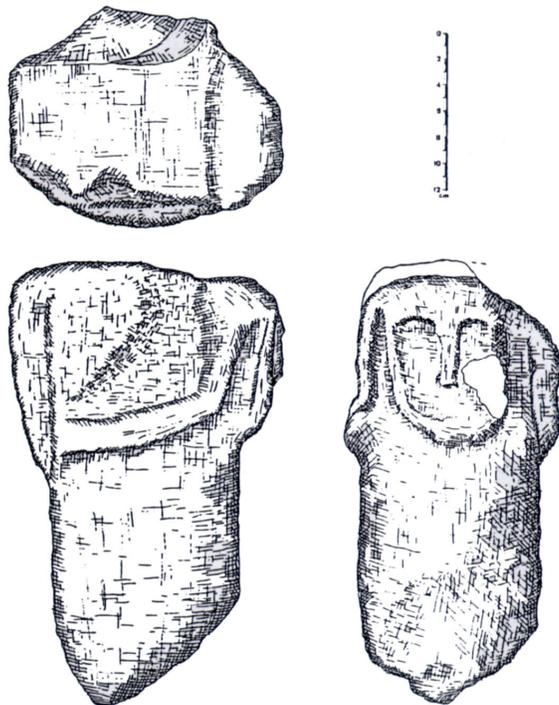


Fig. 53 Göbekli Tepe. Sculpture of a bird on a human head. (Schmidt 1998:3)



Fig. 54 Göbekli Tepe. Ithyphallic animal. (Hauptmann 1999a:52)

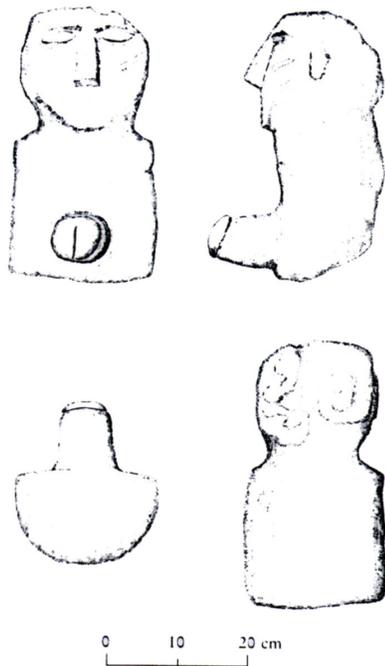


Fig. 55 Göbekli Tepe. Figurine of an ithyphallic man. (Hauptmann 1999a:54)

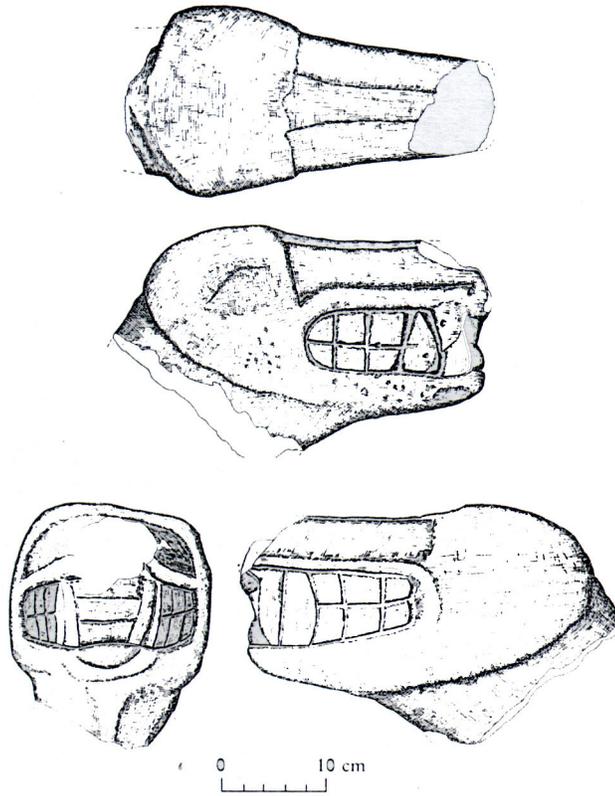


Fig. 56 Göbekli Tepe. Head of a stone lion figurine. (Beile-Bohn et Al. 1998:36)

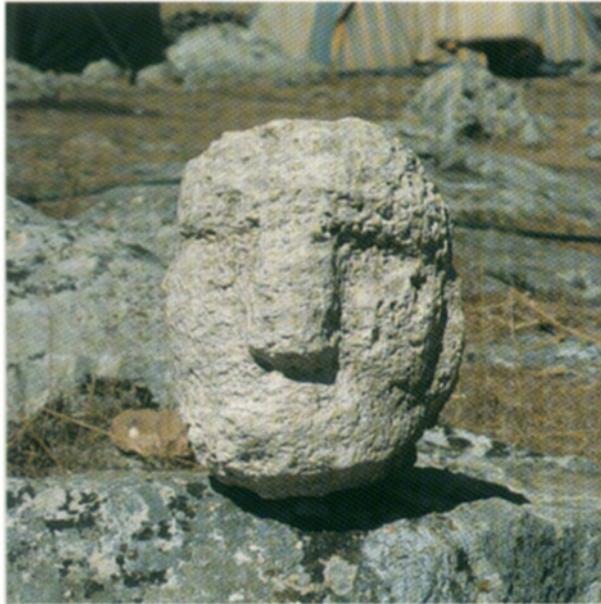


Fig. 57 Göbekli Tepe. Life-sized human head. (Hauptmann 1999a:53)



Fig. 58 Göbekli Tepe. Phallos carved on the bedrock. (Schmidt 1998:36)

