SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SMALL FIND DISTRIBUTION AT DOMUZTEPE; RITUAL DISPLAY AND SOCIETY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY
DENİZ ERDEM

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SETTLEMENT ARCHAEOLOGY

SEPTEMBER 2013

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Doç. Dr. D. Burcu Erciyas
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Atakuman
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Numan Tuna	(METU,SA)	_____
Prof. Dr. Asuman Türkmenoğlu	(METU, ARME)	_____
Prof. Dr. Yılmaz S. Erdal	(H.Ü. ANT.)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jan Bertram	(METU, SA)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Atakuman	(METU, SA)	_____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Deniz Erdem

Signature :

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SMALL FIND DISTRIBUTION AT DOMUZTEPE; RITUAL DISPLAY AND SOCIETY

Erdem, Deniz

Ph.D., Department of Settlement Archaeology

Supervisor: Assist Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Atakuman

September 2013, 178 pages

This study examines the spatial distribution of small finds within a late Neolithic ritual context at the site of Domuztepe-Kahramanmaraş (c. 6500-5500). This ritual context is composed of 3 interrelated components, namely the Death Pit, the Ditch and the Burnt Structure, all of which were found located in relation to a specially prepared space made up of compacted red earth, which is called the Red Terrace. The small finds that were recovered from these contexts during the excavations included items such as stamp seals, stone vessels, obsidian objects, shells, beads, small axes, spindle whorls, bone tools and such. Distribution of these items has been examined through correspondance analysis, which aims to demonstrate the relationship between the object groups and the spatial contexts.

The aim of such an analysis is to understand the nature of the rituals that took place at Domuztepe, so that the significance of ritual can be evaluated in context of the social organization of the time period. At 20 hectares, Domuztepe is the biggest 6th millennium BC site known to date. This period is named as Halaf Period in North Mesopotamia (6000-5200 BC) and it falls between the Neolithic Transition (c.10500-7000 BC), a term that is used to refer to the appearance of first settled populations and agricultural societies, and the Urban Transition (c. 4000-2500 BC), a term that is used to refer to the appearance of first city-states in the Near East. Therefore, the time period is traditionally perceived as an important stage in the evolution of central

authority and ritual and economic centralization that was the hallmark of the first city-states.

Within an alternative theoretical approach, this study reviews the space-object-person relations of the time period through a critical analysis of the material culture, related ritual activity and settlement patterns in an attempt to draw a picture of social and economic trends during the Halaf Period. Following this, the significance of ritual activity is evaluated in context of these trends to understand the patterns of social change. As a result, I argue that objects that were studied in this thesis regulated complex social relationships between individuals and groups. As such, their use and ritual deposition indicate significance of routine ritual activity in social organization; however, the findings do not allow one to firmly argue for the existence of central authority that is capable of collecting both the ritual and economic activities of the whole Domuztepe society.

Keywords: Halaf Period, Ritual, Social Structure, Small Finding, Correspondance Analysis

ÖZ

DOMUZTEPE'DE KÜÇÜK BULUNTU DAĞILIMININ SOSYAL BAĞLAMI; RİTÜEL SERGİLEME VE TOPLUM

Erdem, Deniz
Doktora, Yerleşim Arkeolojisi Anabilim Dalı
Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Çiğdem Atakuman

Eylül 2013, 178 sayfa

Bu çalışma kapsamında Kahramanmaraş ilinde yer alan ve Geç Neolitik Dönem'e tarihlenen Domuztepe yerleşiminin ritüel olarak tanımlanan alanlarından ele geçen küçük buluntuların mekansal dağılımı incelenmiştir. Bu kontekstler Ölüm Çukuru, Hendek ve Yanmış Yapı olarak adlandırılmış ve sıkıştırılmış kırmızı toprakla özel olarak yapıldığı anlaşılan Kızıl Teras alanı içinde ve bu alanla bağlantılı olarak tanımlanmışlardır. Kazılar sırasında bu alanlardan ele geçen küçük buluntular; mühürler, taş kaplar, obsidyen nesneler, deniz kabukları, boncuklar, küçük baltacıklar, ağırşaklar, taş ve kemik aletler olarak sıralanabilirler. Bu objelerin dağılımı Uyum Analizi yöntemi ile incelenmiştir. Bu yöntem sayesinde nesnelerin birbirleri ve mekânlar ile olan ilişkileri ve bu ilişkilerin derecelerinin saptanması mümkün olmuştur.

Bu analizlerin amacı Domuztepe'de gerçekleşen ritüellerin doğasını açıklamaya çalışmak; bu sayede de Geç Neolitik topluluklarının sosyal organizasyonlarında ritüellerin önemi anlamaya çalışmaktır. Domuztepe 20 hektarlık alanı M.Ö. 6. bine tarihlenen yerleşimlerin en büyüğüdür. Kuzey Mezopotamya'da "Halaf" olarak tanımlanan bu dönem (M.Ö. 6000-5200), Neolitik geçiş (c.10500-7000 BC), olarak adlandırılan; ilk yerleşik ve tarım topluluklarının ortaya çıktığı dönem ile ilk şehir devletlerinin ortaya çıkışı (c. 4000-2500 BC), arasında kalan bir zaman aralığını tanımlamamak için kullanılmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Halaf Dönemi geleneksel olarak

ilk şehir devletlerini karakterize eden merkezi otorite, ritüel ve ekonomik merkezileşme evriminde önemli bir aşama olarak algılanmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, dönemin mekan-nesne-insan arasındaki ilişkileri yeniden inceleyerek, maddi kültür, ilgili ritüel faaliyetler ve yerleşim modellerinin eleştirel bir analizi yardımı ile Halaf Dönemi boyunca sosyal ve ekonomik eğilimleri anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bunu takiben, ritüel faaliyetlerin önemi, bu eğilimler bağlamında toplumsal değişim kalıplarını anlamak için değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuç olarak bu tez kapsamında çalışılan nesnelerin bireyler ve gruplar arasındaki karmaşık sosyal ilişkilerin düzenleyicisi olduğu tartışılmıştır. Bu nedenle, bu nesnelerin kullanımı ve ritüel birikimi toplumsal örgütlenme de rutin ritüel faaliyetlerin önemini göstermektedir; ancak yine de buluntular kesin bir şekilde tüm Domuztepe'nin ekonomik ve ritüel aktivitesini toparlayan bir merkezi otoritenin varlığını tartışmaya izin vermemektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Halaf Dönemi, Ritüel, Toplumsal Yapı, Küçük Buluntu, Uyum Analizi

ACKNOWLEDGEMNETS

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Assist. Prof. Çiğdem Atakuman, this is not only for her scientific guidance throughout the thesis, but also her endless patience and friendship. She has been also a role model as being one of the best examples of how an academic should be.

Secondly, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Prof. Dr. Numan Tuna, leading the founding of our department, thereby providing us the facility to see from another theoretical perspective. In addition, I am grateful to him for providing me the suitable working atmosphere and his tolerance and understanding.

I would like to express my acknowledgement to the each jury member individual for contributions and criticism in the completion of this study.

I would like to thank to Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Erdal for his support during the writing of the thesis that provided me different perspectives.

I would also thank to Assoc. Prof. Dr Halil Tekin not only for his scientific contributions but also for all his support during my academic life.

In this thesis, small findings obtained at Domuztepe have been used. Firstly, I would like to thank to Professor Stuart Campbell for giving me the allowance to use his data, as well as unpublished maps and other information. Additionally, I am grateful to him for his scientific contributions and guidance. I am also thankful to Dr. Elizabeth Healy for sharing her publications and thoughts on Domuztepe obsidians.

I am fully indebted to my parents Nurten and Kenan Erdem They have trusted and supported me with their endless patience in many aspects throughout this study and in my life. I would like to thank to my sister Derya Erdem, who did not avoid any support and help during my thesis and she revised the each sentence of thesis.

I am also thankful to my friends who supported me and stood by me during my thesis.

Finally, the last chapter of this thesis was written in the most beautiful place in the most beautiful June of the world. Therefore, this thesis is also dedicated to the revolutionary people of Gezi Resistance, who are creators of this beauty.

To My Sister Derya

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

LIST OF PLANS

PLANS

LIST OF MAPS

MAPS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1 The Problem

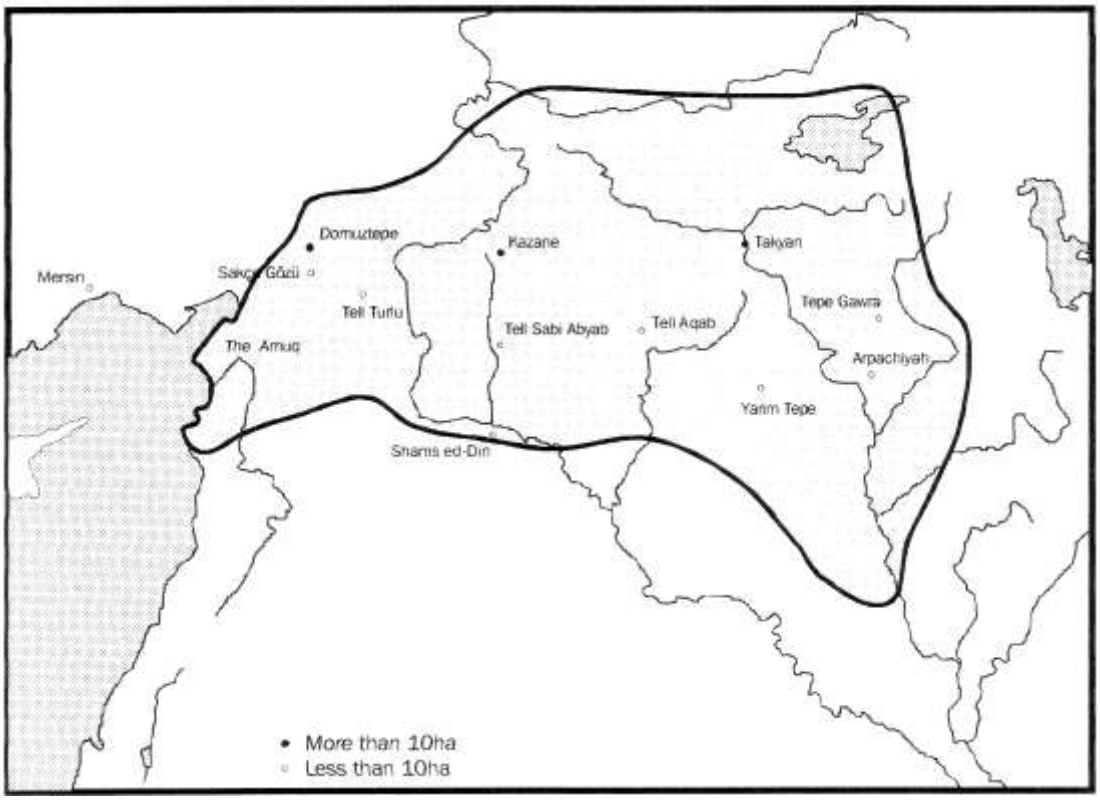
The "Halaf" period, dated to c. 6000-5200 BC, has been defined in the archaeological literature as an important transition phase (Table 1), that is chronologically located between the Early Neolithic Period, when the first wide spread evidence of settled life and agriculture began to emerge, and the Late Chalcolithic period during which the first urban settlements began to emerge in the Near East.

Table 1.Prehistoric Chronology for Near East (Özdoğan 2011).

Epi- Paleolithic/ Proto Neolithic	11.000-10.000
PPNA	9.500-9.000
Early PPNB	8500 8000 7500
Middle PPNB	
Late PPNB	
PPNC	7500-7000
Early Pottery Neolithic	7000 6500 6000
Middle Pottery Neolithic	
Late Pottery Neolithic	
Early Chalcolithic	6000-5500

With its eye-catching material culture, Halaf period has attracted the attention of many archaeologists since the beginning of the 20th century. The so called Halaf pottery is named after the discovery of distinctly painted pottery at Tell Halaf near Syrian Turkish border, being excavated between 1911 and 1929. This distinctive pottery was exceptionally fine, a thin hard ware in a wide range of competent and

attractive shapes bearing brilliant carpet-like designs painted in black, red, and white on the buff surface. Later works of Oppenheim in Sakçagözü (1943) and Mallowan in Arpachiyah (1933) have indicated that, this pottery also existed in Northern Iraq. After, that type of pottery was found in Arpachiyah by Mallowan, Sakçagözü by Garstang (1908) and Amuq plain by Braidwood (1945) as well. These works suggested that so called Halaf culture are concentrated on the north part of the region known as "Fertile Crescent" where mixed dry farming economy could be sustained. The wide scale adoption of intricately painted pottery, stamp seals, stone bowls, and elaborated obsidian items over the rain-fed areas of the Northern Mesopotamia has been interpreted as migration of new populations by the culture-historically oriented archaeologists of the early 20th century.

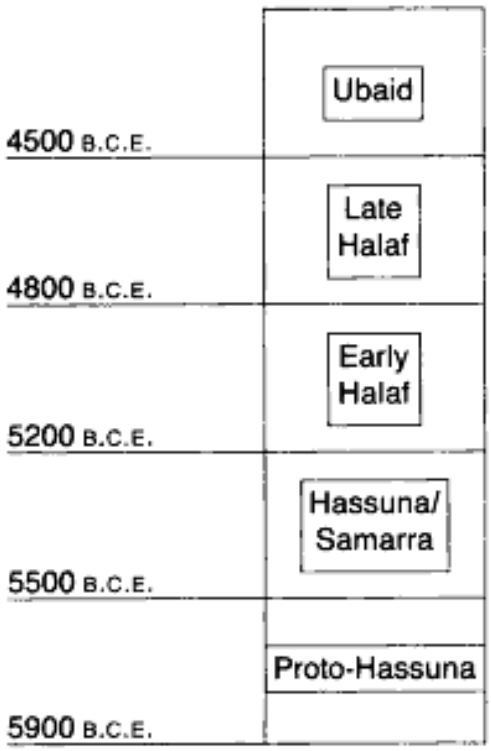


Map 1. Distribution of the Halaf Material Culture in the Near East

Max Mallowan's excavations at Arpachiyah in North Iraq revealed that the Halaf ceramic development could be divided into Early, Middle, and Late phases from the late 6th to early 5th millennia BC (5050-4300 BC uncal.) (Mallowan and Rose

1935). Mallowan also suggested North Iraq as the potential center for the emergence of Halaf tradition. After excavations of Tepe Gawra and Nineveh it is understood that Halaf pottery was preceding Ubaid style pottery (Campbell, 1992:182-195). After that Davidson (1977) appended Halaf-Ubaid Transitional Phase.

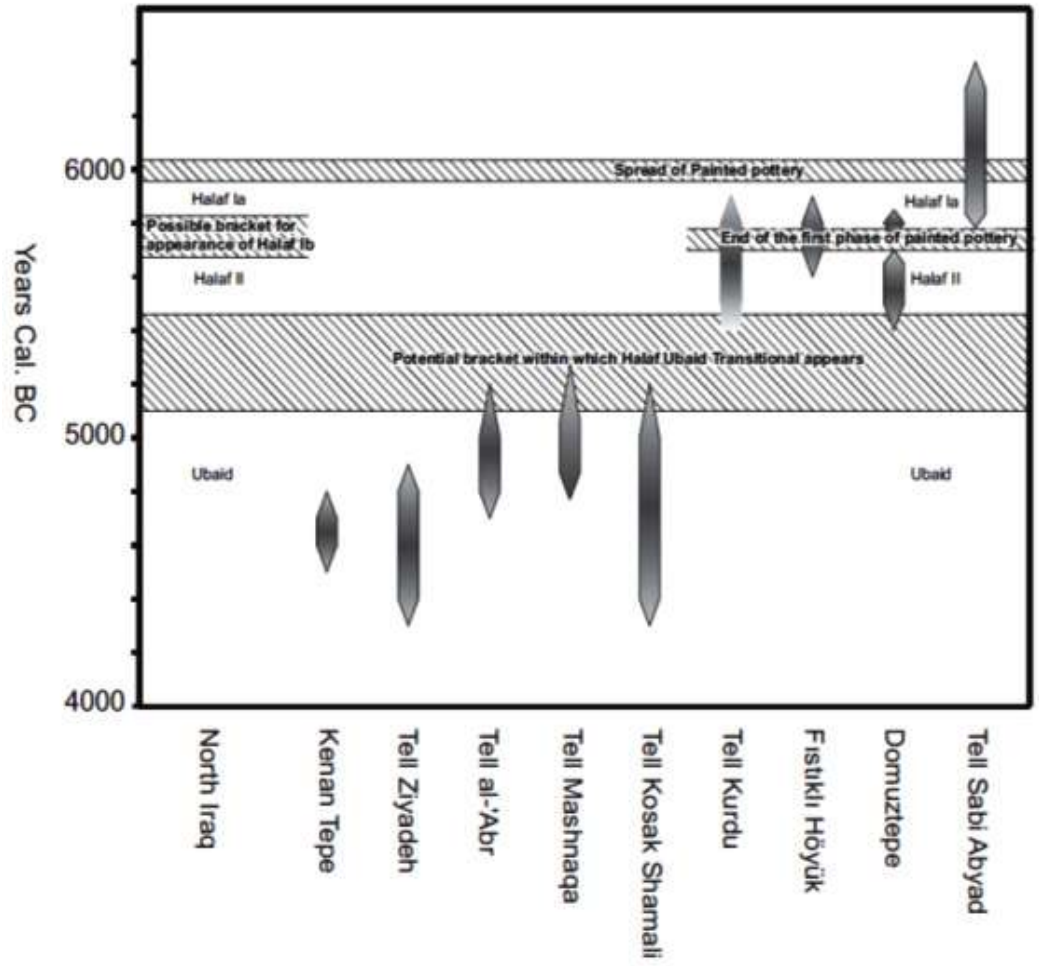
Table 2. Halaf Chronology Table-1 (Campbell, 1992: 181).



Watkins and Campbell developed new bipartite chronology for Halaf as Early and Late Halaf (Watkins and Campbell 1987). Campbell further developed this structure by recognizing the changes within the early and the late periods. According to his recent work Halaf period is examined in four sections (Campbell 2007).

Halaf Ia (Earlier than Early Halaf),
Halaf Ib (Early Halaf)
Halaf IIa (Middle Halaf)
Halaf IIb (Late Halaf)

Table 3. Halaf Chronology Table-2 (Campbell, 2007: 127).



Further studies indicate that chronological boundaries that archaeologists try to devise are not sharp and clear (Campbell 2000, Akkermans2000, 2008). In specific, Sabi Abyad excavations in the late 1980's and 1990's proved that no sudden events or massive migrations contributed to the evolution of the culture. Instead, the excavations of Sabi Abyad indicated that emergence of Halaf pottery and related material culture and settlement pattern followed a local development starting with the 7th millennium BC (Akkermans 2000: 46-54). In the light of these studies; Late Neolithic period could be perceived through a long term interaction and fusion of local cultures rather than a sudden revolution or immigration. Though this period is still to be defined upon the relative relationship between ceramics and settlements;

new models put forward recently contributes to the focusing on the smooth and heterogeneous structure of late Neolithic.

In the latter part of the 20th century, archaeologists of the social evolutionary approach (Fried and Service 1960) began to focus more on the social organizational aspects of the Halaf period, mostly based on the possible exchange patterns of objects with an assumption that the wide spread adoption of similar objects and distribution of long-distance exchange items such as obsidian must have required some kind of central organization and social complexity. It is still argued that obsidian, with its main sources located in Central and East Anatolia, controls over the Halaf sites and because of that control some local central authorities must have emerged (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:126-130). Whereas some studies argued that this time period should be treated as a chiefdom level society, with a lower degree of social complexity (Davidson 1977, Watson and Le Blanc 1970, Yoffee 1993), others claimed that settlement patterns and architectural remains indicate a cooperative life style so Halaf societies should be defined as egalitarian (Nieuwenhuyse 2006, Frangipane 2007). According to Akkermans (2003), based on the settlement pattern, Halaf social organization was based on small scale egalitarian family or kinship. According to him, Halaf social organization should be non-hierarchical and tribal. However, the existence of stamp seals let many scientists to think that there was a complex organization during that period. Some would argue that the Halaf societies may be categoriazed as wealth based chiefdoms rather than staple based chiefdoms (Earle 1985, 1987). Wealth based chiefdoms would excel on the trade of exotic materials or socially valuable items which endow status to their owners. Yet, a social system based on wealth finance would be exteremely vulnerable to various social and ecological stresses and in constant danger of extinction. Nevertheless, the wealth based chiefdoms would be able to carry an elite class who was aware of the abundance and distribution of exotic materials, who had access to them through social networks and who had access to the craft labor capable of shaping these materials.

There certainly is not enough archaeological evidence to prove the existence of site level or regional level authority in Halaf period. Although the settlements of the time period differed in dimensions and plans, they are commonly observed to be small

(usually less than 1 hectares) and temporarily occupied which give the impression of a society that was organized around extended family groups organized through houses, residing at the above mentioned small and scattered villages (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:126-130). Within the last 20 years, a few large-scale settlements such as Domuztepe-Kahramanmaraş, Takyan-Şırnak and Kazane-Urfa have begun to change this general picture. Although these sites motivated many researchers to argue for the existence of small scale political centralization, such as chiefdom based society for the Halaf, thorough evaluations of the material culture and settlement patterns have proved difficult to categorize the Halaf societies as chiefdom level societies. Consequently, this dilemma, which may be called as the Halaf paradox, calls for a better understanding of the time period beyond the conventional frames of culture historical and social evolutionary approaches. Therefore, this dissertation is aimed to critically evaluate the work done up to now and try to develop a new theoretical perspective. This dissertation is aimed to critically evaluate the work done up to now, and find the answer to the question of how it should look from a new point of view.

I.2 The Approach: Ritual and Social Construction

In Halaf Period the existence of a central authority has not been supported by archaeological evidence; neither at site level nor at regional level. However, routinely practiced rituals must have had an important role in maintaining the social structure. With its 20 hectares area, Domuztepe is one of the largest Halaf settlements, providing a rich context for evaluating the patterns of social change and social organization during this time period. Ongoing excavations at the site have revealed an interesting ritual area with human and material burials (Carter et al. 2003:117-133). In this study, three different contexts within this ritual context were focused upon; two of them are related to complex ritual activities (the Death Pit and the Ditch) while the other context (the Burnt Structure) can be defined as a domestic context.

These three contexts were selected from the Operation I. It is thought that two of these contexts (the Death Pit, the Ditch) were hosting complex ritual activities. The

data related to the burials and feasting were recovered from these contexts. The other context, the Burnt Structure is close to the red terrace but it remained outside of the area which is encircled by the terrace. This structure consists of a combination of the courtyard and house associated with more domestic areas. It was destroyed by sudden fire so Burnt Structure has a large number of in-situ findings. All of these separate contexs were located on a specially prepared place called the Red Terrace, which was apparently prepared by carrying red soil that commonly occurred in the vicinity of the site. Upon consideration this special treatment, it can be said that the terrace might have had special meaning and it is even possible to say that it might have functioned as a boundary that separates the domestic space from ritual contexts. The contexts with different functions were included in the analysis so that social context of small find distribution could be discussed.

In the anthropological literature, rituals are commonly treated as symbolic means of communication, rearranging and regulating social practices to alleviate social stress, to help define social structure and to make the power hierarchies agreeable. In general, it can be defined as a process of socio-cultural integration or exchange (Bell 1992: 10-20). Emile Durkheim (1965) described the rituals as social manifestos which are bringing people together as a collective group and creating a common identity. In fact they can be viewed as arena in which social relations were negotiated and structured. These activities could be considered as the occasions where social negotiations took place and they were quite likely that the social roles are re-determined (Peregrine 2002:370-371).

Mark Aldendenfer (1993) claimed that rituals maintain the balance in society. He also claims that a ritual, being a way of social networking, is used to justify the existing social relations as well. Context, which in hold the actors of society are consisting of beliefs to explicitly define societies' current perception of the world. Rituals could be defined as practice form of these beliefs in economic and social construction. So these activities provide the necessary tools for the emergence of persistent social inequality. Therefore, understanding the changes in the human social behavior is only possible through understanding of the beliefs and rituals which are important part of human life. And understanding the social inequality in society will be possible through examining the material remains of rituals.

In this view, activities considered as rituals may not need to be merely isolated to religion and temples but it covers all activities which keep individuals under social control and determine the hierarchy within a much wider context of life including marriage, initiation, all sorts of bodily performance, eating, feasting etc. These practices may be extended to cover production, consumption which actually constitutes habitus (Bourdieu 1977, Kuijt, 2004: 183-199). While human beings carry out their daily routines, they learn and internalize the social norms, values and rules. According to Bourdieu (1977), daily routine activities like eating, sleeping, and mourning thus become the mechanisms for the individuals to socialize within specified routines of rules and regulations. This view allows us to see the social practice in its totalty as a ritualized performance with differing degrees based on its significance (Bell 1992).

In rituals, the existence of a common symbolic language both in the tangible form such as employment of objects in preparation of place, food and bodies, and in the intangible form, such as employment of myths and stories, are the most significant factors for providing links between the objects, places and people whereby identities are structured. In Paul Connerton's terms (1989), rituals could be defined as incorporating activities. Especially in prehistoric periods history was enacted by the aid of those who were skilled in keeping the memory of stories of the group's past. Therefore, he claims that remembering process is not only a biological process but also selected and socially structured process. As stated by him "*struggle of people against the central authority is the struggle of memory against the forgetting"*. So manipulation of collective memory is the important source of power. In this point of view, what is remembering and what is forgetting is socially determined and this process was controlled by the ritual activities. Public rituals could be interpreted as incorporating activities and way of manipulation of symbolic world. Public rituals take place in public places for all to see. These events are staged in such a way that social participation and common beliefs and values were emphasized in a highly structured environment where social control and its hierarchies were clearly defined.
In this regard, people, who have the right to speak during these activities, have accumulated capitals that can be used in shaping the society. Rituals, being held in a centralized area of the settlement, may be related to social inclusion, while it can be claimed that segregated rituals are relevant to the social manipulation process.

During public events, sharing and consumption of large amounts of food was probably an important part of rituals that seeked to form a social cohesion among the participants. Especially in Sabi Abyad/ level 6 Burnt Village (Helwing 2003) and Domuztpe/Death Pit food consumption would appear to be a vital part of public rituals (Kansa and Campbell 2002). Feasting might be approached as a field of social competition which functioned to increase social credit of the feast giver through material displays and consumption of large amounts of food (Hayden 1996:127-146). Twiss argues that (2008), feasting activites can be archaeologically identified based on the following criteria: 1) evidence for consumption of large quantities and special foods. This consumption is determined by the archaeological remains such as residues of food preparation, refuse pits, big ovens and kiln, cooking utensils and specially decorated presentation dishes. 2) Evidence for special preparation of space in common and sacred spaces. 3) evidence for use of special objects which enhanced the status display. Indeed, during these events, highly crafted artifacts, as well as food, displayed the participants' skill and understanding of norms and values, thus increasing his status and symbolic capital in the social ladder (Hayden 2001: 571-582). Such large-scale organization requires control of labor, and to some extent control of the events. Thus, participants in exchange were inclined to be in close relations with those who displayed greater prestige. In return, amount of food and its quality must have been significant issues to evaluate by the feast giver. This control results in expansion of organizational leadership roles (Aldenderfer 1990:1-40). As social networks and alliances grow, the number of families with their self-defending success about the political and economic struggles has been increased (Hayden 2009: 29-52). Therefore, it can be claimed that through these activities some individuals or groups had made a serious symbolic power accumulation. During these events, presentation of food in symbolically recognizable pottery was important, since the ceramic shape and symbolism arguably reflected common aesthetic and moral values of social groups. Olivier Nieuwenhuyse's studies (2006) suggest that the rising importance of pottery style and decoration during the Halaf Period was an indicator of ritualized contexts of food consumption from household to public spheres.

Objects must have played an active role in the functioning of rituals involving large scale food consumption. Some objects are signs of social status in the society that determines economic and social rights of individuals (Earle 2001). Hayden argues

that (1998) some objects may be produced as an indicator of the power, wealth or success rather than fulfilling some practical tasks. In general, objects established a relationship between materials and those who have them and those they belong to (Plourde, 2009: 265-277). Objects gain their values depending on material, production techniques, producer and the person who was using them and where they used. It signals, having access to the source of exotic materials, having trade contacts and thus the power of knowledge ad success to their owners. High craftsmanship in objects immediately signals access to skilled labor that can successfully synthesize the cultural values into status and invoke admiration and desire (Helms 1988). Within this model, the concept of wealth could be defined as power and symbolic capital acquisition. With respect to some researches (Miller-Tilley 1984; McGuice 1992), power concept defined as a result of a need for regulation and coordination in the society. Power and knowledge exist in daily practices through the dominant group (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu defines the capital providing power accumulation in social, cultural symbolic and economical ways. These define the individuals' social status as well as the social structure. For the Halaf settlements, it can be thought that symbolic capital is of essential importance and status should have gained through an accumulation of symbolic capital.

From a different angle, food sharing and public displays are also perfect contexts to construct segregated spheres within society. Consuming certain foods could be indicator of certain groups. Different social identities could access the different types of food, such as women and children may have consumed more whole grains while men have consumed mainly protein. Starting from the point of food acquisition to processing, preparation and to presentation, consumption and disposal, food has meaning and importance which defines the culture. For example, Michael Smith (1987) suggests that people use the whole process of food preparation, display and disposal as a mechanism to segregate and structure social relations. In this view, the place of original source, how it is grown (domestic vs wild), production techniques, harvest age, by whom and how it was cooked, what devices are used to, cultural context in which they are consumed, where and how the remains were thrown, are all structured in relation to cultural and social expectations. Within this context, Smith states six criteria which was sought preparation of luxury foods; rarity, diversity, availability, necessary labor force, origins and harvest periods. Also, according to

Kansa (2002) feasting foods should be different from daily food. Based on the criteria developed by Horwitz (1987) she summarizes the criteria determination of animal consumed during the rituals as; unfragmented/complete animal skeleton, consumption of deliberately very young or very old animals, selecting specific part of animals (horn), one gender should be preferred more than other, consumption of rare species, association with human bones and grave goods.

During the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period, monumental architecture tradition was practiced in some parts of the Near East, especially in South East Anatolia and Northern Syria. Just like in the case of the Göbekli Tepe, some sites were specifically set up for the ritual ceremonies (Schmidt 2010:45-54). Monumental buildings indicate that people began to give special importance to the group formation during this period. At the same time, they also can be interpreted as institutionalized version of the rituals, being among the most important means for providing the social organization and social structure. The good examples of this kind of buildings were found in Çayönü Tepesi in Diyarbakır. The Saltaşlı, Terrazo Building, Skull Building of Çayönü should have used for ritual activities (Özdoğan 1995:79-100).

In contrast to the public ceremonies which took place in specifically designated structures, sometimes approaching to monumental scales of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period (e.g. Göbekli Tepe, Jerf el Ahmar, Nevalı Çori, Çayönü), special ritual buildings disappeared from the archaeological record of the 6th millennium BC. Instead, highly visible symbolism reappeared on small portable objects such as pottery, stamp seals, possibly textiles and such. Widely recognizable corpus of symbolism occurred on pottery, stamp seals, figurines and possibly textiles which constructed a sense of unity and hierarchy among people for around 800 years. These objects were employed in intricately staged rituals of differing degrees which combined a number of strategies of object, human and architectural burial for a successful manipulation of the past events for the sake of the present narratives. Infact, John Chapman (2000), who studied the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods in the Balkans, had found contexts where incomplete broken objects such as pottery and figurine were clustered. He claims that these objects were deliberately broken and dispersed. According to him these broken objects could have been linking people to

places so they might have been symbolizing the social exchange. He defines this situation as the process of enchainment.

Especially when considering the deliberately broken and buried objects of high craftsmanship during the Halaf Period, it can be said this practice has symbolic meanings which can not be revealed by merely focusing on the economic value of these artifacts. As will be further discussed in Chapter II, object burials were mostly composed of stone vessels, miniature axes, ornaments, pottery and figurines, which sometimes occurred in association with the human burials. Many examples of the application were available in many Halaf settlements. At a different level, human burials of Halaf Period could be varied, as inhumation in pits, cremation, burials in container, and a few skull separations. Although there appears to be great variation from site to site in burial type or the burial position, human burials linked place and people in particular ways that give clues to household histories, in particular gender roles. Burials can be considered as social investments in locations to construct meaningful links between places and people. Burial rituals were part of creating cultural memory (Campbell 2013). They can be defined as a way to reconstruct the past; to remember and forget in an attempt to construct a manageable present.

Indeed, any burial creates an immediate location for memory and a physical boundary between the living and the dead or "the above and the below." The processes through which the materials go through before final burial, such as production, consumption, display, breakage, disarticulation, and the circumstances surrounding their final deposition are all structured cultural events. By means of examining the practices surrounding their final structured deposition, we can gain insights into the significance of these acts in the construction of meaning and structure in the society.

Despite the changing the format and regional differences, rituals have played a vital role in all the Halaf Period settlements. Increased importance given to the material culture and ritual activities become an important part of daily life, and kinship-based relations could have modulated through symbolic rituals. It would appear that the large settlements provided for the small groups with mixed subsistence stragtegies to come together for extended periods of time to exchange materials, share food and

ideas through the agency of the objects. Small numbers of large-scale settlements such as Domuztepe, Sabi Abyad, Tell Kurdu, YarımTepe, Munbate, Takyan and Kazane which are agglomerations of distinct subgroups these large settlements could function as natural borders and signs of a long term existence, at the same time serving to accommodation, security and storage purposes. Additionally, rituals like marriage, feast etc. also takes place in settlements. In permanent settlements, they provide the continuation of society, symbolic capital, and indicate the historical relations. This new types of settlement brought about by changes in the economy and settlement pattern as well as changes in the rituals and social structure.

Arguably, during the Halaf Period, ephemerally constituted but routinely employed rituals regulated the social relationships constantly. In the absence of a centralized authority, ritual as well as the materials used in them played very important role in social life. During this period in which power had not gathered in one place, rituals were turned to negotiation area in which social relations and structure constructed, revised and considered. Therefore, rituals as well as the symbolic materials used during the rituals have an important heuristic role in understanding the structure of communities. In this sense, the social organization models in Halaf period can be understood through close examination of ritual contexts and the differential use of objects in these contexts.

Ultimately, the evidence of Domuztepe may hold a clue to the routines and rituals of daily life and the differential use of material culture in these routines and rituals. To achieve this goal, the findings of ritual and domestic contexts of Domuztepe are analyzed in this study, through the employment of correspondence analysis *(Greenacre1994:1).* Correspondence analysis determines the relationship between the objects, their context and the degree and significance of their relation. Interrelationships of the materials is expected to facilitate the categorization of the material clusters. In the same respect, understanding of the relationship between material groups and their contexts will facilitate to find their role in social life.

So, to understand the social life of Halaf Period settlements, material culture studies will be helpful. Moving from this point on, in the second chapter, Halaf period social structure investigated through ritual activities and relation between the human,

objects and places, thereby forming the skeleton of the dissertation. In Chapter II also given wide coverage in the material culture uncovered from the Halaf sites. The studies of this period done so far have been revised as well. Therefore, when considering the role of rituals in social structure, the definition of the ritual has become very important. Moving from this point on, the second part of the Chapter II is devoted to these discussions.

Because of the size and geographical position, Domuztepe could provide important clues of that period. Excavations of Domuztepe probably indicate the social construction and daily life, rituals, material culture and relationship between the sites of Halaf Period. The site has been engaged to long-distance exchange especially obsidian. And from the site lots of statue items have been captured. In addition to them there is evidence of using stamp seals. The site also housed an interesting burial place and ritual area. All of these finds could be evident for some degree of complexity (Carter et all 2003:117-133). All of these properties render Domuztepe a significant settlement for the Halaf period. Through the investigation of findings from Domuztepe, answers to several questions will be sought. The investigation of findings from Domuztepe excavations in regard to their relevant contexts within the settlement will be handled in Chapter III.

In Chapter IV, discussed materials were analyzed. Firstly, the numeric distributions of the findings, which have been used during the analysis, according to contexts are represented in prepared bar-charts.

The findings of ritual and domestic contexts of Domuztepe will be analyzed through correspondence analysis. These analyses help to separate the findings in groups according to their spatial distribution and measure the relationship between them and contexts. With the help of correspondence analysis, relationship between the objects and context and the degree of this relation will be determined. The statistical significance of these relationships will be seen. Interrelationships of the materials will facilitate the categorization of the material clusters. In the same respect, understanding of the relationship between material groups and their contexts will facilitate to find their role in social life. Meaning of this relation, properties of these objects and the role of rituals and the objects in construction of social life will be

discussed in Chapter IV. Moving from this point on, in the second part of the theoretical discussions, Halaf period social structure investigated through ritual activities and relation between the human, objects and places, thereby forming the skeleton of the dissertation.

In the discussion chapter objectives and contents of the rituals as well as their relations between the objects will be discussed. It is tried to understand the social, symbolic and cultural capital achievement through the object and the space relations, as well as how these capitals provided a power acquisition during the societal processes. As a result, by using the object and space relation, existing perspectives will be critically evaluated. As a result, social structure of Domuztepe, dated to Halaf period which is defined as transitional phase, is re-evaluated in the light of space-objects and human relationships.

CHAPTER II

HALAF MATERIAL CULTURE, SETTLEMENT, SUBSISTENCE AND SYMBOLIC PRACTICES: A REVIEW

II.1. Settlement Pattern and Subsistence

In Halaf Period it is seen that there were both temporary and permanent settlements. In some cases, settlements were consisting of non-permanent small camps. It can be considered that these small settlements were established for special purpose. For example in the Khabur region, the Halafian sites, which had number of stone tools on their surface, are temporary settlements used for hunting or other specific purposes. It is thought that Umm Dabaghiyah, placed on northern part of Iraq could be used for onagers and gazelle hunting by semi-nomadic group (Campbell 1992:119-20).It is possible to say that same situation is true for many Halaf sites which were smaller than 1 ha (Campbell 1992:119-20; Akkermans 1993). Others were small hamlets, made up of small numbered places, occupied by few generations.

The typical Halaf settlements were continually changing interrupted and small sites of 1-2 ha in dimensions. Although there were some differences in settlement type and time, some settlements such as Tell el Kerkh, Tell Halula, Sabi Abyad, were uninterrupted and long-lasting settlement clusters. They were close to water and suitable for agriculture and husbandry (Akkermans and Schwart 2003: 126-133). But, recent studies indicated that larger Halaf settlements big as 10-20 ha have also existed such as Kazane (Wattenmaker and Mısır 1994, Bernbeck, Pollock and Coursey 1999), Takyan (Algaze et al. 1991), Nusaybin (Lyonnet 2000), Mounbateh (Akkermans 1990) and Domuztepe (Carter 1996, 1997, Campbell et al. 1999). These large-scale settlements could have been placed as a sign of being, and most probably symbols of political power. These large-scale settlements could indicate a presence of long time; and they could have functioned as a ritual center as well.