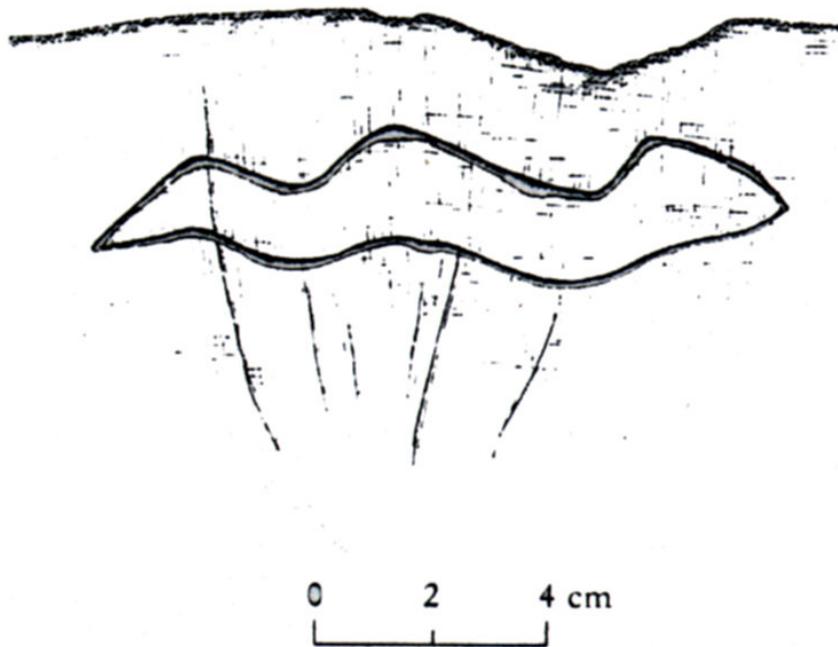


Fig. 59 Göbekli Tepe. Snake figure carved on a limestone fragment. (Beile-Bohn et Al. 1998:63)



Fig. 60 Göbekli Tepe. Female, carved on a stone slab found in Terrazzo Building. (Hauptmann 1999a:55)

APPENDIX E

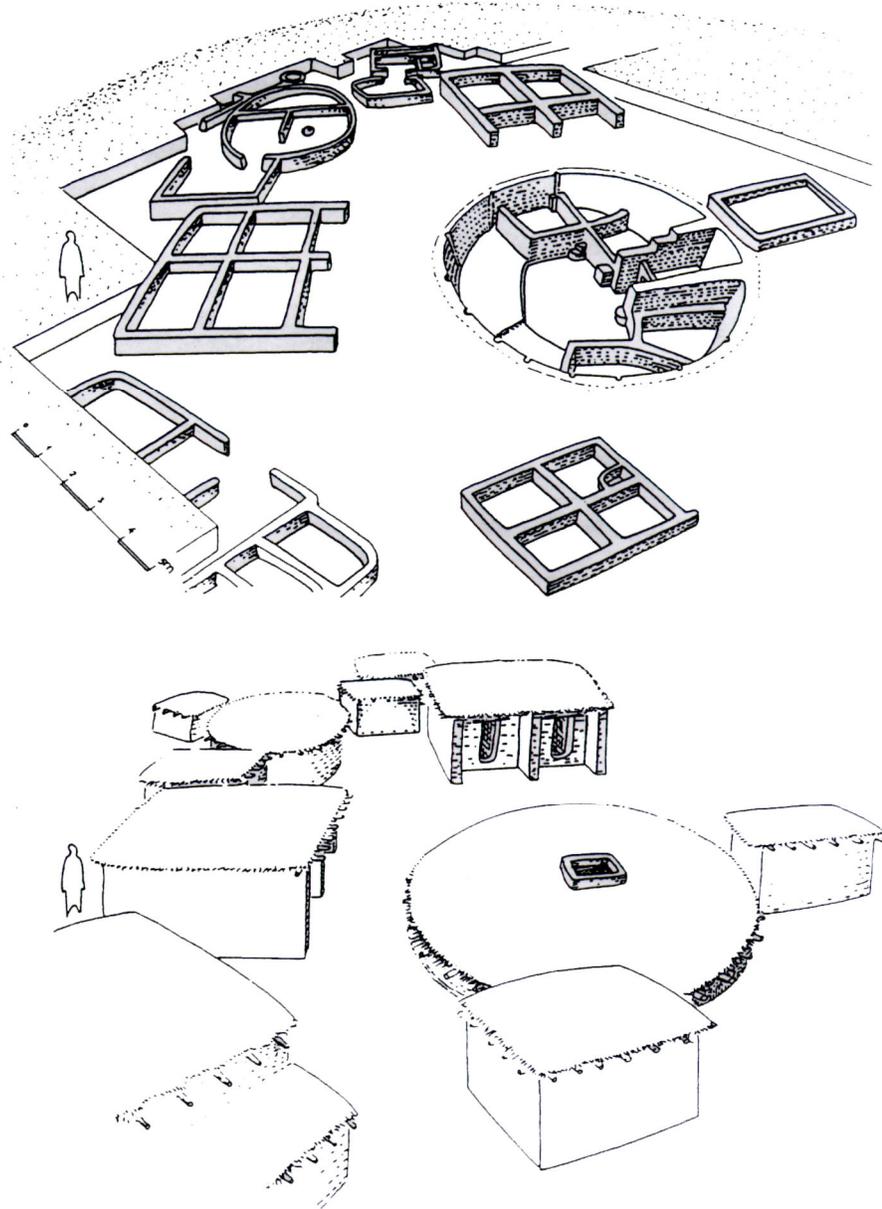


Fig. 61 Jerf el Ahmar. General view of Level 2 /west. (Stordeur 2000:3)



Fig. 62 Jerf el Ahmar. The house of the aurochs skulls. (Stordeur 2000:2)