Intra-site settlement pattern exhibited difference with respect to regions. For instance Domuztepe and Tell Kurdu were neighborhoods with spatial boundaries. In Tell Kurdu there were some small rooms, opening to a large room. The boundaries of this construction were hard to find within a neighborhood however there were alleys and streets between them. Upon look at Domuztepe, a different tradition is observed. In Domuztepe, small three roomed building were found in cluster. This difference was observed in ceramic decorations as well (Fletcher 2008:111-115). In that period, the dependence on cultivation and domestication were increased and extended household as unit of independent social and economic unit which depended on that strategy was appeared, so these differences could be related to them.

In the 6th millennium, an architectural tradition named tholoi of 5-6 m diameter and with a spherical plan appears (fig.1). These buildings were occupied for several reasons. Rectangular entries have also been added to those spherical planned structures. The top portions of these are the shape of bee-hive. The constructions of these structures are easy and cheap; it can be finished in a week by a group of 5-6 people. Generally, rather than big buildings and permanent settlements, they preferred perishable and lightweight materials and temporary sites and mobile life style. Some of contemporary sites were important for trade between settlements. This could be the return of the Epipaleolithic or early Neolithic architecture tradition, as well as it could be preferred since the raw material was the most environment compatible and abundant one (Akkermans 2000: 46-54).

At the end of the Pre-pottery Neolithic B, landscape was inhabited by small and segmentary groups which dealt with agriculture and transhumance (Akkermans 1993:250-68; Zeder 1994, 1995; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:127-28). During this period, previously known big settlements and the monumental architecture had disappeared. Recent studies have shown that around 8.600-8.200 BP there was cold and arid climate and this affected the subsistence strategy of settlements. New settlements had been established in the undamaged parts of the North Mesopotamia. The reason of these new settlements was old hunter-gatherers who started to deal with the agriculture rather than population growth (Campbell1998: 39-52). Between the North and South Mesopotamia there were ecological differences such as rain or resources. For that reason Halaf sites were built wide and consisted of several types

of area, wet valley, open area and mount slopes such as eastern part of Iraq, South-eastern Anatolia, Northern Levant and Steppe-dessert part of Syria, which were suitable for agriculture and husbandry (Campbell1998: 39-52).

In that period mobile life gained considerable importance, they usually prefer more flexible subsistence system. Despite the expansion of agriculture and animal husbandry, hunting gathering had not been completely abandoned. At the middle of 6^{th} millennium consuming wild animal ratio reached to 40% at Khirbeth Es Shenef/Balikh, hunting was very common in Shams ed din, Umm Qseir, Boueid II and Ummdabagiyah. Hunting increased during the autumn and winter in which domesticated animals trapped in limited spaces (Akkermans 1993).

Plant and animal remains recovered from the settlements were showing differences from region to region, even settlement to settlement (Akkermans and Schwart 2003: 126-133). Generally, they consumed emmer, wheat, barley, lentil, chickpea, and vetch and dealt with the dry farming. Some sites were settled close to road of wild animals; red deer, roe deer, wild boar were found and flat area for suitable for cattle and gazelle. In addition to agricultural products, some wild species such as raspberry, fig, almond and peanut were consumed. In addition to hunting or agriculture, new food production techniques were found, named as secondary product revolution. The introduction of ceramics for a wide range of food was related to new method of food preparation, storage and service and social and economic transformation of society.

II.2 Material Culture

Late Neolithic period societies have a wide range of material culture, such as ceramics, tools and ornaments. These objects could have been obtained locally, as well as they could have been exported from other places, thousands of kilometers away. Obsidians, copper and many precious stones are supplied from Anatolia, while cheddar wood, tubular flint and sea shells are from Levant and bitumen is from Jebel Bishri, north Iraq. These foreign materials are generally used for luxury items, such as stone pots, beads and pendants (Akkermans and Schwart 2003 138-142).

In addition to stone items there was also clay, bone or items from any other materials (Van Zeist and Waterbolk-Van Roojen 1996). In Sabi Abyad number of sealing indicated use of baskets. In some settlements such as Bougras, Sabi Abyad, Domuztepe it is detected that they used mats on the white plastered floors. And spindle whorls in settlements reveals that they were engaged with textile. Findings obtained from various settlements indicate a developed textile manufacturing (Fig.2). Obtained material reflects only a small portion of material culture, since wood textile and other nondurable materials could not reach our times (Akkermans and Verhoven 1995:5-32).

Several types of stone tools were used for daily activities such as big stone slabs, small mortars, grinding stones and other small stone tools. Grindintg stones and pestle made of various sizes depending on the objectives (Akkermans 2003: 130-135). Almost all the settlements have stone vessels, cups and plates. Some of them were used for such purposes as obtaining prestige rather than daily use. For practical purposes, or to respond to food storage needs, materials were produced in different contexts and have served different purposes. For example, stone macehead was effective as a weapon at the same time it could have became indicator of status. Many stone chisel used for as pendant and for carpet production or scraping; in ritual context they were used for initiation ceremonies (Akkermans 2003:130-135).

A variety of material culture is a serious technological requirement. It is also possible to see the different styles. These styles appeared in wide geographical area in the Halaf period. However, this extension is not considered as consistent and uniform. Although much research done still, there are evidences that indicated differences on both site level and regional level. These styles could have importance for both manufacturers and users. But the spread of material culture is not showing boundaries of the single ethnic group or groups sharing the same material or cultural area. In Near Eastern prehistory it is not possible to find an isolated cultural group; on the contrary there were cultures which intersect in various ways that indicated networks, economical properties and political organization of individuals or communities.

The prominents of Halaf material culture are classified as a pottery, stamp seal and obsidian items.

Pottery

At the beginning of the Pottery Neolithic Period first ceramics, coarse wares, straw temper, handmade, unpolished, vessel shape often with handles were introduced. At 6500 BC there was increase in pottery usage, and in their shape and size. Fine wares also were seen. In that period there were several pottery styles were observed in Near East such as coarse simple ware, washed impressed ware; but the predominant style was Dark-faced burnished ware. These ceramics are not always black. There are also some red burnished wares found. Around 6000 BC number of decorated pottery were reached %80 (Wengrow 1998:786). As a decoration generally incised motifs which were made while the pot was wet were seen. One of the objectives of the emergence or use of pottery is practical such as preparing, preservation, storage and serving of food. But in different decoration and different context (ritual), pottery gain different meaning such as membership of certain groups (Verhoven 2002:5-13).

To distinguish the pottery which has generally regional properties before the Halaf period, Pre-Halaf term is used. Pre- Halaf covers the stages including the stage of ceramics which began during the Halaf period. Although Pre-Halaf process is referred by different names of various scientists, it is generally known as *Proto-Hassuna, Archaic Hassuna, Standard Hassuna* and *Samarra* (fig.3a-b). Recent works at Syria led to name the period between the early stage of ceramics and Halaf as *Transitional* (Le Mière ve Nieuwenhuyse, 1996). Samarra has fine quality ceramics than other groups. Samarran potteries have thin paste, organic temper and sometimes mica temper. These pots were well fired. Color of paste was generally orange and pink but also there were few gray pastes seen. General form is open vessel, in addition to those, plates and bowls were found. Painted decoration generally is placed inside of the rim or on the S profile; pottery start from rim and it reaches the end takes. (Tekin, 2005: 183-202).

Halaf Period pottery reflects a superior craftsmanship with intricate decoration. They have specific motifs which distiguish them other types of pottery. Generally black,

white or red colored motifs were applied on the buff colored surface. Generally carpet-like motifs were preferred. Halaf fine ware was thin-walled, painted and exhibited excellent firing. Geometric bands, crosshatching, triangles, zig zag, dots, check boards (fig. 4) were also found. There are also animal figures on Halaf potteries especially birds. Other changes occurring during Halaf Period were observed in the new forms of some pots, such as everted small, round-mouthed containers (Dolukhanov 1998: 297).

On the basis of the progress of technical and decorations of pottery, so called Halaf culture is examined in three period early, middle and late Halaf. Halaf pottery was partially hand-shaped, partially wheel-shaped. Only after Middle Halaf Period, pottery which had bright burnished and different composition schemes, started to be seen (Roaf, 1990: 51). By the Late Halaf Period pottery reached the final stage of variety of tones and visuality. At this stage, both white painting and incised decoration took place in the pottery groups. In Halaf pottery collection there were paint decoration as well as unpainted pottery and dark faced burnished ware (Tekin, 2005: 183-202).

Stamp Seals

Seals and sealings have generally been identified as symbols of ownership. Sealing may represent a mode of communication and information exchange and on the other hand, a control device in a stylized, symbolic manner. Sealing served to mark properties, secured containers against unauthorized opening and consequently, allowed a certain degree of control over the exchange networks (Akkermans 2003). According to Duistermaat, they have two major functions; defining the property of certain groups and hindering outsiders' access. The hundreds of sealings found in the Early Halaf village (level 6) of Sabi Abyad are rather peculiar in this regard (Duistermaat 1996). 67 different stamp seal were used in Sabi Abyad. These stone seals in decorative techniques are similar to the ones that are found in the Amuq, Domuztepe or Arpachiyah (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996:17-44). The common motifs of Halaf seals are geometrics such as cross hatching, dots, concentric circles, zig zags, chevrons.

If a phenomenon of ownership and possession is to be accepted as the beginning of social differentiation, seals could be the indication of these phenomena. Indicators of administrative system such as seals could be related to economic development, and needs of recording system. These could be associated with private ownership and family identity. In this condition seals could be thought as administrative tools which provided people or family to reach the goods.

Evidently within small communities, such as the site of Sabi Abyad, this information exchange or control proceeded more effectively through other, individual modes of communication. It therefore seems that the sealing of goods was mainly of importance if goods were transferred beyond the local community. The numerous clay tokens found in association with sealing seem to support this view. Tokens are very small and have simple geometric shapes such as cylinders, discs and cones. Most likely they acted as counting devices expressing the quantities of objects exchanged or otherwise (re)distributed (Costello 2011: 252).

The seals which were found at Halafian sites are very resemble each other (fig. 5). This situation could be interpreted as a seal role, being not only administrative but also having symbolic meanings (Akkermans and Verhoven 1995:19-23). The pottery decorations from the Neolithic period are also observed on seals. All these decorations on seals can be seen in all Halaf settlements which shed a doubt on the thoughts which considers symbolic union. The symbolic motifs on the seals may have indicated some bond within the society which could understand cross-regional communities. In this point of view seals consist of a social order and indicate roles of the people or groups. It may be that these seals also structured membership in the community in a similar to the obsidian case.

Obsidian

Obsidian is volcanic glass which was intensively used for production of beads and blades during the Neolithic period. In the Near East, its sources are found in Central and Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus. Material either in raw or worked forms were traded over a wide geographic area (Campbell and Healey 2011: 328, Kuijt and Morris 2002:361-440). In Halaf period obsidian, as Campbell (1992) suggests, may

have been the only item traded over long distances in this way. Rather realistically, it may simply be the best preserved example of a much wider context within which variety of objects moved.

There are sites such as Arpachiyah where interesting patterns in the access and manufacture of two general sources of obsidian have been identified. Campbell's study (1992: 154) shows that Arpachiyah recieved its East Anatolian obsidian directly from the source in the form of cores, and manufactured them into blades and bladelets subsequently. The central Asian obsidian at Arpachiyah was received mostly in finished blade form and often worked into bladelets. Sites such as Arpachiyah although small (at 1ha) may have been important in redistribution of obsidian to the other sites.

By the Late Halaf, obsidian is consistently common in all parts of the Fertile Crescent. Campbell (1992) argues that the exact frequency ranges widely but in north Iraq and North-eastern Syria, it ranges from above 30% of the lithic assemblage to the height of 80% at Tell Aqab (Davidson and Watkins 1981). Also its distribution to the southern extent of the Halaf spread in Hamrin was also achieved in much higher and steady quantities at this time (Bulgarelli 1981), indicating that the Late Halaf had indeed seen a great expansion of a variety of material cultural traits.

A small site Umm Qseir in the Khabour has apparently 42% of its lithics made up of obsidian (Hole and Johnson 1986-87). Girikihaciyan, closer to the sources has only 24% (Watson 1983) while the western Halaf sites such as Sabi Abyad has approximately 20% of their lithic assemblage consisting of obsidian. At many investigated sites, such as Umm Qseir (Hole and Johnson 1986-87), Tell Aqab, Kharabeh Shattani (Campbell 1992:182-192), Shams ed-Din (Azoury and Bergman 1980), Banahilk (Watson 1983), obsidian occurs largely in the form of blades or blade products with very little evidence of production on site (Campbell 1992). Hole and Johnson (1986: 87) suggests that obsidian arrived at these sites in the form of prepared blades.

II.3 Burial Activity

As suggested in the previous Chapter of this study, burials can be considered as social investments in locations to construct meaningful links between places and people. They can be defined as a way to reconstruct the past; to remember and forget in an attempt to construct a manageable present. Burial creates a boundary between the living and buried materials. The processes through which the materials go through before final burial, such as production, consumption, display, breakage, disarticulation, and the circumstances surrounding their final deposition are all structured cultural events. Through their structured deposition we can gain insights into the significance of these acts in the construction of meaning and structure in the society.

II.3.1 Human Burials

Looking at the burial traditions of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period, it can be seen that the dead were not always left intact in their primary place of inhumation. Some of their body parts especially skulls were taken out of their primary context of burial (usually in association with private domestic contexts) and re-buried again in a secondary context at a different location of the settlement often with other skulls (fig. 6). Commonly referred to as the skull cult, this tradition of ancestor cult applied to both age and sex groups. These skulls would have been plastered and decorated to give the impression of the skin of a living individual which suggest that they were on some kind of display and were perhaps part of other rituals before their second burial (fig. 6). Evidence from Çayönü's Skull Building would suggest that, at least in some places bones of dead may have been collected at specially constructed buildings which may have been opened at certain times of year (Özdoğan, 1995: 79-100, Özbek, 2005: 127-135, Erdem, 2006). Burial customs and other rituals were probably carried out in public places of the settlement for a wide range of people to see, with the participation of individuals who are sharing the common belief. In the Levant, increase in ritual activity draws attention to an increasingly competitive structure in the community, controlled by a group of few families. By the end of the pre-pottery Neolithic B period in the Levant, rituals were no longer sufficient to provide social

reconciliation possibly due to the stresses of competition and population increase (Kuijt 2004, 183-199). It can be said that played a vital role in the regulation of the social relations of households during various life-cycle events, such as marriage, initiation, death, which structured affinity and kinship ties among the participants and defined their social status within the wider group. This tradition must have structured identities of the participants at various levels by connecting them to the place and the group through the agency of the dead relations (Kuijt 2004, 183-199, Goring-Morris 2000:106). Skull burials were one of the most potent symbolic agents which articulated on the household history while connecting this history to the group history.

Halaf Period settlements have a wide variety of burial customs. In addition to single or collective inhumation, cremations were also observed. Both intramural and extramural burial spaces were detected. In contrast to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period, the burials under the floor of the houses have decreased during the Halaf Period; while women and children were usually buried under the floor of the houses. Some scholars suggest that the infant burials in threshold of the house could symbolize the border between life and birth (Akkermans 2008:621-645 Campbell 2007b: 125-140).

Numbers of extramural cemeteries were found in many Halaf sites such as Yarim Tepe, Tell el Kerkh, Bougras (Akkermans 2008: 621- 645). One of the burial places dated to Halaf Period is found in Domuztepe. This place, Death Pit has been home to many complex traditions of burial, as well as feasting activities. There were a few examples related to the removal of the skull as well. One of them is uncovered from Yarim Tepe II and belongs to a child. Skull were taken and then placed on the other bones (Merpert and Munchaev, 1987:26-27). In Bougras two intentionally deformed skulls were found.

There was neither unity of burial type nor the unity of burial position. According to Pollock (2011:47) these differences in traditions might have been used by the organizers to increase the diversity of their applications. When compared to other communities' rituals, this diversity could have been used for strengthening their authority. She also claims that difference in traditions might have originated from the

difference in individuals' social roles and changes in rituals could have been of help to protect the group cohesion.

II.3.2 Architectural Burial

This tradition has been known since Pre Pottery Neolithic. One of the best examples of this is Çayönü Tepesi. Although it is the most obvious example belonged to Cell Buildings, this tradition was also observed in Cobble paved buildings. The tradition of burying structure had led to an area covered with large stones in the eastern part of the site called Pebbled Plaza. This area had reinforced the division of the functional areas of the settlement. Southeast of the plaza was bordered by special structures. In the southeastern corner, Skull Building and one-room structure, which articulated the Skull Building were placed. In the Southwest corner Sekili Yapı were found. Plaza was used for daily activities; since there was no workshop. Cobbled Plaza had been expanded three times which covered the previous phase's structures. At the eastern part of the settlement, Pebbled Plaza also served as the basement of Earth Plaza. Eastern section of it was prepared as a new plaza. This area covered by the red soil, which obtained from the in situ during burning or burnt kerpiç remains. A floor of the plaza had been renovated several times and was cleared each time. Two series of stelae erected in east-west direction and two grooved stones placed on eastern part. During the second renovation of the plaza these stelae were broken and buried together with the grooved stones. All of these special items and treatments were emphasizing the importance of plaza (Özdoğan 1999: 35-65). According to Özdoğan, this plaza could be seen as transition from walled-off places to open places as well. At the north of plaza, houses probably belonged to privileged people and Terrazo Building was placed. Although an architectural technique of this building is significant; the main significance of it is a floor which was constructed by 12cm thick pinkish limestone which was taken from the Zülküf Dağ. This building was also abandoned with the destruction of in the middle of the floor.

Some features of this tradition is often seen in Halaf settlements. One of the good examples of this tradition is Burnt Village, which is recovered from the Sabi Abyad (fig. 7). In the village, some circular house and storage building which identifed as intentionally burned were found. Hundreds of finds were recovered from the storage;

stone tools, mortars, pestles, sealing and tokens. Two human skeletons were found in this building as well. One of them belongs to man and other belongs to women and their position implied that they were not buried but placed on the roof (Akkermans and Verhoeven 1995: 5-32).

In Bougras phase III, a building was recovered which was destroyed by fire. In this building, pieces of six people skeletons were found. It is unknown that if this building were burned deliberately or not. But another building named House 12 was burned deliberately. These two buildings should have different usage purposes and both of them were destroyed by fire and host to human burials (Akkermans, 2008).

Another example of the tradition of burning is a storage building named TT6 building found in Arpachiyah and dated to Halaf Ib (fig. 8). This building has two rooms (Long Room- Full Room). Aapproximately 150 different objects were found in these rooms. A large part of these objects were very attentive. Among them, the most noticeable ones are plates and vessels, which were made elaborately and had distinctive decoration and these were not common in Halaf period (fig.9). Other artifacts are nine stone bowls, eleven seals, twenty four sealings, six stone axes, obsidian and shell beads, other ornaments, figurines, original and stone knuckle bones, stone tools and other utility tools (fig. 10-11) (Campbell 2000:1-40). On the base of the deliberately burnt building, several pieces of plates were found which were broken delibaretly and spread before the fire (Campbell 2000:1-40). Through this tradition and very valuable object found from there, it is thought that this building could have special importance. Even Halaf Period status objects which are described according to findings were uncovered in this building.