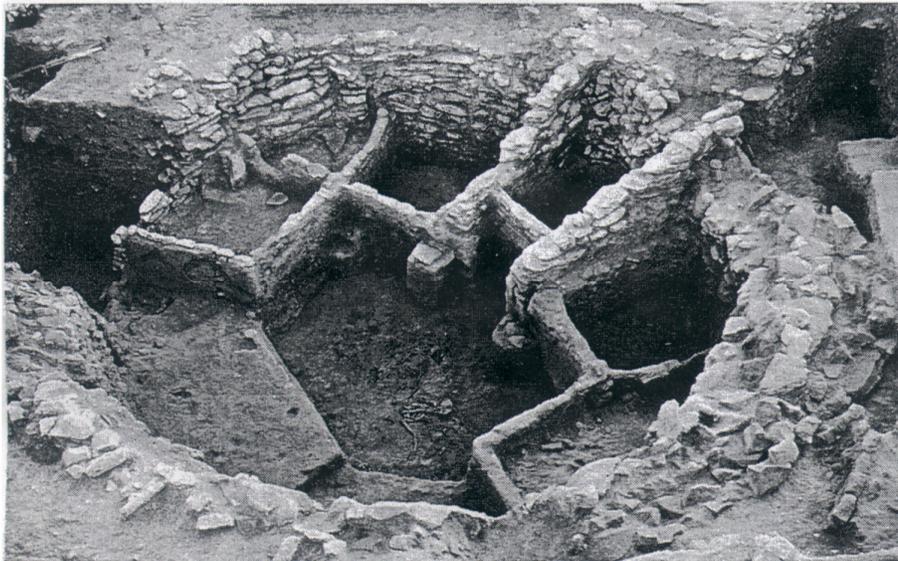


Fig. 63 Jerf el Ahmar. Level 2 /west Building EA30. (Stordeur 2000:3)



Fig. 64 Jerf el Ahmar. Building EA53 of Level -1 /east.

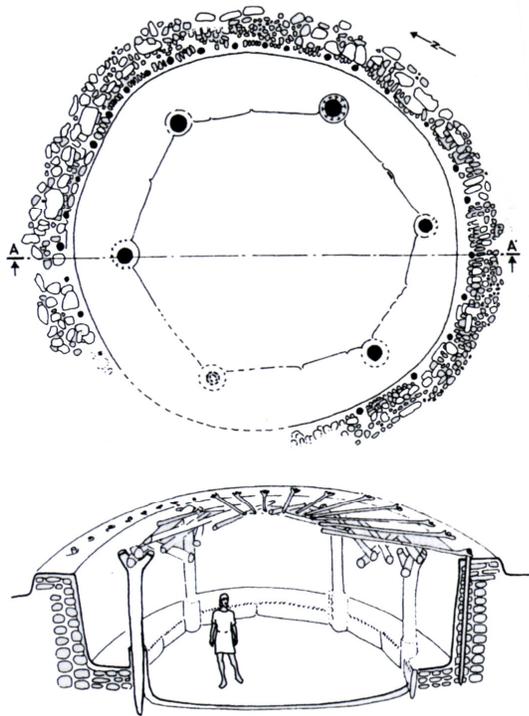


Fig. 65 Jerf el Ahmar. Plan and reconstruction of Building EA53.

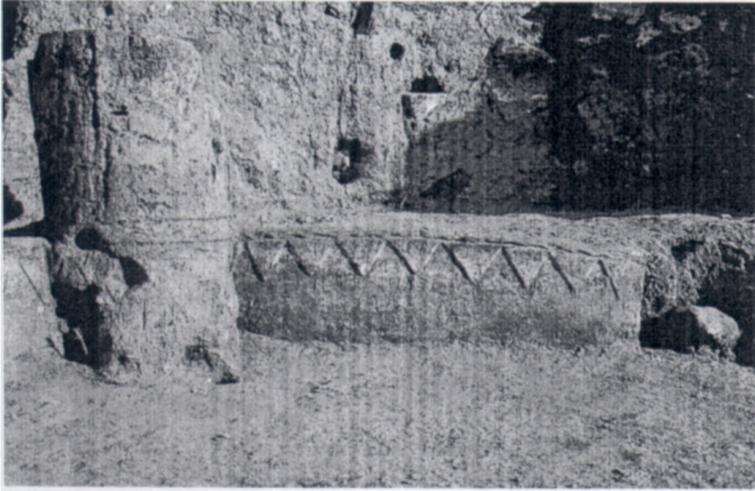


Fig. 66 Jerf el Ahmar. Bench with decoration in Building EA53. (Stordeur 2001:38)