There is no architectural burial found at Domuztepe. However it can be thought that that red terrace has some features of this tradition, when considering the continuous renewal of the terrace with compacted red earth which gives an impression that the past activity should become history, with only some parts of it remembered, through a reappropriation of the place obsessively (Campbell 2013).

II.3.3 Object Burials

There were large numbers of examples of this type of burial tradition in Halaf society. One of them is anthropomorphic vessel found in Yarim Tepe II (fig. 12). This vessel after being the broken intentionally was burned during the cremation and then buried (Merpert and Munchaev, 1987:26-27). At Tell el-Kerkh, from the cremation grave of a newborn baby, apparently deliberately broken sherds of a ceramic vessel were recovered. Burial of two or three vessels were also uncovered at the same site (Tsuneki 2010).

Same examples of this at Domuztepe are stone bowl burials, which were made immediately before the settlement was abandoned. These bowls were found empty, but one of them had human teeth. Other examples are seal, pottery, and obsidian objects which are found from the Ditch. The Ditch at Domuztepe is an object burial area. This feature has feasting disposal, special materials and pottery were buried here. Existence of re-cuts evokes the tradition of burying building, just like a terrace.

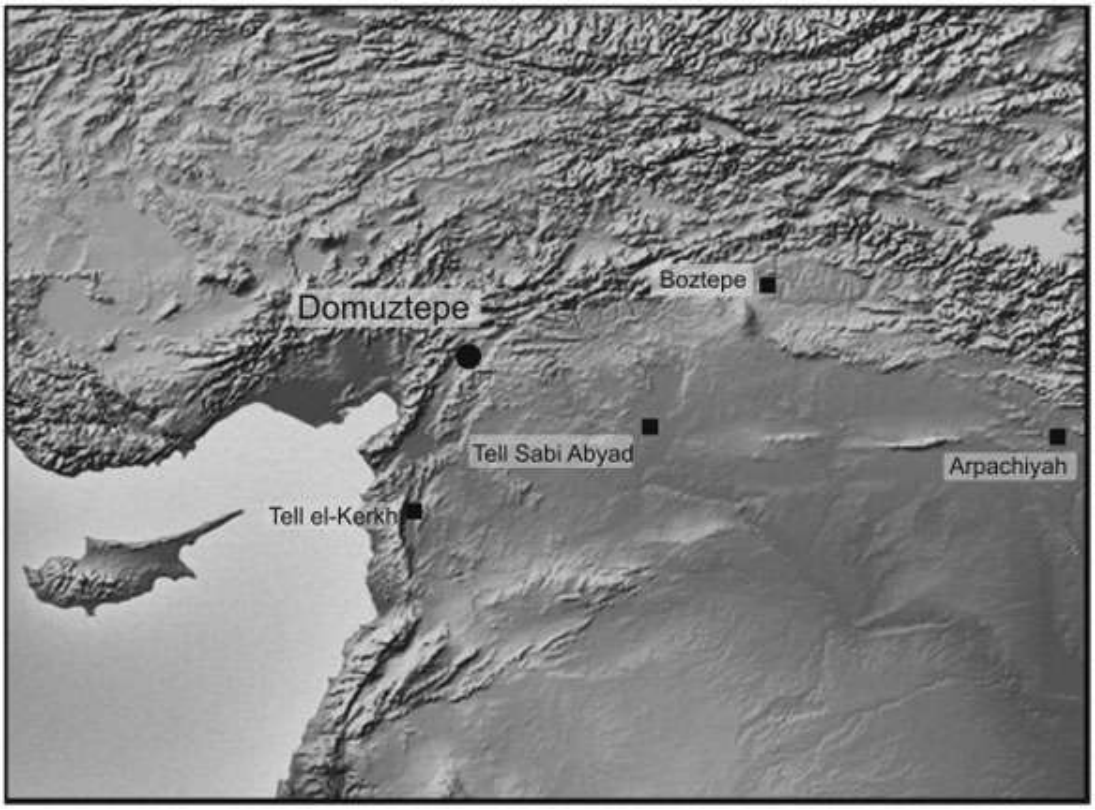
In the following sections, the data with regard to the burial contexts and objects found in relation to them at Domuztepe will be discussed and analyzed in more detail before a contextual synthesis of theory, method and data are achieved in the discussion and conclusion

CHAPTER III

METHODS & DATA ANALYSIS

III.1 History of Domuztepe Excavations

Domuztepe, which is located on 30 km south east of Kahramnmaraş/Pazarcık at about 20 ha, is one of the largest mounds for Halaf Period (fig.7). It was found during the Kahramanmaraş Survey Project at 1995 and then excavated in 1996-2005. It was a joint project conducted by Elizabeth Carter from UCLA and Stuart Campbell from Manchester University. Domuztepe is currently being excavated by the METU and Hacettepe University collaboration directed by Halil Tekin.



Map 2. Location of Domuztepe (Campbell 2012:308).

Domuztepe is not a single settlement; it is formed by agglomeration of different distinct sub settlements. During the surveys at least two more agglomeration formed in this way were found which 12-15 km close to Domuztepe. Kahramanmaraş surveys have shown that at least one of a long-term settlement has been inhabited and this layout had begun in Early Pottery Neolithic (Atakuman-Eissenstat 2004). Small and short-term settlements should have been formed by some sub-segmented groups which were mobilized because of the agricultural subsistence policy of that period. Despite mobility and an increase in portable objects, commitment to long-term settlements played an important role in determining the social structure. Through this commitment social and cultural capital was obtained. Like Domuztepe large-scale Halaf settlements is related to this phenomenon.

Up to now more than 2500m^2 were excavated. Its major strata were dated to late Halaf 5700-5470 BC. Studies indicated that during the 5500 BC nearly the entire mound was housing and it is population was nearly 2000 (Carter at all, 2003:177-193).

Halaf period is important for Near East since it has provided a lot of information which makes it easy to understand the emergence of complexity. Excavation of Domuztepe is providing new information about the social organization and relationship with the environment. The site was dealing with long distance trade and there is also evidence of status items and its production. There are also signs of intensive use of stamp seals. Domuztepe has very good example of Halaf potteries. There is also evidence for economic intensification, notably the possible use of secondary products (Carter 1996: 331-341).

The history of settlement had begun in Early Neolithic Period (6800-6400BC) and lasted the end of the Halaf Period (5500 BC). The site has been inhabited without interruption. The commonly used chronology for Halaf Period is Halaf I-II. However in Domuztepe transitional phase, Early and Late Halaf has been preferred. The stratification of the site has been investigated and named several times, and each attempting was named with a letter. The last and in use attempt is name with D-attempt.

Table 4. Chronology Table of Domuztepe

Cal BC	***D-attempt***	***General phase***	***Traditional external parallels***
6,800-6,400	Phase D-1	Early Ceramic Neolithic	Early Ceramic Neolithic
6,400-6,200	Phase D-2	Late Ceramic Neolithic	Late Ceramic Neolithic
6,200-6,100	Phase D-3	Transitional	Transitional Halaf
6,100-5,800	Phase D-4	Earlier Halaf	Halaf IA
5,700-5,650	Phase D-5	Later Halaf	Halaf IIA
5.650-5,600	Phase D-6	Later Halaf	Halaf IIB (or IIA)
5,600-5,575	Phase D-7	Later Halaf	Halaf IIB (i.e. traditional Late Halaf)
5575	Phase D-8	Later Halaf	
5,575-5,500	Phase D-9	Later Halaf	Halaf IIB (i.e. traditional Late Halaf)
5,500-5450	Phase D-10		Halaf IIB (i.e. traditional Late Halaf)

Halaf sites generally depend on dry farming so they preferred the fertile environment in which the amount of annual rainfall is allow the dry farming. Domuztepe was established a fairly good place, it is placed between the wetlands and dry lands; so they had both dry land and wetland harvest. Emmer, einkorn, wheat, barley and legumes were products of wetlands. This area provided required material for baskets. The faunal remains of Domuztepe mostly composed of domestic animals such as sheep, goat, pig, cattle. Their butchering age indicated secondary milk production. Wild animal ratio is nearly 20% and they consist of deer and bear. In addition to agriculture, domestic animals were also very important component of economy.

Some of domestic animals such as cattle have some symbolic roles as well. The bukrania motifs on pottery and use of horns might have some place in belief system. Tools which made of animal bones indicate that people involved textile industry as well (Kansa et all, 2009:897-914).

Domuztepe has different architectural style such as rectangular buildings, tholoi and courtyards. The shapes of the houses are unclear, but some potteries which have architectural depiction give an idea. According to these depictions houses had two floors and roof made of rushes.

The site has lots of craft production. One of them is stone vessels; these are various in shapes and generally made of serpentine. The resource of serpentine was close to Domuztepe. The site has different shape of stone bowl which is more than other sites. Some of them have incised decoration. Other craft production is seals. They used local stone for seals. Up to date more than 100 seals were found. This number is more than the number of seals found in other Halaf sites. The usage of seals is controversial; some of them could be used as pendants, amulets, jewelers. But sealing proved that they were also used as seals. Except from one hand shaped and two feet shaped seals other stamp seals have geometrical motifs. According to Campbell they are signs of identity and status (Carter et all, 2003:117-133).

Obsidian is a raw material obtained from the long-distance exchanged. In Domuztepe nearly 10,000 chipped stone assemblages were found. This material used for make tools but they were also used to make elaborated objects such as mirror, bead, bowl, and axe (Healey2001: 389-398). All these factors suggest that obsidian was valued not only as a raw material for tool manufacturing but also as a material from which to make luxury items. As an exotic material it is also likely to have a key role in forging and maintaining social and economic relationships, both within the site and more widely.

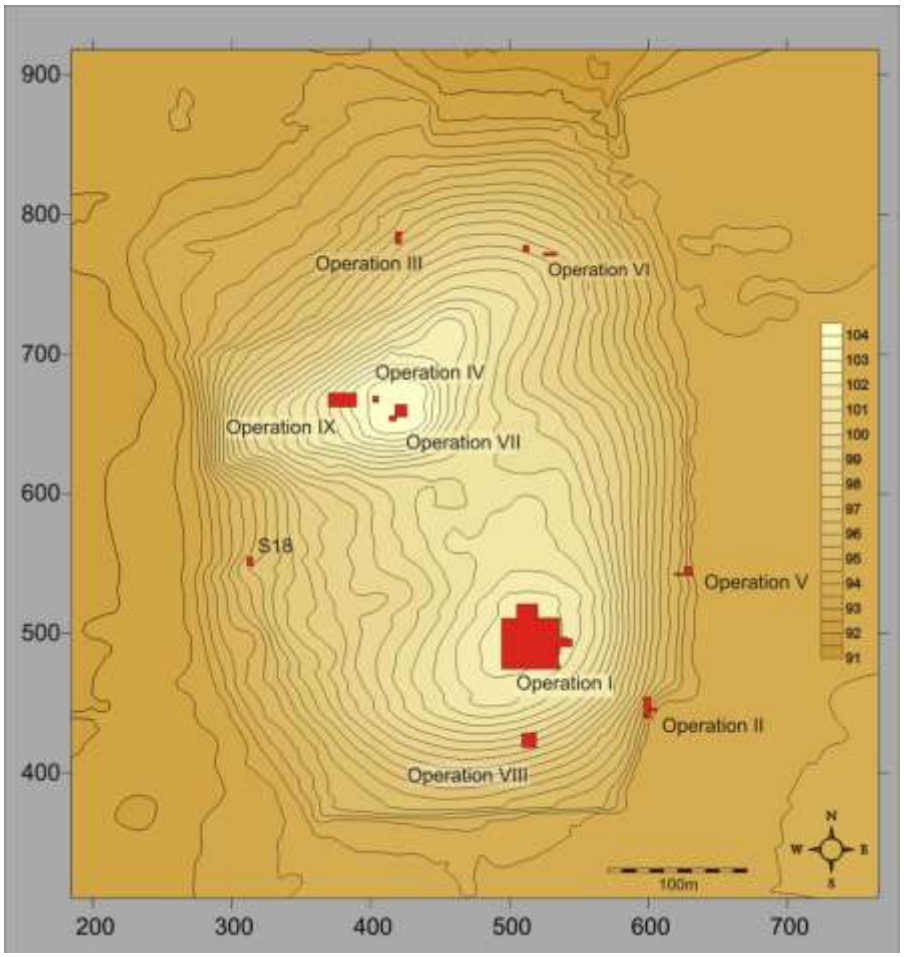
Until know nearly 10.000 small finds were uncovered from Domuztepe. These small finds are; utility tools such as chipped stone, food preparation, textile and agricultural tools, and non-tools such as jewelers, decorated pots, obsidian mirror, bead and seal, figurines, small axes and seals (Campbell et al 1999).

When considering that the size, long distance trade, use of seals and craft production; it can be though that Domuztepe should have some degree of complexity. But it cannot be clearly identified archaeologically.

Operation I

Excavations have been carried out in six operations. However most of the data were found in Operation I. More than 1000 m^2 were excavated. Periods long 200-250 years and dated to mid of 6^{th} millennium BC. Both rectangular and circular buildings and Halaf pottery were found in that operation. Faunal and botanical remains indicated that they consumed domesticated food (Campbell et all 1999: 395-418).

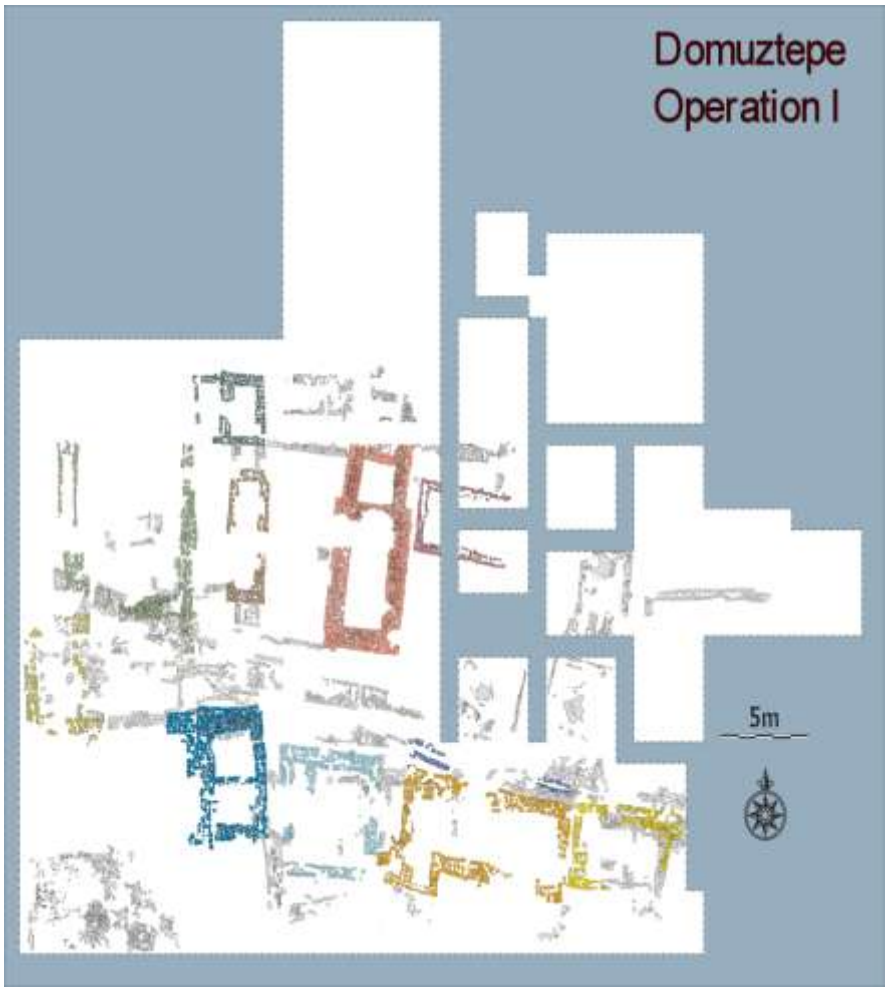
The earliest level was found northern parts of exposure. There were some constructions found. These are abandoned structures with an almost artifact-free white lime plaster and reddish clay matrix. After a time this deposits shaped as terrace. This is not a single construction, it has repeated pattern (Campbell et all 1999: 395-418).



Plan 1. Operations of Domuztepe (Carter 2003:180)

In the light of this information, it can be tough that red terrace functioned as a separator between the public and cultic areas (Kansa et all, 2009).

Some rectangular buildings with open courtyards were found in the southern part of Operation I. Three rectangular complexes with multiple rooms were found in central areas of Operation I. East of the rectangular structures, four "tholoi" were found (fig. 14). Diameters of these tholoi is 2- 2,5 m. and they are semi-circular tholoi. Their pebble foundation floors covered with thin white lime plaster. This application indicated that these structures functioned as a communal storage facility. Two similar "tholoi" were identified in the southwest corner of the excavation, possibly indicating the presence of a second similar compound of circular storage structures (Campbell, 2003:177-133).



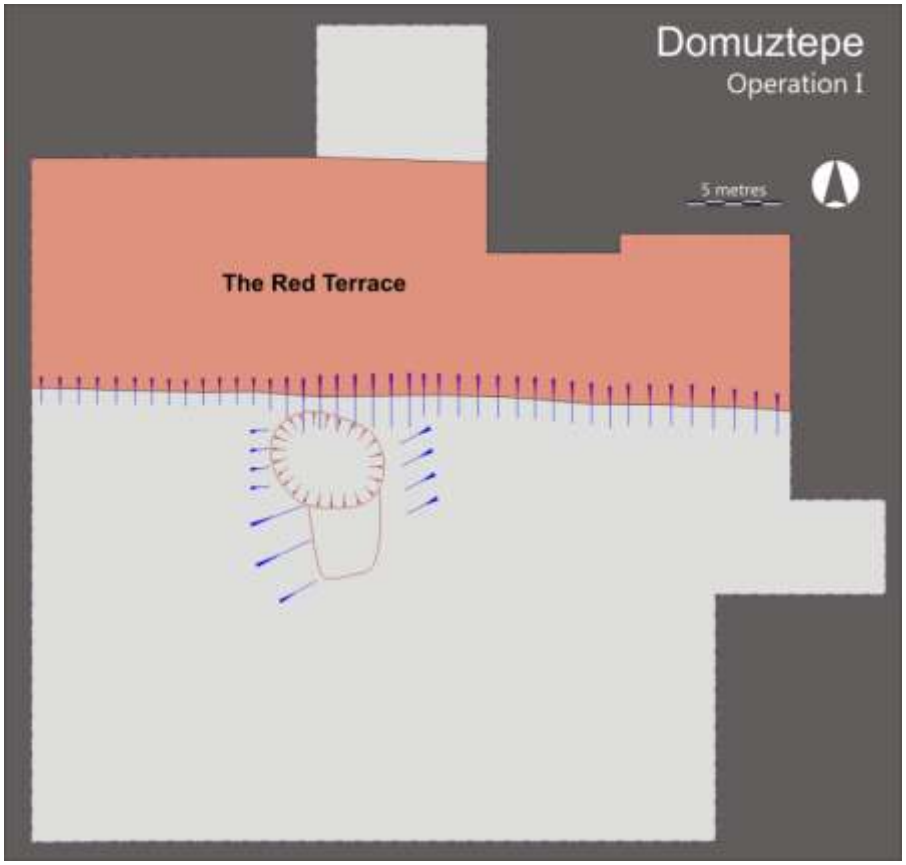
Plan 2. Plan of Operation I (Kansa et al 2002:3)

The Red Terrace

Terrace is running east-west across the northern section of Operation I. The terrace edge is composed of a c.15m. wide band of red soils, deliberately brought onto the site and generally mixed with very little cultural debris (fig. 15). Terrace edge was not a single construction. As well as the deposition of the red soils, it is probably also necessary to envisage regular cleaning of the area, perhaps with soil scraped off as well as added, since there is very little evidence for cultural debris or lenses of soil derived from more regular deposits. (Campbell et all 1999: 395-418).

Red Terrace' is 45m. long but total length may be as much as 75m on an alignment that is very close to east-west. Terrace has three layers. Red terrace is a mark of

important boundary, which separated ritual area from the site. Ditch, workshop areas, and death pit could be related to ritual activity.

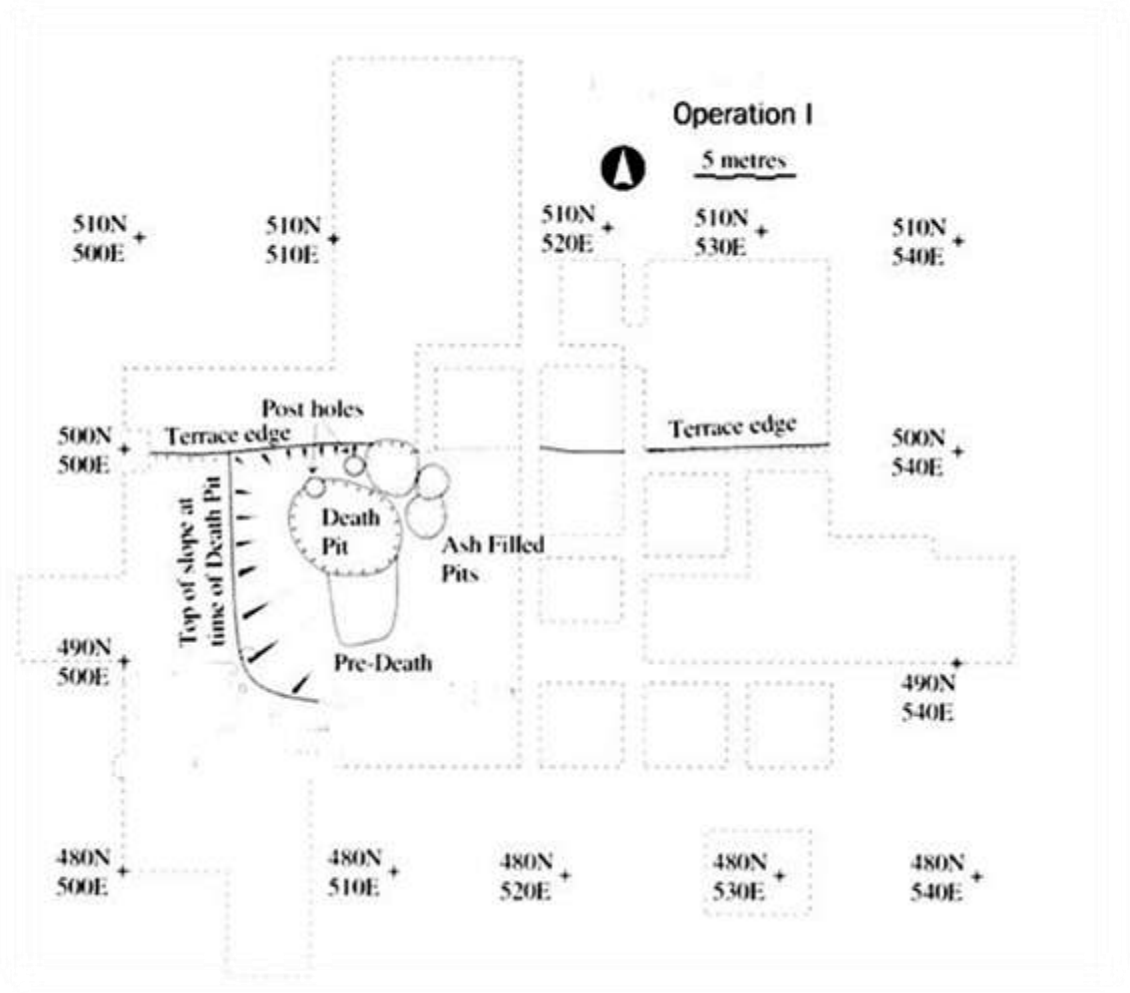


Plan 3. Plan of Red Terrace (from Domuztepe archive).

In the area enclosed by Red Terrace has lots of pits, they could have been used for deposition area for the feasting remain of Death Pit (fig. 16). At the same time it is a shaft have been recovered in the area surrounded by terrace. This was 9 m. deep and 1m wide was dug into the mound during the 6th millennium BC (fig. 17). This was used for a very short time weeks or months. It should have been used for extracting water for the ceremonies of Death Pit. It has functioned as a well in short time after that it was filled back. It was cut through the Early Pottery Neolithic phases. Filling of shaft was consisted of exactly the same material. This is not accidental and helps to avoid contamination. Campbell concluded that the material of earlier phases should have different meaning and be symbolically important. According to him origins of material is related to the regulation of relations between the present and the past.

III.2. The Burnt Structure, The Ditch, The Death Pit

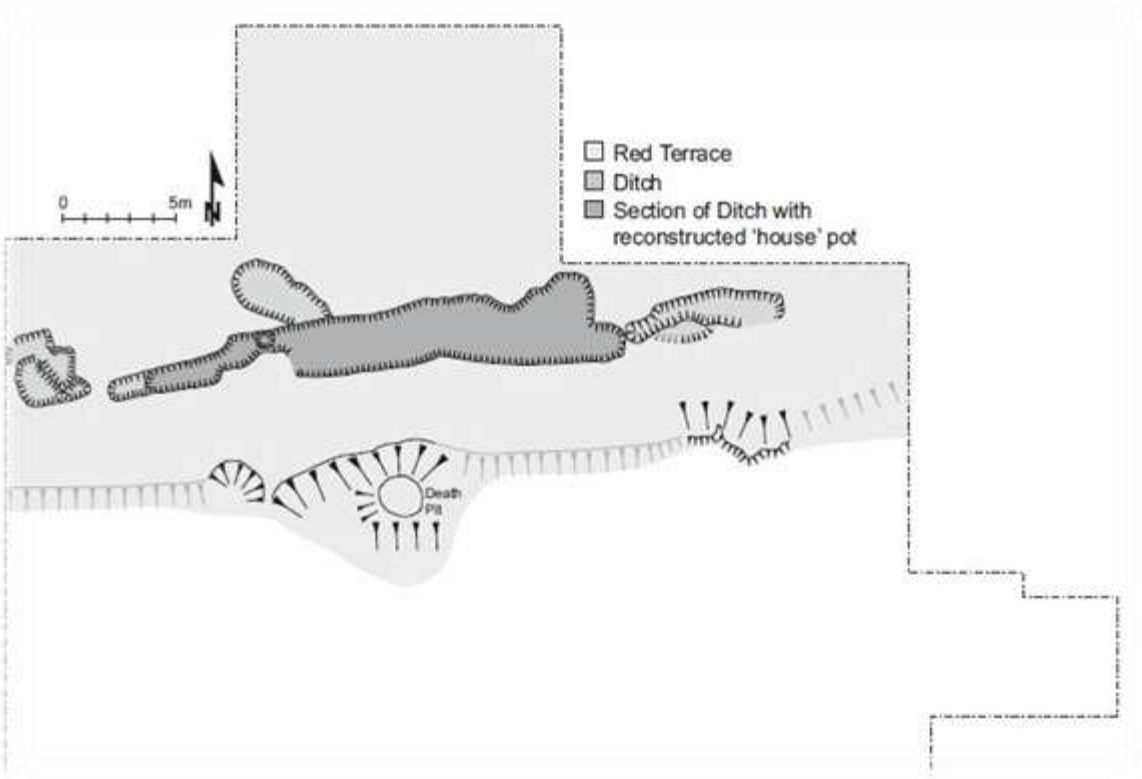
In this study, small finds from the Ditch, Death Pit and Burnt House will be used. Ditch and Death Pit are located in the area surrounded by the Red Terace. As it mentioned, area surrounded by terrace might have special meaning and these two contexts could be defined as ritual area. Burnt Structure is placed outside of surrounded area but right next to the terrace (fig.19).



Plan 4. Plan of Contexts (From Domuztepe archive)

III.2.1. Ditch

Ditch is placed on Red Terrace which functioned as border in the settlement. The 'ditch' was repeatedly re-cut and its measure is 60-75 in width, it is full of pottery, other small findings, bones, carbons and gleyed soil. Significant quantities of charcoal and gleyed soil indicated that there were high organic contents and water. The small clay head broken from a male figurine with the other Early Halaf Period (5.700-5.500 B.C.) pottery indicated that ditch was used for very long time.



Plan 5. Plan of Ditch and Terrace (from Domuztepe archive).

In addition to pottery stamp seals, bone tool, litchis and bone tool part of handled obsidian mirror were found in. In ditch 3 partially completed pots were found. One of them has architectural scene, other has headless man and on the last of them men are shown apparently dancing with linked hands (Campbell et all 1999: 395-

418).Both the terrace and the ditch built up were maintained over a very substantial period; perhaps at minimum 300 years (fig. 12).

Presence of re-cut pits suggests that the Ditch was deliberately chosen as an object burial place. Although the excavations made so far in the Ditch has not revealed all of the pits, it can be said that the Ditch was composed of hundreds of recuts. Each one of these pits is an individual deposition. Vast majority of pits found in here contain animal bones. Most probably these bones were involved to feasting activities.

Ongoing analysis indicated that animal bones, uncovered here, are different from the bones of other disposals. As it is understand from that, normal context and feasting context are separated. When the bone of the Ditch are handled, it is seen that the ratio of cattle bones are higher than the other parts of the settlement, on the contrary pig bones were less in number than the other parts of the settlement. All of these findings indicated that ditch consists of food preparation and feasting residues (Kansa, et all, 2009: 159-171).

Except from the animal bones; objects burial were found in Ditch. So Ditch could be defined as individual object burial area as well. Pottery sherds, bone tools, stone tools, seals, piece of handled obsidian mirror and three nearly complete pottery were found in Ditch. The decorations of this pottery are different from the general and it seems possible that they are directly associated with ritual activities (Campbell et all, 2003:117-133). One of them has a house motif; this could be related to the social narrative and myth. Other one has "dancing ladies" motifs. This figure, which is made up of people probably engaged in the same dress and the same moves, depict special dance performed during ceremonies. On the last pottery, headless people and vultures on them were depicted, this can be interpret as ritualistic scene as well (fig. 20 a-b). All these findings and small re-cut pits could be indicator of slightly different ritual activities than other highly visible ritual activities. In, here segregated ritual were taking place, conduct by smaller and more refined group.

III.2.2 The Death Pith

The so-called Death Pit at Domuztepe consists of a pit that was constructed in a single episode (Carter and Campbell 1997, Campbell and Carter 1998). Its filling constitutes various phases including placement of skeletal parts in a medium of mud (fig. 19). The excavators suggest that a post might have marked the location of the Death Pit where remains of approximately 40 individuals from crosscutting age and gender groups have been recovered (Campbell et al. 1999). As the surface collection of Domuztepe suggests, after the Death Pit event, the whole site might have gradually contracted to a point of final abandonment (fig 21).

Shallow pits (Pit A-B) were cut into the edge of a terrace Pit. Mixture of mainly animal bones placed in the bottom of the pit. After each phase it was watered and thin silt appeared. After that a secondary pit probably had been inserted with more cattle bones. On the base of the pit high numbers of human and animal bones were found. Animal bones consist of mostly cattle but also dog and sheep/goat. The bones were very well packed against the stamped into a muddy side of the pit. More human remains were packed into the hollow together with pise-like material and individual dumps of grey ash (Kansa 2009:2-13).

To the south of the low bank, dense deposits of broken pottery and animal bones (with very few human) raise the level of the lower ground to allow the raised hollow to be maintained, albeit at a slightly more elevated height. A thin, possibly related, deposit may have been used to the west of the hollow to define the western edge as well. There is a small patch of burning on the base of the hollow suggesting a small fire within it. Stones are grouped on the base of the hollow, together with a few skulls and a cluster of intact long bones on the northern edge. In this hollow, large quantity of ash and some burnt brick and fire of that ashes burned elsewhere. There was no cremation trace in this phase however some scorched bones were found (Campbell 2002:117-133). Six years old child skeleton was recovered from southern edge of the ash, this skeleton probably was buried in basket and tightly bound. Generally skeletons were found un-fragmented but this one is articulated.

In north and east part of Death Pit, later pits were dug. It was containing ashes, unusual pottery including a multi-partitioned vessel. In the silting fills above the Death Pit human jaw is uncovered.

There was domestic occupation nearly for two generation placed 20-30 m. far from the Death Pit. An area around the Death Pit of about 20-30m across remains clear of domestic occupation for a sustained period in the order of two generations perhaps. There is no evidence for ritual activities in the area of the Death Pit (Campbell 2002:117-133).

The human remains are almost entirely disarticulated. There are about 30 skulls to give an idea of the minimum number of individuals. There was a single cremated child skeleton. The cremation does not seem to have been done in the Death Pit and the remains are rather scattered. Much of the paleo-pathology remains to be done so the facts here are based on a small number of individuals (Campbell and Kansa 2002: 2-13).

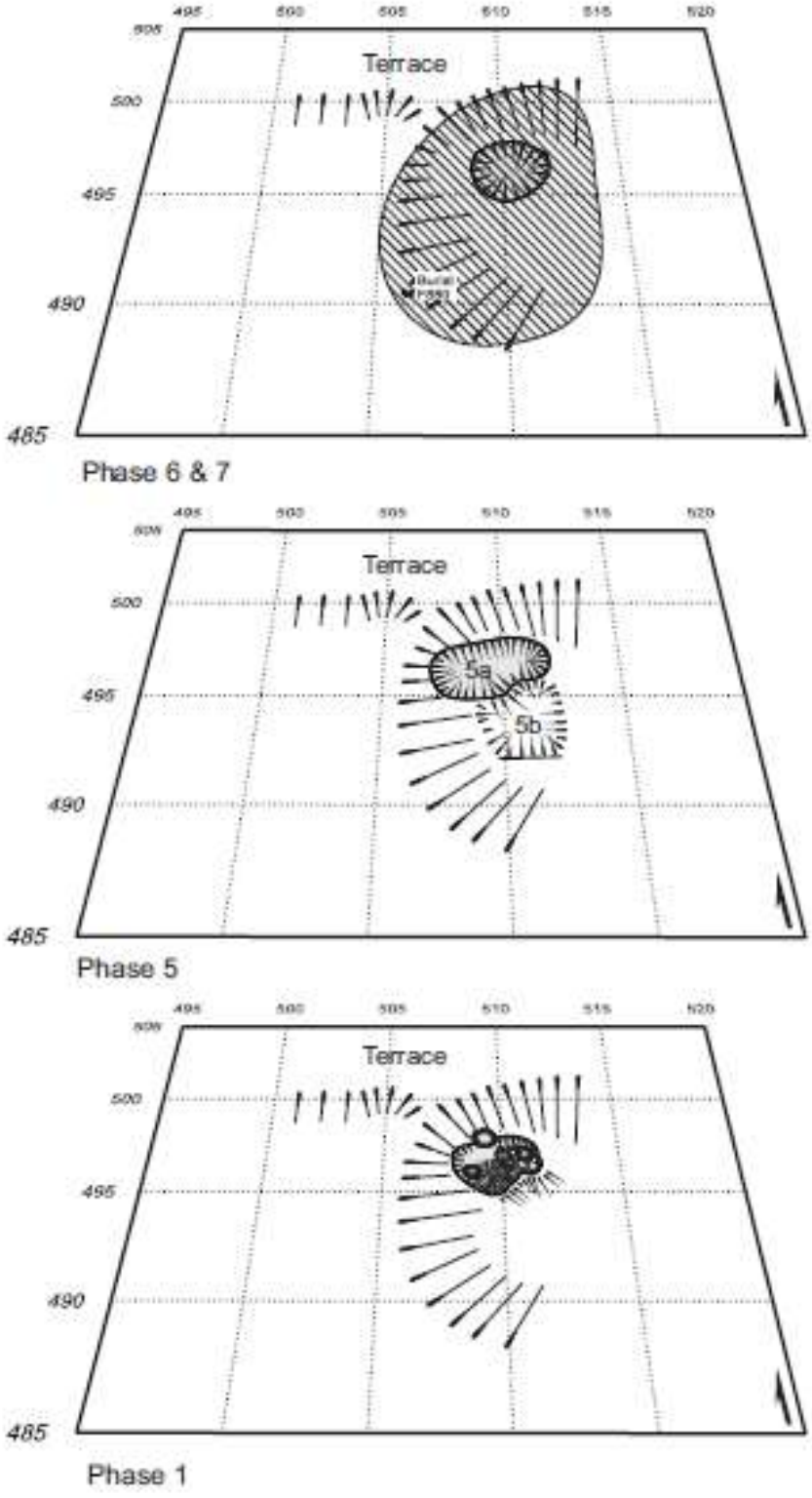
Four skulls were cut at the first vertebrae, while other bones were broken intentionally (fig.22 a-b). In ashy place group of complete skulls were found, however generally fragmented ones have been uncovered. One of the skulls was buried with the mandible but with the other ones the mandible was probably fallen down to the pit. In the many of skulls have wear trace and breaks, this should have related to transmission of the last state of burial. Some of the long bones may have been used as awls (Campbell and Kansa 2002: 2-13).

Although there were more fragmented bones uncovered in other parts of the settlement, this situation is also different in Death pits hollow. Fragmentation was clearer with human bones than animals. There were also two complete dog skulls were found Kansa 2009: 159-171).

Some stones and round pot sherds were put in the base of the hollows. There were stamp seals and figurine without head was found but it is not clear whether they were grave goods. According to Campbell (2002) these finds were not the grave goods but

separate burials. Any trace of occupation immediately before the Death Pit was not found.

The activity of Death pit had occurred in a short time period. Deposit covered with silt and it was intact, suggesting that there were a little time between the coverings and lying down. The later human deposition could have occurred in a short time period. Probably whole activity of Death Pit had took place in a few months or weeks. Ashes were belonging to high-grade fever which was burnt somewhere else (Campbell and Kansa 2002: 2-13).



Plan 6. Evolution of the Death Pit (Kansa et al 2002:4).

As discussed in previous chapter Death Pit, placed in the remaining within the area surrounded by terrace, has the distinction of being a burial place (Chapter III.3.2). It was used in a short time period, nearly 40 disarticulated individuals were determined. This is not a simple burial place; it has been home to a wide variety of burial rituals. One of them is fragmentation. On the some bones, in addition to fragmentation, traces of human teeth were found, and they have been exposed to heat as well. This brings to mind that these processes may have been related to the sacrifice or cannibalism. Other example is related to special treatment of skulls, some skulls have signs of blunt trauma (Kansa and Campbell 2002: 2-13).

In addition to bones several small finds were uncovered; sherds, stone tools, seals and bone tools, but it is thought that these artifacts were not grave goods, these are individual burials as well (Campbell and Healey 2011). At the end of each phase, Death Pit was covered with a thin layer of ash. It was determined that the fire was burned in some other places and ashes were brought here. At the same time, with the help of two large pots, the place of Death Pit was marked and it was reserved as a special space. It is though that Death Pit was not only a burial place but it was hosting feasting activities as well.