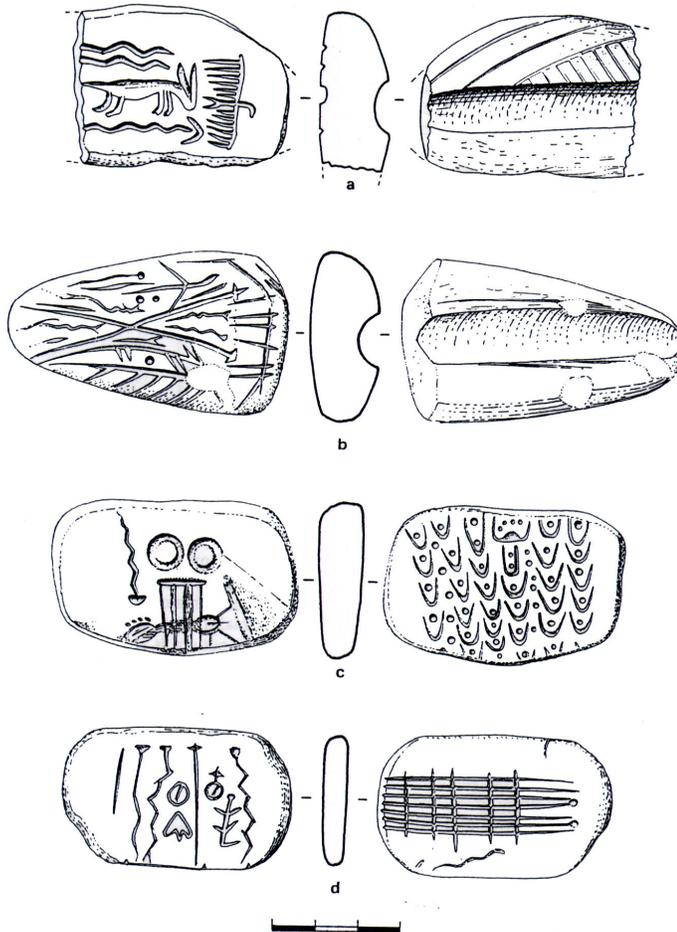


Fig. 67 Jerf el Ahmar. Grooved stones. (Stordeur 1996:2)

APPENDIX G

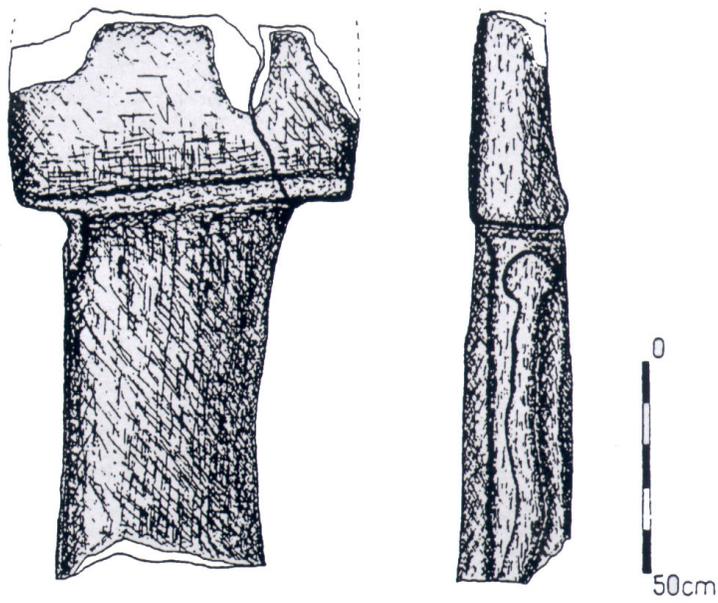


Fig. 69 Karahan Tepe. Pillar with snake relief. (Çelik 2000b:6)

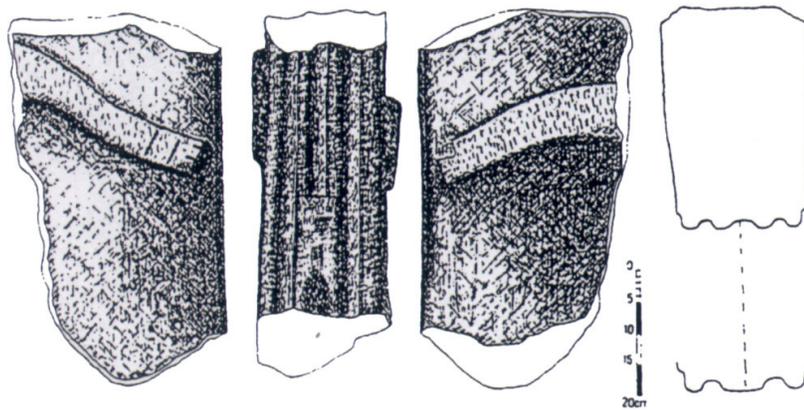


Fig. 70 Karahan Tepe. Pillar fragment with relief of animal leg. (Çelik 2000b:7)

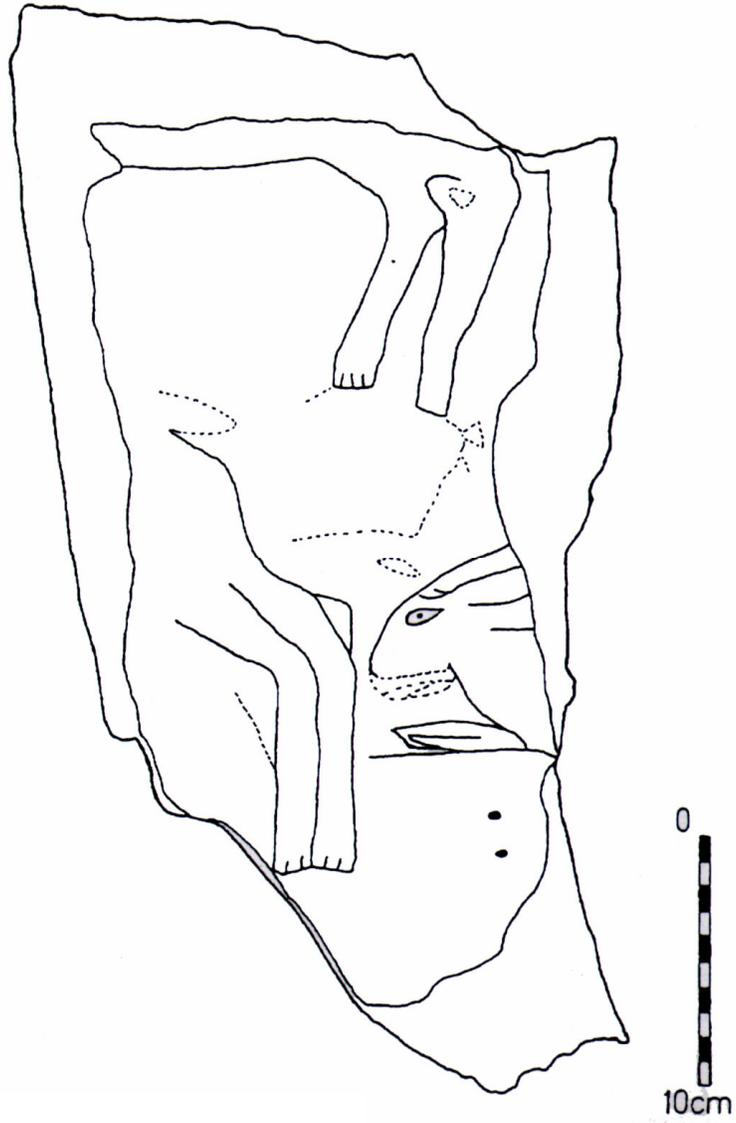


Fig. 71 Karahan Tepe. Limestone fragment with carved animals. (Çelik 2000b:6)



Fig. 72 Hamzan Tepe. Cup-mark holes on the bedrock. (Çelik 2004:3)

APPENDIX H

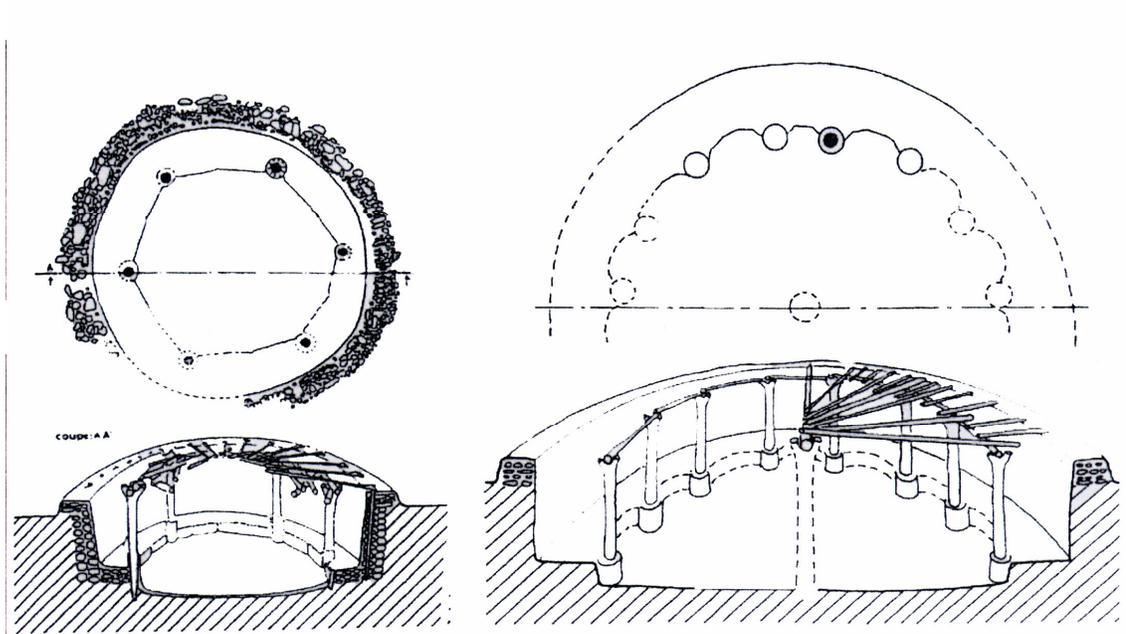


Fig. 73 Tell'Abr. Reconstruction of Building B2 (right), Building EA52 of Jerf el Ahmar (left). (Yartah 2004:147)

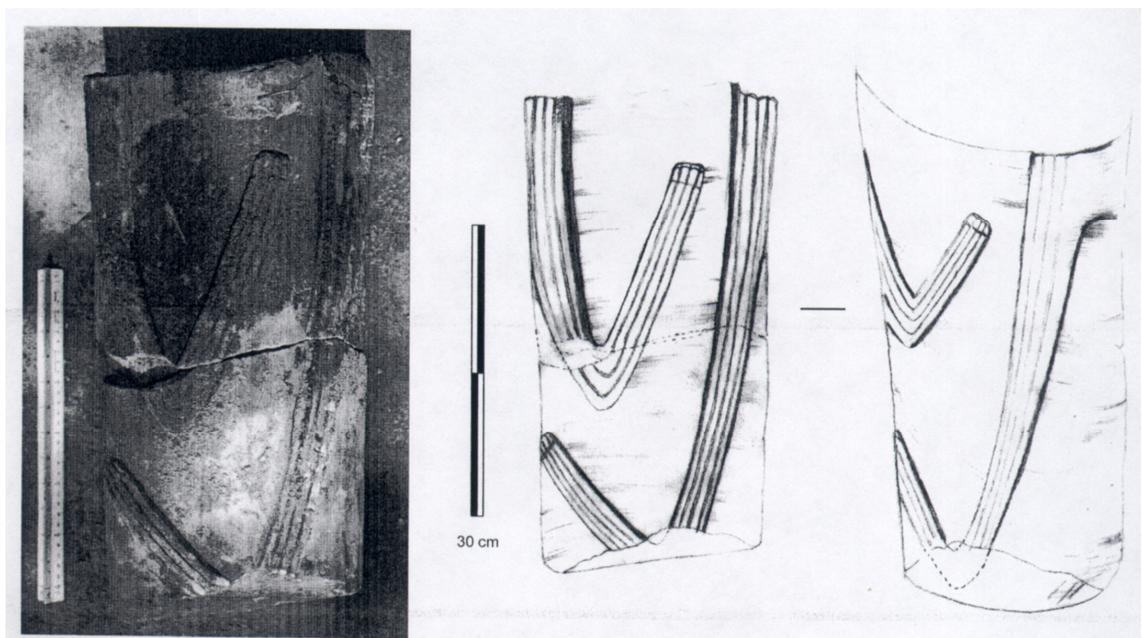


Fig. 74 Tell'Abr. Limestone stele with two arm reliefs. (Yartah 2004:154)