When examining the animal bones from Death Pit, it is understood that mostly cattle were consumed. Nevertheless unlike the rest of settlement, death pit has much lower number of pig bones; especially in pits where human bones were found also almost no pig bones were recovered, this is indicated that certain species were preferred. The age distribution of animals is similar to the ages of the animals consumed in the settlement, but there is a differentiation in choice of sex. In the settlement ratio is 1 female/1male but in death pit the ratio is 4 females/ 1 male. Death pit, compared to settlement, has much more complete or nearly complete animal skeletons. The number of bone exposed to heat of Death Pit is two times more than the settlement. Fragmentations and cut shapes were similar to that in settlement; and this suggests that the animal bones found in Death Pit could have been related to the eating rather than sacrifice. However, numbers of complete skeletons point out the different tradition of butchering, cooking or consumption (Kansa and Campbell 2002: 2-13).

Uncovered animal remains indicated that particular time of the year is selected for this activity (Kansa et al 2009: 159-172).Certain species and sexes were selected for consumption, and the use of a special cut and cooking techniques indicated that special foods were chosen.

Uncovered pottery from Death pit also has different forms and decoration and this situation indicated that special containers were used in Death Pit as well (Kansa and Campbell, 2002: 2-13). As discussed later, food wastes buried in a special area are thought to be consistent with feasting criteria. In the light of all of this information, it seems possible to say that this place had also been a feasting area. All of these properties imply that death pit was a venue that hosted highly visibile and large participated rituals.

III.2.3 The Burnt Structure

The term Burnt Structure is better than burnt house, since it is not a single house. Certainly it includes a courtyard as well as interior space (fig. 23a). However, it has also been particularly informative because it also challenges our ideas about architecture. The Burnt Structure has evidence for walls made of organic material (probably matting) and divisions marked by lines of bones (fig. 23b), as well as short stretches of what we assume to be foundation stones and a probably post pad. It can be dated c.5, 600-5,575 cal. BC.

The Burnt Structure was clearly substantially burnt by fire, although this probably varied in intensity in different sections. The likely use of organic material within the structure presumably contributed. The presence of in situ findings could be indicating that fire was accidental. The burning could have taken place as part of the preparation for the Death Pit.

Area 1: A roofed space which had a much worn thin plaster floor. There is a concentration of burnt, fallen roofing. Walls are very ephemeral and posts may also have supported the roof. The curved wall in particular is interesting because the curve is continued by a line of animal jaw bones.

There was a hearth at the south end of this space and some pieces of *in situ* ground stone close to it. A range of mainly coarse ware vessels were sitting on this floor, especially at the northern end of the space, where they were better protected by the collapsed roofing. A very fine, large, painted Halaf jar was probably originally in this area as well . Very little of it remained *in situ*, however, and most of the fragments were scattered over the slope running down to where the Death Pit would be, to the north east of the Burnt Structure. It isn't clear whether this pot was deliberately broken and the pieces scattered or whether it eroded out of the end of the Burnt Structure. It obviously suggests that the Burnt Structure isn't a sealed location although a lot of *in situ* material is present, objects may also have been removed and there is some potential for disturbance.

There were sub-divisions within this area, including an east-west 'wall', presumably made of organic material, which had been completely lost but was indicated by the bones that had lain against it.

Area 2: This lies to the west of Area 2. It has had considerable more post-depositional disturbance. There is no evidence that this area ever had a plaster floor. It was roofed with extensive fallen and burnt roofing as well as what is probably the post pad from a very substantial post. There are three parallel east-west walls that run into the west baulk. There appear to have been standing in the same phase.

The most distinctive thing is evidence for manufacture of beads, particularly obsidian but also other stones. The evidence mainly comes from a series of bead blanks (fig. 25).

Area 3: This lies to the south of Area 2 and is almost certainly an external area, with no evidence of roofing. There is a thin mud surface but the area is almost entirely devoid of *in situ* material. It is clearly bounded to the east and west by roughly north-south walls; the southern boundary is in the south baulk. There is an indication of a wall between Area 3 and Area 1 but, like the other major architectural remains it is very incomplete.

Area 4: This is an alcove on a north-south wall that opened onto Area 3. It was originally roofed and was burnt down, with burnt roofing remains including the top of the post. Presumably this was a small, covered storage area on the east of Area 3. There was a collection of pots stored in the alcove, probably about 16 originally. Some are standard Halaf paint and plain vessels, but some clearly relate to special functions. In particular the two spouted vessels are very distinctive as are the two small cylindrical vessels. There was also a broken flint blade and some beads.

III.3. Data Description

In addition to pottery, Domuztepe has other craft production. Until now nearly 10.000 small finds were uncovered from Domuztepe. These small finds are; utility tools such as chipped stone, food preparation, textile and agricultural tools, and non-tools such as jewelers, decorated pots, obsidian mirror, bead and seal, figurines, small axes and seals.

Chipped stone of Domuztepe is a wide collection. Obsidian artifacts from Domuztepe account for about 18%, or some 10,000 artifacts, of the chipped stone assemblage. Obsidian is one of the few non-local materials at Domuztepe and in addition being used to make tools, it was also used to make items of jewelers, mirrors, bowls and axe-like objects. There are also lots of bones and stone tools were found in Domuztepe. Bone tools repertoire of Domuztepe is similar to all other contemporary sites but the number of tools is twice. Within this variety, Domuztepe has more variety of stone vessel types than the other Halaf sites. They mostly used serpentine to produce stone vessels. Bowls and spouted bowls are of common type.
In addition to them several incised stone bowls were found in Domuztepe.

For seal production local stones were used. Approximately 150 seals and related objects were found in the Domuztepe. The site has higher number of seals than the other sites. Most of them were found in the Operation I.

III.3.1. Pottery

A majority of the pottery found in Domuztepe whether painted or unpainted defined as Halaf Pottery (fig. 26c-d). They were usually orange or buff colored but sometimes they were found in gray. The shape and motifs of them were very common in Halaf Tradition. But, as in many other sites, some regional stylistic characteristics are observed in Domuztepe as well (Campbell 1999: 415-417). These are naturalistic scenes motifs are also available in painted Halaf group (fig. 26b).

While the second group used widely is unpainted pottery. They have usually red, brown or black surface. General form was bowl. However they were generally found in western part of Halaf tradition, best examples came from Levant, Wadi Rabah.

The other group consists of painted orange, orange slip on dark brown and black; bi-chrome they very resembled to painted orange but they have dark and red paint. This group has a small portion in Domuztepe pottery collection Fletcher, 2008:111-124).

Another group is vessels. These have globular bodies and long vertical necks with very thick walls (ca. 10 mm, fig. 26a). They have several forms; some of them have vegetable tempered examples (Fletcher, 2008:111-124).

The ratio of painted potteries found in Domuztepe is 40%. Rest of them consists of burnished ware; this type of ware was very common in Neolithic Period. In addition to them, there was another pottery type which was produced for ritual activities. This ware was generally broken intentionally during the rituals and placed at the graves (Campbell, 1992:182-195). During this period there was no central authority, rituals could be used for regulating the social relations. When considering the motifs some type of pottery and broken potteries could have had special meanings and played different roles in ritual activities.

III.3.2. Stamp Seals

The discovery of more than 100 stamp seals (fig 27) and sealings (fig 28) from Domuztepe suggests the presence of a need to control and/or record various

commodities. Nearly half of the seals were found in Operation I. Shape and motifs of these seals are geometric such as square, rectangle, circle and triangle. There is one seal in the shape of a hand and one or possibly two that represent feet (Campbell et al 1999 395-418).

There were some seals which are partially finished, indicated that seals were seals which were manufactured at Domuztepe. Wearing degree, rounded corners, re-drilling activities show that seals were used a long time and recycled (Gauld S.;Campbell S.;Carter E., 2003: 117-133).

III.3.3. Stone Vessels

Numerous miniature spouted stone bowls were found in operation I. Having a very fine workmanship, these bowls were made of a serpentine which is the local resource of Domuztepe. It is not surprising that stone bowls were found Halaf sites regularly but the ratios of these bowls were quite low. Despite this fact, in Domuztepe numerous of stone bowls were found. More than 140 fragments of base and rime were found, in addition to that numbers of complete bowls were found as well (fig 29). These were both spouted and decorated bowls. According to Campbell they are belonging to a group of high-status manufactured items, such as obsidian (Campbell, et all, 1999: 395-418). Considering that the ceramic technology was known, stone bowls, especially the fine incised decorated one could not be explained by only being used for practical purposes.

III.3.4. Obsidian

Obsidian, as Campbell (1992) suggests, may have been the only item traded over long distances in this way. Rather realistically, it may simply be the best preserved example of a much wider context within which variety of objects moved. When considering the circulation and re-circulation pattern of obsidian items, distance of obsidian resource, need for elaborate workmanship, it can be thought that these items were really valuable. Although they were generally used for chipped stone industry,

Non-utilitarian obsidian items were found. As an exotic material Obsidian required knowledge of sources and contact from there and when consider invest in non-utilitarian objects, and spatial distribution of items, it can be said that these objects had also a social value. Controlled by the certain groups, access to source and distribution could be controlled by certain groups. These materials played an important role of social identity during the Halaf period (Campbell et all 1999 395-418).

Obsidian artifacts from Domuztepe account for about 18%, or some 10,000 artifacts, of the chipped stone assemblage. Obsidian was obtained by long-distance exchange. This material is used for making tools in addition to being also used to make elaborated objects such as mirror, bead, bowl, and axe (Healey2001: 389-398).

Nearly 8000 obsidian tools were found in Domuztepe. In addition to that 200 non-utilitarian Obsidian objects were revealed. The obsidian was imported from eight different and widely separated sources in Central, Northeast and Southeast Anatolia. These sources are between 200 and 900 km distance from Domuztepe. Green Obsisian: Bingöl/Nemrut, Tranculent Gray: Göllüdağ-East, Tarnculent Brown-Opaque Black: Bingöl calcalkaline source, Reddy-brown black tranculent mixed Arteni, Black with red inclusion Pasinler (Healey, 2007:171-189). Chipped stones were made of black obsidian but non-tool obsidian items were made of grey, brown and reddish brown obsidian (Healey 2007: 171-189).

Mirror, vessel, small axes, seals and beads can be given as examples of non-utilitarian obsidian tools. Non-utilitarian objects are generally made of grey Obsidian. Only four tranculent green objects and three reddish Brown vessels were found (Healey, 2001: 389-398). Uncovered elongated beads (fig.30b), which were broken during the perforation, it is a fair assumption to think that some of them were made in Domuztepe. Some places, where lots of beads were found, were thought as a bead work-shop. However there is no evidence indicating that polished artifacts were made in Domuztepe. Not only polished items, but also there are no large pieces which used to making mirror or vessels (fig. 30a-c), was found (Healey, 2001: 389-398). In addition to them, there were some obsidians or other polished stone axes found (fig 31).

III.3.5. Figurines

The item which defines as figurine is consisting of a small animal and human sculpture usually made of clay but can be made of stone or bone. Figurines could be interpreted in several ways; children toys, good-luck charms, doll representing, casual spontaneous artistic, sacred and mythical, naked woman-mother goddess, reflection of Neolithic ideology, associated with ancestor (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:140-144). Some of the researchers believe that these figurines were used in cult practices (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:140-144).

During the Pre Pottery Neolithic period figurines were made small and stylized. In some cases, changing regionally, stylized human figurine heads were made portable. The human figurines were made in several position; standing, sitting, kneeling. Female figurines sometimes depicted as keeping their breasts by hand. During the pre-pottery Neolithic period some animal sculpture were found in several settlements. In Nevali Çori, Ain Ghazal and Göbekli Tepe, limestone sculptures in forms of lion, birds and other animals were found. There were also stone masks were uncovered. In Göbekli Tepe T-shaped pillar were uncovered. Which are nearly 3m tall and have animal reliefs such as lion, birds, snakes and other animals (Schmidt 2000). These t-shaped pillars could be representing masculinity.

In Halaf, figurines emerge in several forms, both fairly naturalistic and more stylized. The incised or paint motifs could be indicating clothes or body ornamentation.
In Sabi Abyad dozens of female figurines were found. General techniques of early 6th BC were painting and firing of clay. Some of figurines have hole in the neck indicated that head was separated. In some cases heads were broken intentionally. Animal figurines were crude and represent quadruped some with horns. These figurines could be bull.

In Domuztepe there were only a few figurines were found. Around the Death pit human and bird shaped pendant and piece of sand stone in the form of a phallus were found (fig. 32-b-c-d). In addition to them headless female figurines (fig. 32a) and pottery vessel in the shape of a woman (fig. 32e) were found (Campbell et all, 1999 395-418).

III.3.6. Stone Tools

Chipped stone of Domuztepe is a wide collection. They used a variety of materials as a tool. Chert is the most common one and most probably they were coming from several different sources. They used brown to black flint which could not be local. Quartz and obsidian were also used. Obsidian was taken by long distance trade. 7%-19% of chipped stone were made of Obsidian (Gauld S.; Campbell S.; Carter E., 2003: 117-133).

Chert was generally used for flake and blade production. Most common among the chert artifacts, are edge-retouched blades. There are some evidences indicating bitumen usage. Pierces, drills and scrapers were also found. There are a few number of projectile point were found, but the numbers of bifacial flaked were uncovered (Campbell et all, 1999: 395-418).

The settlements of this period have different obsidian distribution. Generally all settlements have a high percentage of obsidian, the ratio of obsidian in chipped stone industry is 20-40%, but in some sites it reached 80% (Tell Agap). However the manufacture debris cannot be determined in the sites. Most probably they had brought their stones in manufactured form. Obsidian generally was used for blade production (Campbell et all 1999: 395-418).

III.3.7. Bone Tools

Bone tools were found in nearly all settlements in a large number. From the Neolithic periods they had not demonstrated any significant differences in terms of the variety of tools. There were settlements with a similar repertoire having a wide geographical area. Their proportions may change but awls, pins and spatulas were the same tools which were detected in Neolithic settlements.

Almost all the settlements of Halaf period were same in the repertoire of the bone tool, especially same in terms of the form. Arpachiyah (Mallowan and Rose 1935), Sabi Abyad (Akkermans and Verhoeven 1995), Girikihaciyan (Watson and LeBlanc

1990), and Yarim Tepe II and III (Merpert and Munchaev 1993c; Merpert and Munchaev 1993d), among other Halaf sites have the same tool repertoire

Although similarities of tools were same as the other Halaf settlements, Domuztepe have more than twice bone tools than other settlements tools. The reason of that could be related to size of settlements. Most of the bone tools the vast majority of bone tools in Domuztepe were found in Death Pit. This situation may indicate the importance of bone tools for rituals burial (http://ebookbrowse.com/dt-bone-tools-doc-d263435131).

Jeffrey J. Szuchman are categorized the bone tools of Domuztepe in pointed implements, spatulas, Notched Scapulae, pierced ribs, pin and needle. Pointed implements are the tools which have been found in Domuztepe during the early level (fig. 33a). Generally they were described as awl. They were made of sheep, goat or other medium-sized mammal's long bones. Spatula's frequency is less than points (fig. 33b). These were made of sheep, goat or cattle ribs. In Domuztepe no complete spatula were found. It is manufacturing and wear pattern is the same as the points. Pierced ribs frequency is relatively frequent. They are generally spatula shaped and making from ribs. They were made from the large mammals ribs as well. Generally they have a hole on the round edge. The six percentage of the bone assemblage of Domuztepe is consisting of pins and needles (fig. 33c). Needles were generally made very fine and flat shape, pins were rounder. There is only one complete needle was found. Both of pins and needles are polished. A notched scapula is made of both sheep/goat and cattle (fig. 33d). It is the largest example measures nearly 16 centimeters across. The notched surface is well polished on one specimen and only slightly polished on the others.

In addition to these findings, a large number of beads were uncovered from the Domuztepe. Beads were made up of a variety of materials. Mostly serpentine or shell beads were preferred (fig 34a-b), while obsidian beads (fig 34c) which were broken during the perforation suggests that there might have been bead work-shop. In addition to these, especially around the Death Pit some pendants were recovered as well.

During analysis, in addition to materials introduced so far, sling ball and pot / stone Disc (fig. 35-36) will also be used. At Domuztepe, as with all Halaf settlements there were pottery which repaired after broken and if could not have been repaired, they were used for other purposes such as pot discs or spindle whorls.

CHAPTER IV

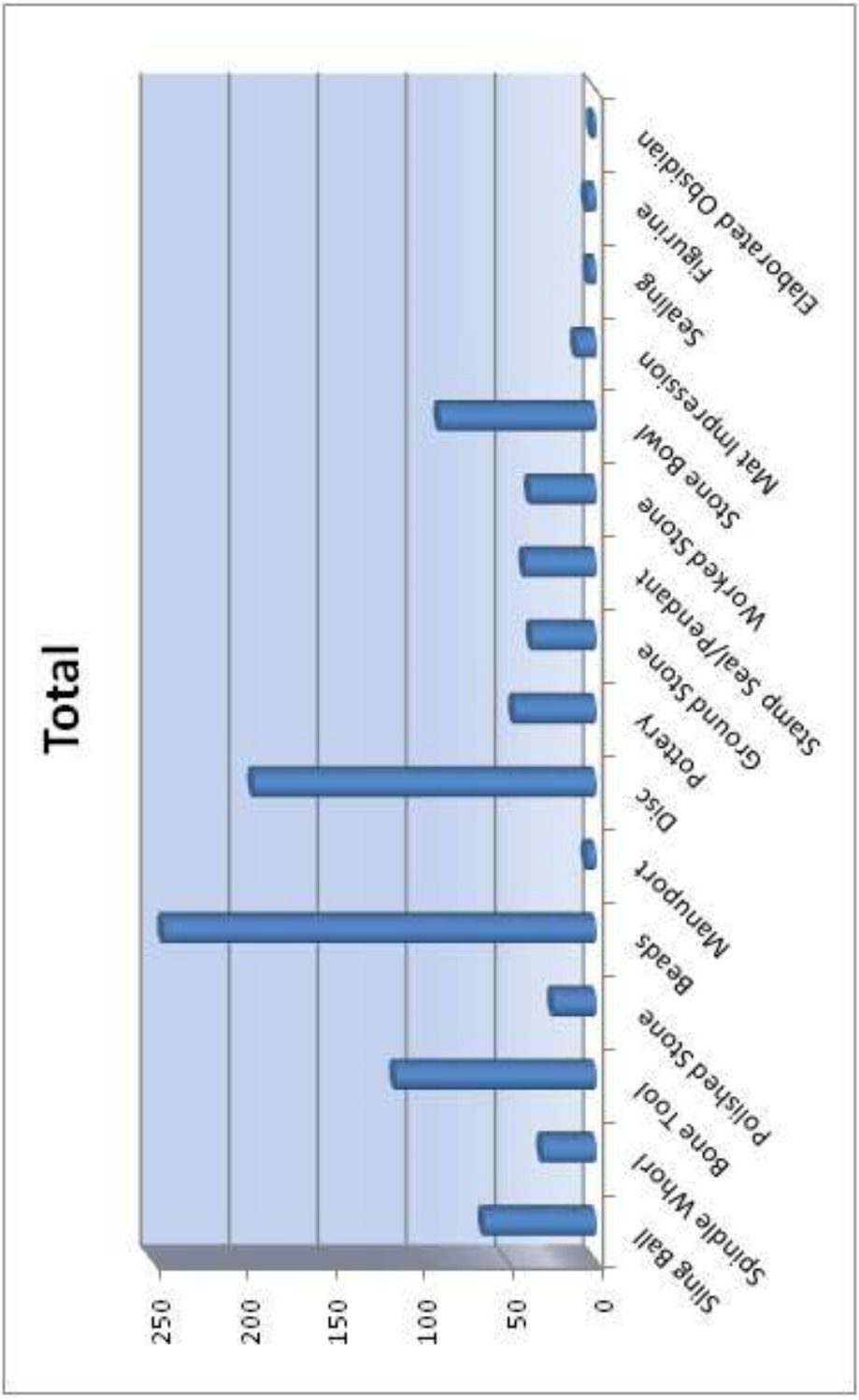
ANALYSIS

IV.1 Numeric Data Distribution of Contexts

First of all the numeric distribution of data from Domuztepe is done and represented in prepared bar-charts. Firstly, the total 946 finds which will be used for analysis were classified according to their types and present in the Table I.

Sling Ball	63	Disc	193	Stone Bowl	88
Spindle Whorl	30	Pottery	51	Mat Impression	11
Bone	113	Ground Stone	36	Sealing	4
Polished Stone	24	Stamp Seal/Pendant	40	Figurine	5
Beads	243	Worked Stone	37	Elab. Obsidian	2
Manuport	6				

Table 5. Distribution of the finds with regard to artifact categories



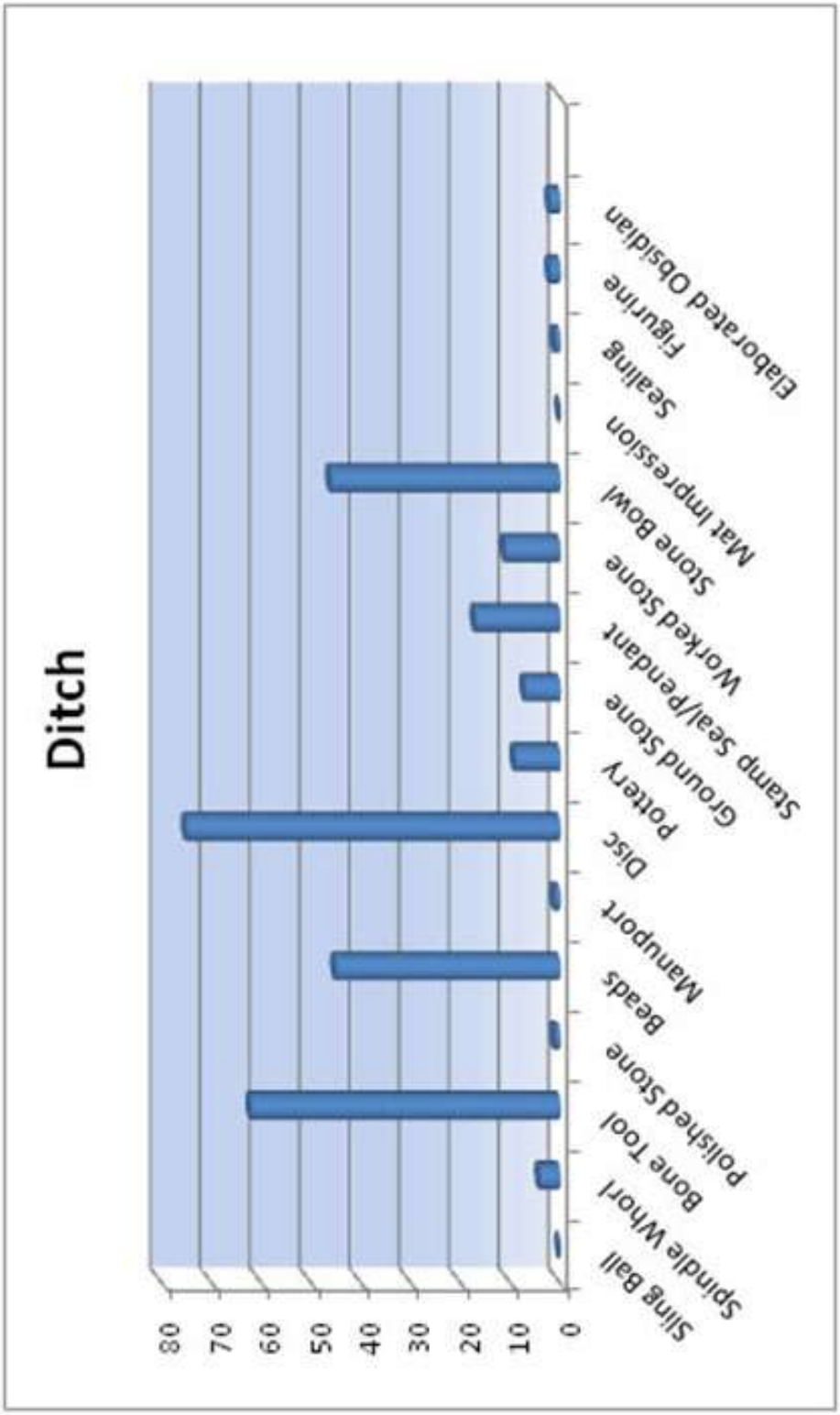
As a second step, these classified findings evaluated according to their contexts and distribution tables were prepared.

IV.1.1 The *Ditch*

The number of 283 artifacts, which are to be used in the study was recovered from ditch.

Sling Ball	0	Disc	75	Stone Bowl	46
Spindle Whorl	4	Pottery	9	Mat Impression	0
Bone	62	Ground Stone	7	Sealing	1
P. Stone	1	Stamp Seal/Pendant	17	Figurine	2
Beads	45	Worked Stone	11	Elab. Obsidian	2
Manuport	1				

Table 6. Distribution of artefacts in the Ditch

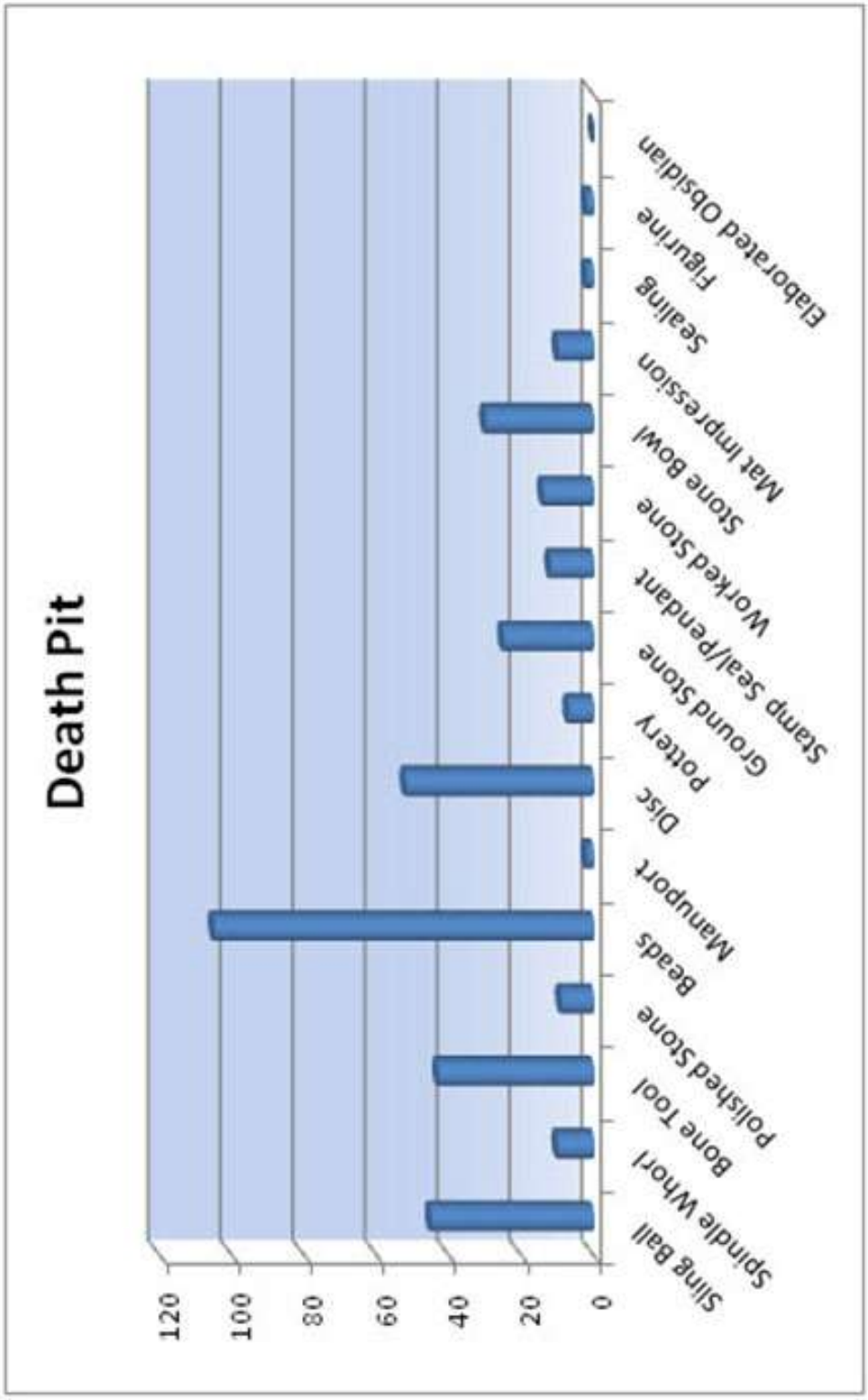


IV.1.2 Death Pit

The numbers of 368 artifacts to be used in the study were recovered from Death Pit. Numerical distribution of the finds uncovered here are as follows;

Sling Ball	45	Disc	52	Stone Bowl	30
Spindle	10	Pottery	7	Mat Impression	10
Bone	43	Chipped	25	Sealing	2
Polished Stone	9	Stamp Seal/Pendant	12	Figurine	2
Beads	105	Worked Stone	14	Obsidian	0
Manuport	2				

Table 7. Distribution of artefacts in the Death Pit

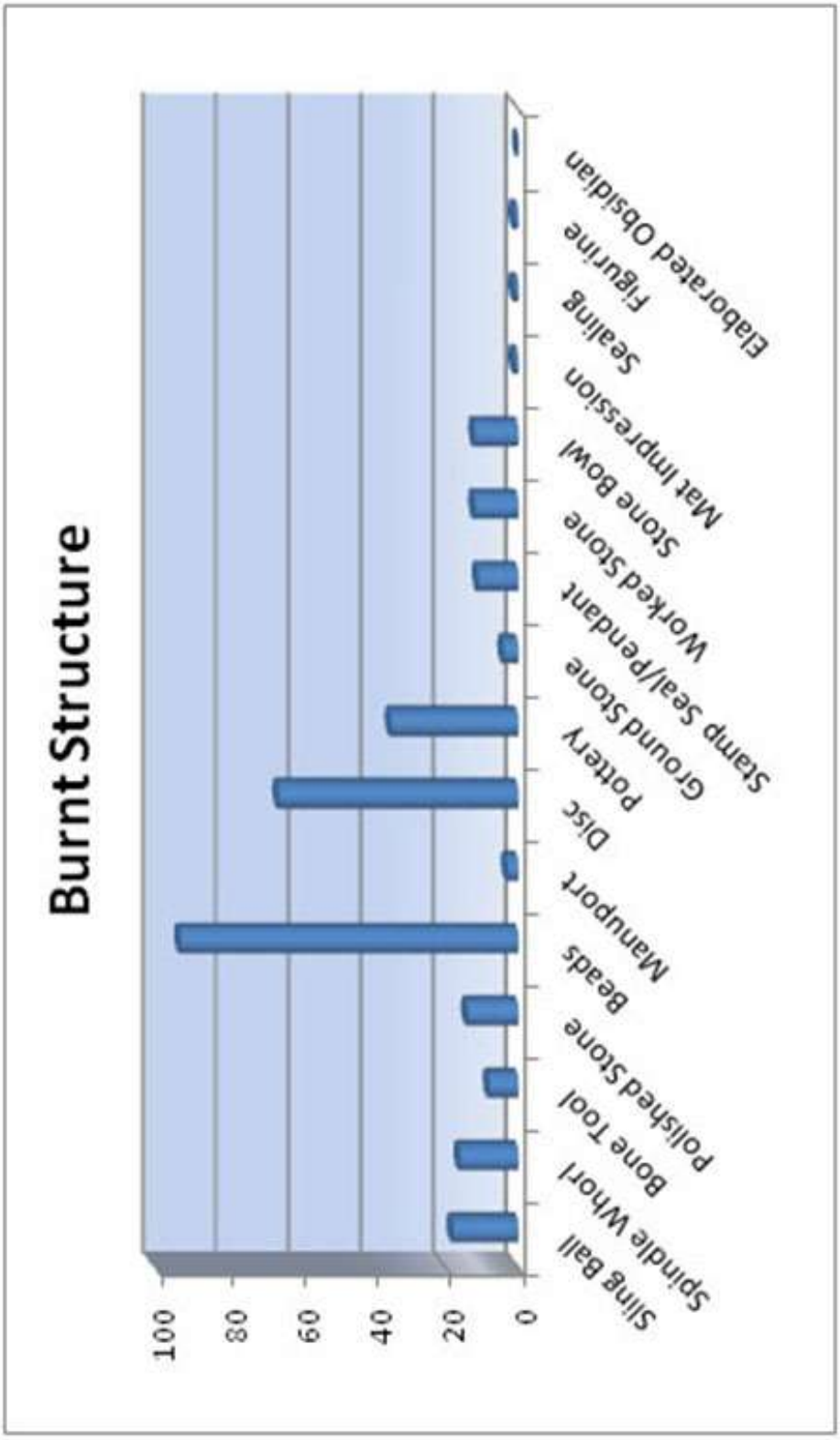


IV.1.3 The Burnt Structure

The numbers of 295 artifacts, to be used in the study were recovered from Burnt Structure. Numerical distribution of the finds uncovered here are as follows;

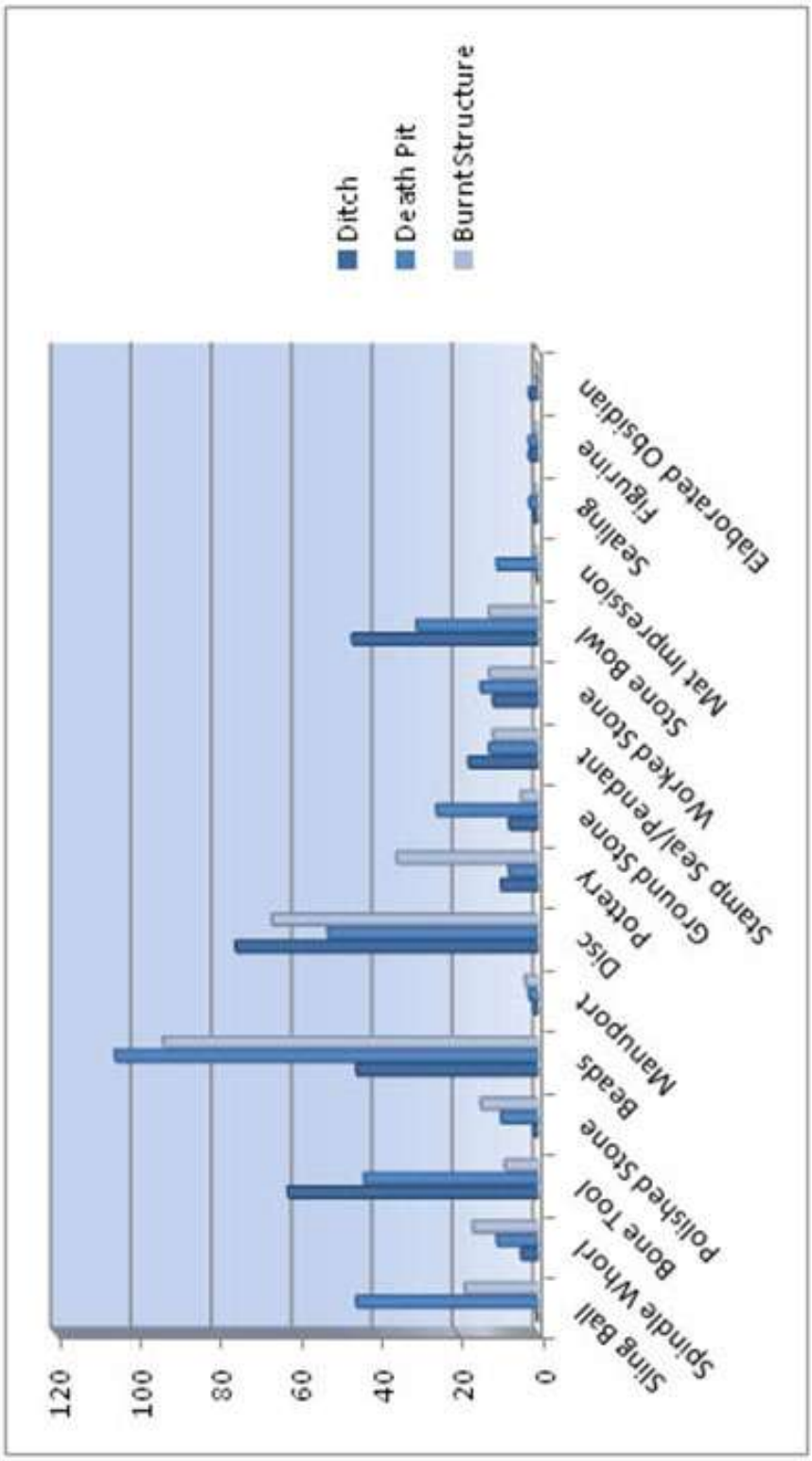
Sling Ball	18	Pot Disc	66	Stone Bowl	12
Spindle Whorl	16	Pottery	35	Mat Imp.	1
Bone	8	Ground Stone	4	Sealing	1
Polished Stone	14	Stamp Seal/Pendant	11	Figurine	1
Beads	93	Worked Stone	12	Elab. Obsidian	0
Manuport	3				

Table 8. Distribution of artefacts in the Burnt Structure



Small finds in both categories, as well as the comparison of contexts finds as follows;

Table 9. Comparison of Numeric Distribution of Three Spatial Contexts



Bar charts show that;

- Numeric Data Distribution of Contexts
- Each finds in each category shown in each context
- Death Pit has the largest number of findings
- Some findings are more numerous in some contexts;

But they do not help to determine if results are statistically significant. At the same time they do not say that which find groups are related to each other, and related to contexts and not indicate the degree of correlation. Therefore, to find answer of these questions, correspondence applied.

IV.2. Relationship of Small Findings to Each Context

The aim of this analysis is to understand the artifact group relationships with each other according to their spatial distribution and based on this relation to identify the role of both space and objects in constructing social relations.

IV.2.1 Correspondence Analysis

In order to understand whether there is any significant relation between the contexts and small findings Correspondence Analysis was applied. Correspondence Analysis provides understanding of relationship with data and contexts examining the finds groups according to contexts, categorizing the finds associated with each other and the relationship between finds and contexts; and measures the degree of this relationship (see Greenacre1994). The technique is examining the data for their relationship among them and represents this relation in a two dimensional chart. To do the analysis, numbers were given to each context and to prevent any confusion, these numbers were standardized and were used throughout the study.

There are two primary reasons for advocating the use of correspondence analysis as a method of data reduction and exploration. First, the technique assumes that all values in the matrix are positive (zeros are acceptable), and second, it assumes that all row

and column totals are greater than zero. In a typical correspondence analysis, a cross tabulation table of frequencies is first standardized, so that the relative frequencies across all cells sum to 1.0. One way to state the goal of a typical analysis is to represent the entries in the table of relative frequencies in terms of the distances between individual rows and/or columns in a low-dimensional space.