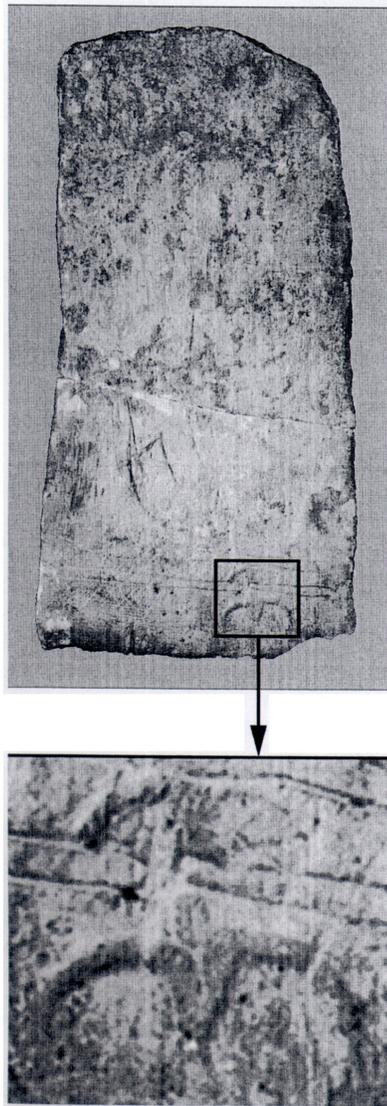


Fig. 75 Tell' Abr. Limestone slab (height 60-70 cm.) with bucranium relief. (Yartah 2004:153)

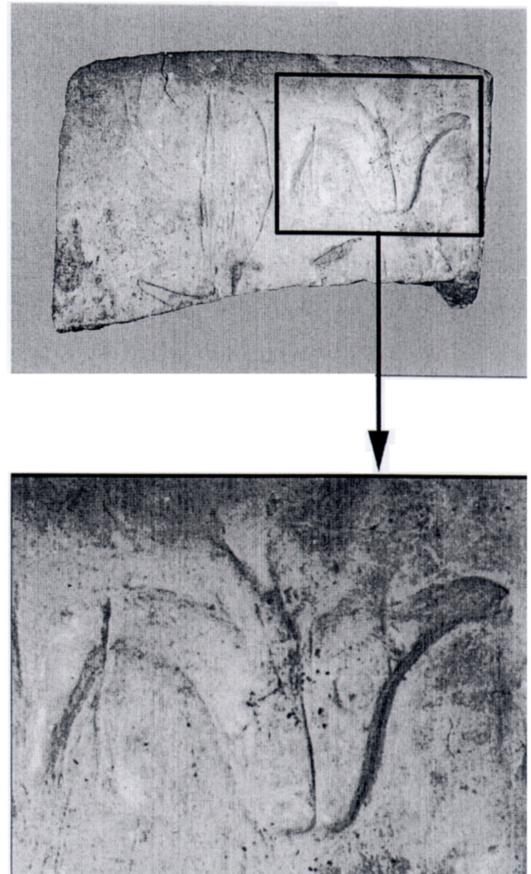


Fig. 76 Tell' Abr. Limestone slab (height 30 cm.) with bucranium relief.(Yartah 2004:154)

APPENDIX I

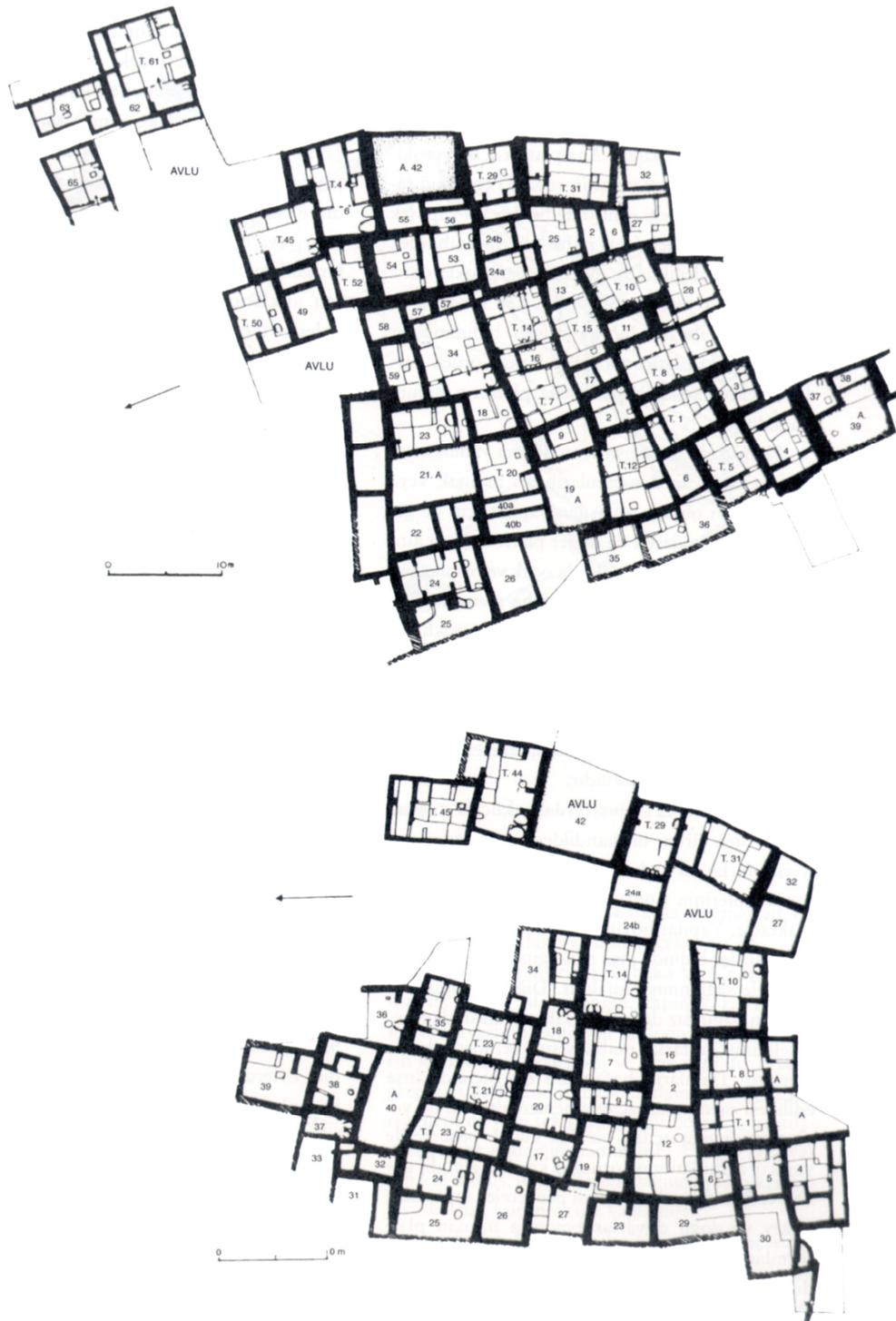


Fig. 77 Çatalhöyük. Plan of Level VB (top), plan of Level VII. (Mellaart 2001:41)



Fig. 78 Çatalhöyük. Relief of “pregnant goddess”. (Mellaart 2001:52)

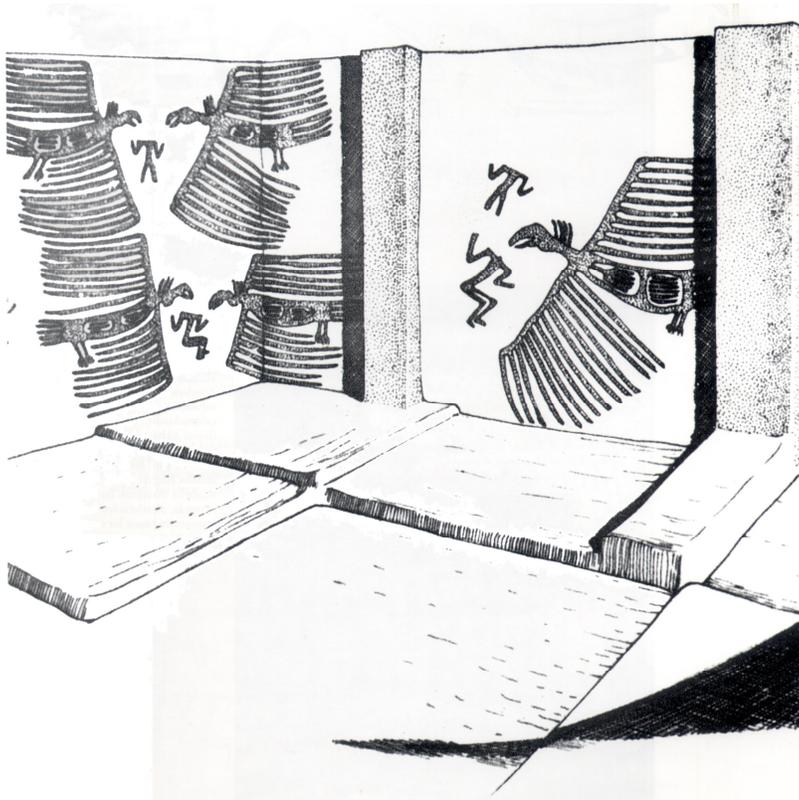


Fig. 79 Çatalhöyük. Wall painting of vultures and headless human beings. (Mellaart 2001:67)

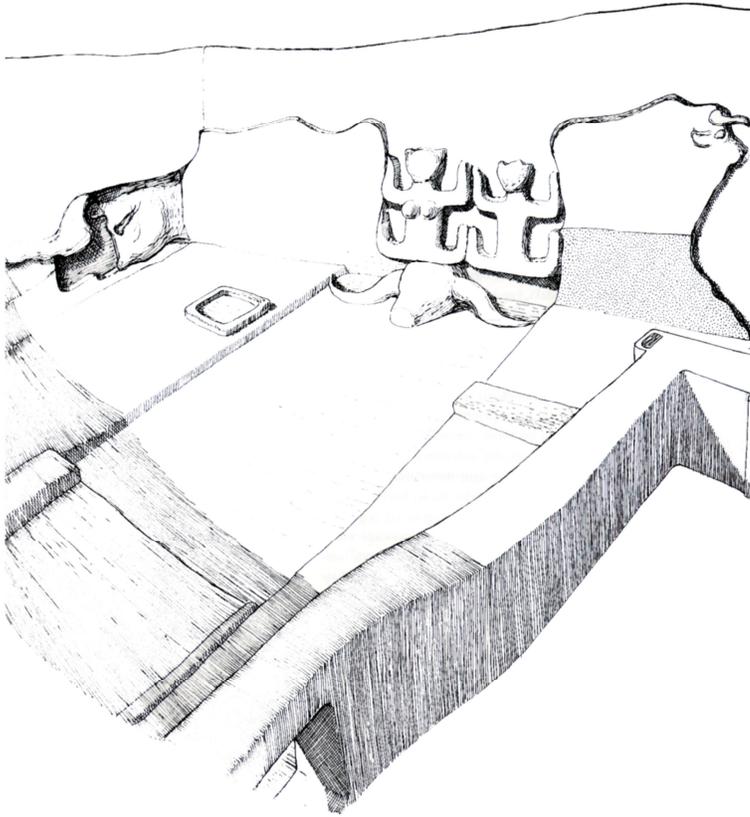


Fig. 80 Çatalhöyük. “Twin goddess” and a plastered bull skull. (Mellaart 2001:83)

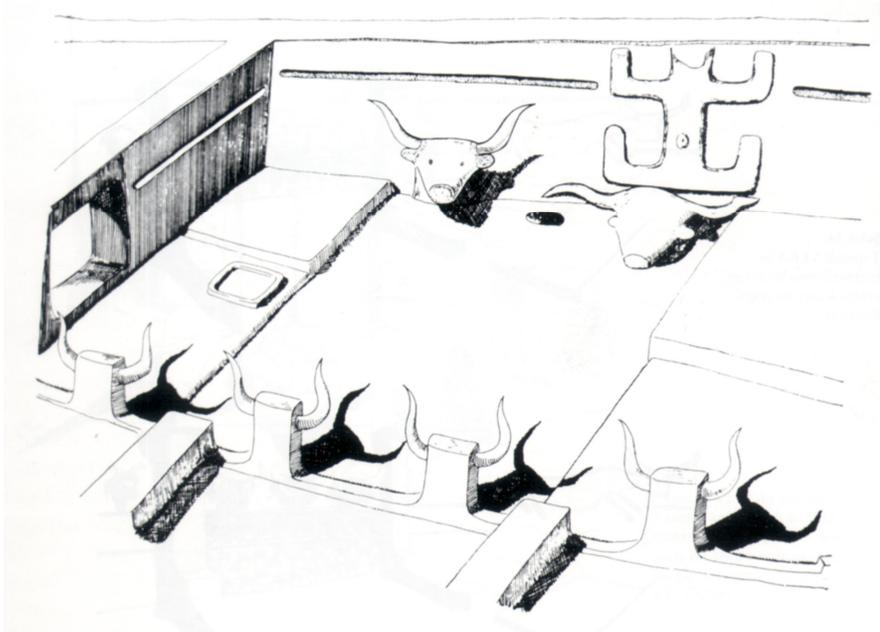


Fig. 81 Çatalhöyük. “Goddess”, plastered bull skulls and attached horns. (Mellaart 2001:94)

APPENDIX J

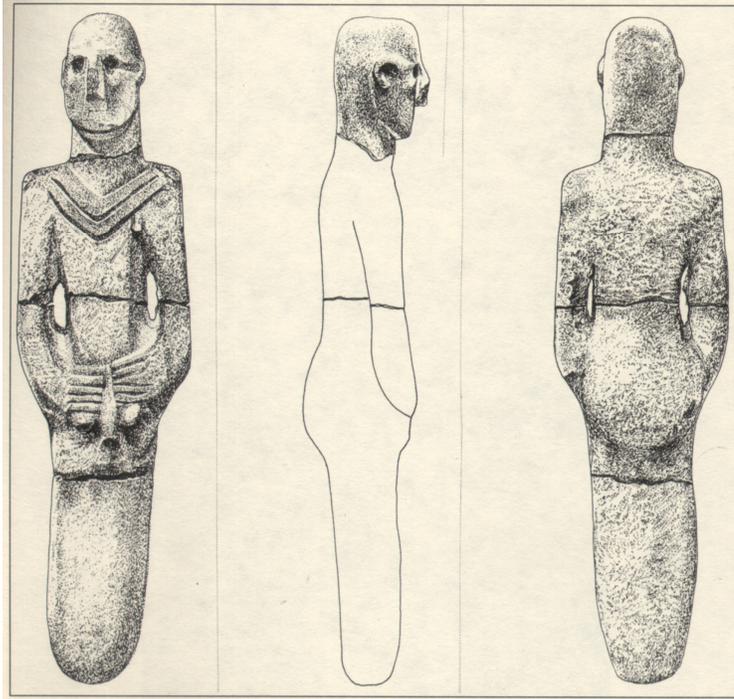


Fig. 82 Drawing of limestone statue from Yeni Mahalle-Urfa. (Hauptmann 2003:631)

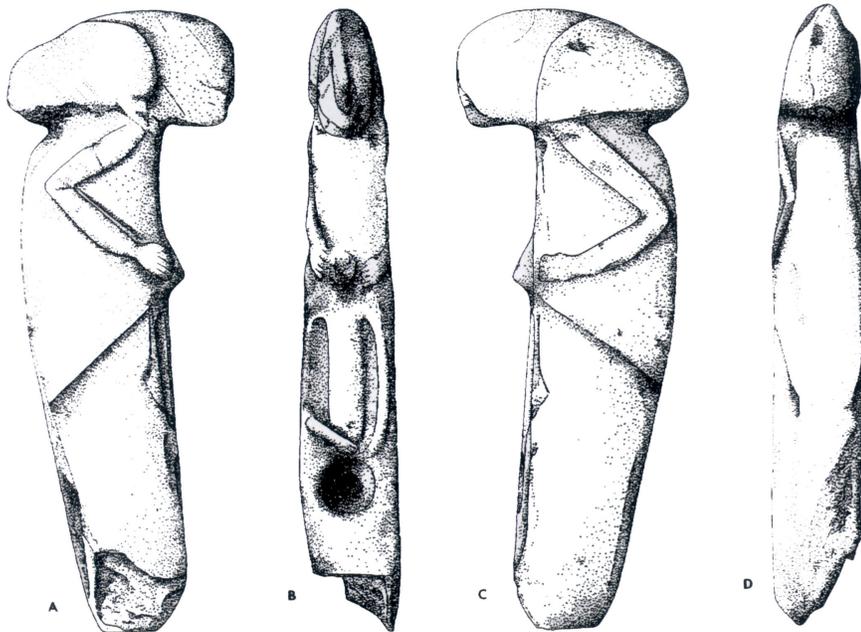


Fig. 83 Adiyaman-Kilisik. Anthropomorphic statue of limestone, height 80 cm. (Verhoeven 2001:9)