First the data were entered to the SPSS 14, and then strata were kept fixed and the numbers of group that are examined were distributed by weight case. And then the strata were listed in the rows and groups were listed in columns, and the ranges of these were defined. After this process, correspondence analysis, which is placed in SPSS 14, was used. The distribution between the points in the Correspondence Charts expresses the correlation between them. To explicitly define, chi-square test and Bertin Graphics is employed.

Correspondence analysis helps drawing a two dimensional table which shows the distances between the row and/or column points. However this method has some handicap; to find an optimal cross tabulation, it locates the columns and rows on the same scale. To solve this problem new graphical methods developed by Bertin (see in Bertin 1983). It turned to correspondence analylsis coordinates into ranks. (Chauchat and Risson, 1998). CA plot is much more chaotic, with a respectable amount of data loss; the observer should spend a notable time to find out associated points while simultaneously acting in a confused manner in the point cloud. Bertin Graphic can be defined as matrix of display. By using Bertin graphs, it is possible to turn initial matrix into a more homogeneous structure and obtain clerarer presentation. Bertin Graphs acquire data directly from contingency table and naturally create discriminative cluster groups for further interpretations. Data loss is minimized

It supplies more homogeneous cluster groups than Correspondence permutation table. This homogeneity makes it possible to see more detailed results in rows and columns.

To construct of the bertin graph

1- *Calculating the vertical percentages of the table,*
2- *Construction of drawing directly according to these percentages.*
3- *Giving the columns with a width proportional to the totals obtained from table.*
4- *In the final drawing; writing the totals per column (Güneş 2012: 99).*

Permuted Correspondence Tables were re-calculated again by using the chi-square test and transformed into Bertin Graphics.

In order to make analysis, findings category has taken a number. Total of fourteen categories were included in the analysis. It is try to understand their relations with each other and the contexts according to the spatial distribution of these groups.

Categories;

1	Polished stone is consisting of polished small axes;
2	Beads. Both stone and shell beads.
3	Manuport includes exotic materials.
4	Mat Impression. In the category of pottery, just special decorated pottery are included,
5	Pottery
6	Bone Tools included bone point, spatula, pins, needle, notched scapula. Additionally, fragments of bone tools were included
7	Stamp Seal/Pendant
8	Discs include stone disc and spindle whorl.
9	Elaborated Obs category is consisting of beads, small axe, mirror, vessel, pendant, tranchet, lunate, and other polished obsidian, figurine includes both animal and human figurines and in the category of stone bowls both bowls and fragments of bowls are present.
10	Stone Bowl
11	Sealing
12	Sling Ball
13	Figurine
14	Ground Stone includes chipped stone, pestles, mortars ans other types of stone

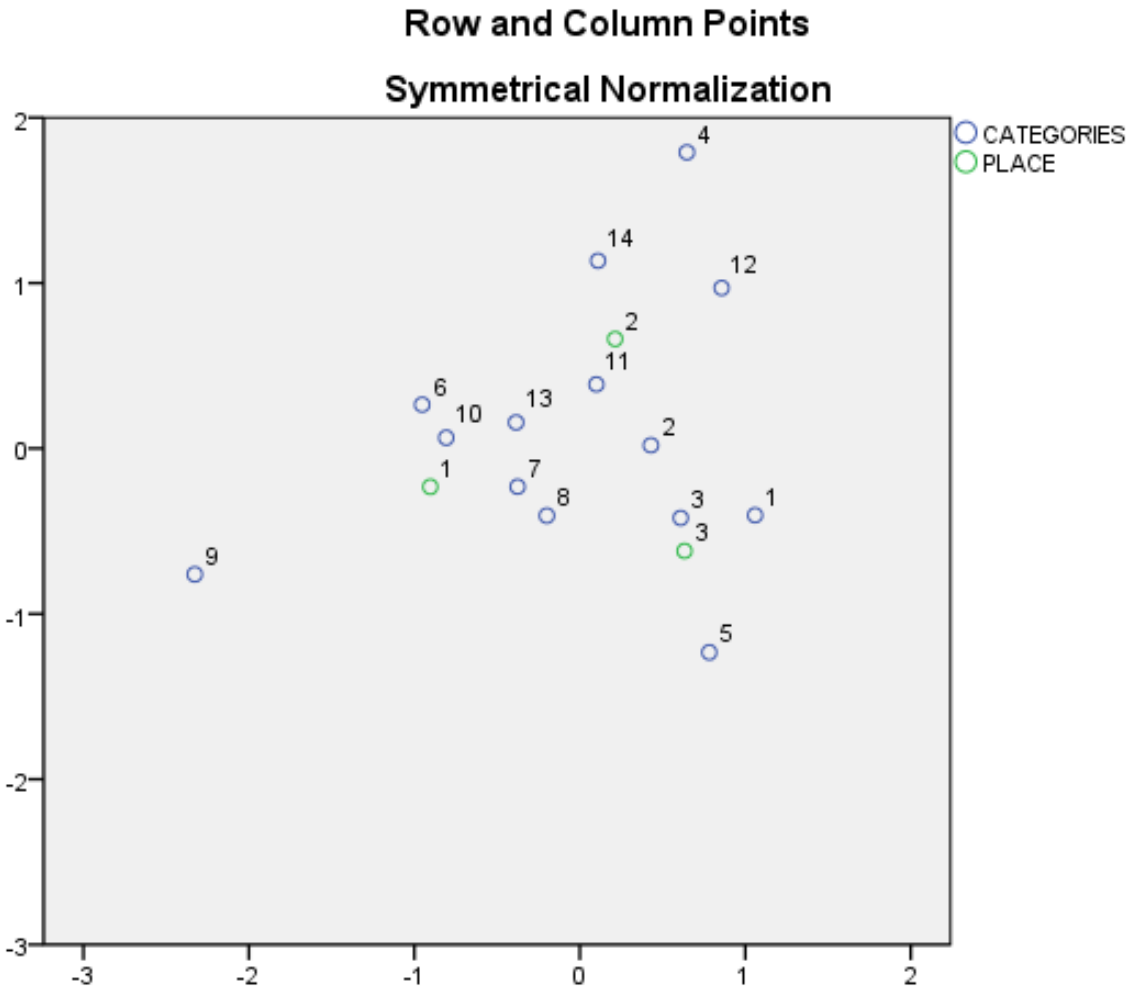
Each context also has taken a number for the analysis;

Places;

1	The Ditch
2	The Death Pit
3	The Burnt Structure

Findings were grouped in 14. In order to understand the connection between these 14 groups according to contexts Correspondence Analysis is employed.

Table 10. Correspondence Analysis of Small Finds Relation through the Contexts.



The spatial contexts are shown in the table with the blue ring and the artifact categories shown with the green rings. As the table indicates, majority of groups are related to each other and the Death Pit. Obsidian, appearing to be distant from the groups, looks relatively more closely related to the Ditch. Again ceramics seeming distant from the groups, seems to be closely related to the Burnt Structure.

Permuted Correspondence Tables were re-calculated again by using the chi-square test and transformed into Bertin Graphics. A Chi Square test was employed to

represent the relationship between the context and data in a different way. After the chi-square test, the category of bone tools, stone bowl, figurine; stamp seal, disc, sealing and beads and manuport appeared to be correlated with each other according to their spatial distribution and elaborated obsidian, ground stone, mat impression, sling ball and polished stone is not correlated with other assemblages.

Table 11. Chi-Square Test of Small Finds Relation through the Contexts.

Chi-Square	Ditch	Death Pit	Burnt Structure
Elab. Obsidian	0,267466564	0,782707622	0,607508532
Bone Tools	43,08946103	1599,102981	44,7554521
Stone Bowl	37,55313099	267,1813189	48,50609368
Figurine	4,88702364	88,56954673	4,44640291
Stamp Seal	30,95847891	67,06137536	128,3519511
Pot Disc	214,3267624	242,4421345	465,9853294
Sealing	6,773971836	5,638773237	6,865810716
Ground Stone	30,29971437	18,19152554	17,2422402
Beads	188,7033095	913,4222235	283,9449172
Manuport	4,035112853	15,83831895	2,820952664
Mat Imp.	3,353811149	3,254037362	4,768410631
Pottery	36,9168669	30,74018738	12,30156951
Sling Ball	19,20819113	29,87918398	322,2175999
Polished Stone	8,475698958	224,7664045	7,920477469

As a result of Chi-square test items according to spatial distribution grouped again. In Table 12 how many of these finds were recovered in each context and the total number of finds were uncovered in context were represented.

Table 12. Numeric Distrubition of Clustered Groups through the Contexts

		A	B	C
		The Ditch	The Death Pit	The Burnt Structure
1	Elab. Obsidian	2	0	0
2	Bone Tool, Stone Bowl, Figurine	110	75	21
3	Stam Seal, Sealing, Disc	93	66	78
4	Ground Stone	7	25	4
5	Bead, Manuport	46	107	96
6	Mat Impression	0	10	1
7	Pottery	9	7	35
8	Sling Ball	0	45	18
9	Polished Stone	1	6	14
10	Total	268	341	267

By applying *=YUVARLA(((A1/A$10)*10);0)* this Excel formula Bertin Graphic can be drawn.

Table 13. Bertin Graphic of Small Find Relation through the contexts

	DITCH	DEATH PIT	BURNT STRUCTURE
Bone Tool	■		
Stone Bowl	■		
Figurine	■	■	
	■	■	■
Stamp Seal			
Disc	■	■	
Sealing	■	■	■
	■	■	■
Ground Stone			
		■	
Bead			■
Manuport		■	■
	■	■	■
	■	■	■
Pottery			
			■
Sling Ball			
		■	■
Polished Stone			
			■

In Correspondence analysis table distances between the points indicates the relationship between the categories and places, however the degree of this relationship is clearly understood afterapplication of Bertin Graphic methods.

As can be seen from the table 13, groups which are evaluated according to the context some of the groups are related each other and contexts. The most related artifacts and the spatial contexts are grouped as Bone Tools, Stone Bowls and Figurines cluster. This group has 100% relation to the Ditch, 50% relation to the Death Pit and 25% relation to the Burnt Structure. The other group clustered with each other is Stamp Seal, Disc and Sealings. This group has 75% relation to the Ditch and the Death Pit, 50% relation to the Burnt Structure. The last clustered group consists of Beads and Manuport. This has 50% relation to the Ditch, 75% relation to the Death Pit and 100% relation to the Burnt Structure. Some groups showed no correlation with the others according to their spatial distribution. These are ground stone, pottery and sling ball. Ground Stone is not clustered with any other groups and related only Ditch with 25%. Pottery has limited relation with Burnt Structure. Sling Ball has 25% relation with Death Pit and Burnt Structure.

IV.2.3. Relationship of Cateogrically Selected Small Findings to Each Context

After first application of Correspondence Analysis to get clearer picture and understand the certain pattern of relationship data categories are narrowed. Categoies which can be defined as utuily tools such as ground stone; bone tools; and discs are excluded from analysis. These three categories are removed than continue with the remaining 10 categories and the analysis is performed again.

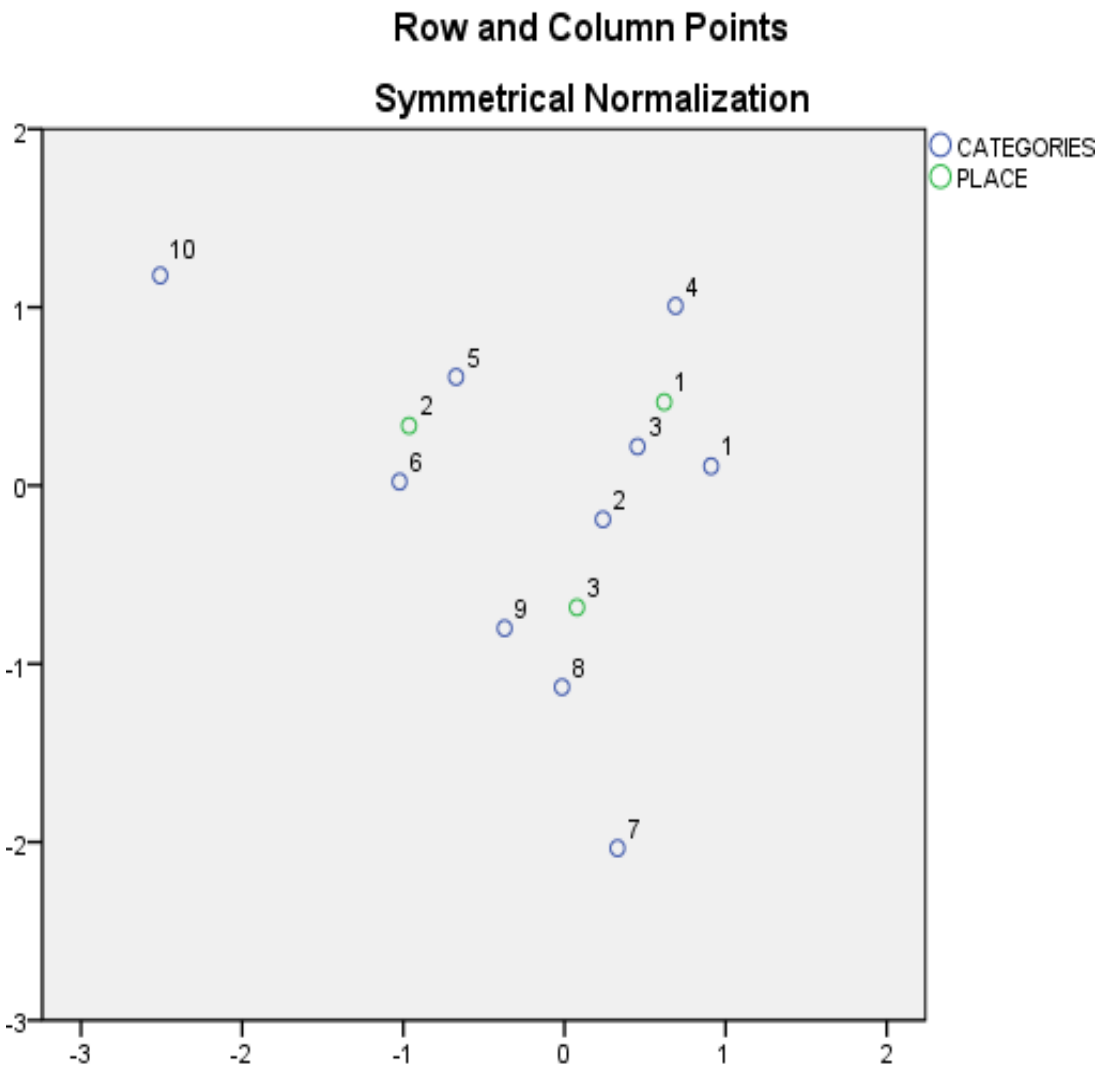
Ten categories used in the second stage;

Categories	
1	Polished Stone
2	Bead
3	Manuport
4	Pottery
5	Stamp seal/Pendant
6	Stone Bowl
7	Mat Impression
8	Sealing
9	Figurine
10	Elaborated Obsidian

Places	
1	The Burnt Structure
2	The Ditch
3	The Death Pit

As in the previous stage, to understand the relationship between this ten categories and places acoding to their spatial distrubition Correspondence Analysis was employed again.

Table 14. Correspondence Analysis Cateogrically Selected Small Findings Distribution of Contexts



As it is understood from the Table 14, the Death Pit is correlated with figurine, sealing, beads and mat impression. The Ditch is correlated strongly with stamp seal and stone bowl and to an extent with elaborated obsidian. The Burnt structure is correlated with pottery, beads, manuport and polished stone.

Table 15. Chi-Square Test of Cateogrically Selected Small Findings Distribution of Contexts

Chi-Square	Ditch	Death Pit	Burnt Strucutre
Elaborated Obsidian	4,153345154	-0,752642706	-0,723044397
Stone Bowl	22,79154164	-0,293245362	-12,34026928
Stamp Seal	6,672480295	-2,891472076	-0,216017139
Figurine	0,01481864	0,708085748	-0,925809944
Sealing	-0,208691377	1,34407044	-0,630146838
Bead	-5,491651322	2,008926914	0,301919416
Mat Impression	-2,88372093	8,296838255	-2,228206174
Manuport	-0,208691377	-0,029463699	0,318255999
Pottery	-1,428328004	-7,745484402	14,87783395
Polished Stone	-4,450692929	-0,00011135	3,266201386

As a result of the chi-square analysis (Table 14) it seems that elaborated obsidian stone bowl with seal and stamp seal create a cluster and are related to the Ditch. Other cluster is consisting of sealing, bead, figurine, mat impression and related to the Death Pit. Last cluster is consisting of manuport, pottery, and polished stone and related to the Burnt Structure. To explicitly define and understand the degree of this relation, bertin graphics is employed. Firstly final table is prepared and than excel formula *=YUVARLA(((A1/A$4)*10);0)* is applied.

Table 16. Numeric Distrubition of Cateogrically Selected Small Findings Clustered Groups through the Contexts

		A	B	C
		The Ditch	The Death Pit	The Burnt Structure
1	Obsidian, Stamp Seal Bowl	23	65	37
2	Figurine, Sealing, Bead, Impression	161	48	123
3	Manuport, Pottery, Polished Stone	52	11	18
4	Total	236	124	178

Table 17. Bertin Graphic of Cateogrically Selected Small Findings Distribution through the Contexts (Bertin Graphs)

	DITCH	**DEATH PIT**	**BURNT STRUCTURE**
Elab. Obsidian	■		
Stamp Seal	■		
Stone Bowl	■		
	■	■	
	■	■	■
Figurine		■	
Sealing		■	
Bead		■	
Mat Impresion	■	■	
	■	■	■
Manuport			
Pottery			
Polished Stone			■
	■	■	■

To begin with, it must be remembered; that this analysis measures the relationship of artifact categories with each other and places based on their distribution in spatial contexts. With this in mind, the artifact cluster of manuport, pottery and polished stone has been found to have 40% relation to the Burnt Structure, whereas it has only 20% relationship to the Death Pit and the Ditch. This 20 % relationship between this artefact cluster and the Death Pit and the Ditch was primarily due the large amounts of pottery found in the ditch, not due to the presence of polished stone and manuport in these contexts. However, the artifact cluster of manuport, pottery and polished stone is mostly related with the Burnt Structure which was destroyed by a sudden fire and has a large number of in-situ finds.

Other two groups seem to be strongly associated with the Death Pit and the Ditch. One artifact cluster consists of stone bowl, obsidian and seals. The degree of association of this artifact cluster with the spatial contexts is: 100% relation to the Ditch, 40% relation to the Death Pit and % 20 relations to the Burnt House. The third artifact cluster consists of figurine, sealing, beads and impression which has 100% degree of correlation with the Death Pit and 40% degree of correlation with the Ditch. Its relationship with burnt structure is the same as the previous group; 40%. Considering the results of analysis it can be said that extraction of daily use materials generally does not contradict the table. To explicitly define, some objects which have strong spatial correlation with the Death Pit and the Ditch continue to retain this relation.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Correspondence analysis method is used for the understanding of the relationship and correlation degree between the objects and the places. By means of this analysis, findings are grouped in terms of their relationship to each other and according to their spatial distribution. Through the analyses findings were clustered in three groups according their relation degree with the contexts:

The first artifact cluster group consists of elaborated obsidian, stamp seal and stone bowl. This group has 100% relation of Ditch, 40% of Death Pit and 20% of Burnt Structure.

The second artifact cluster group consists of figurine, sealing, mat impression and bead, and it is relation degree with contexts is as follows 100% relation of Death Pit, 40% of Ditch and 20% of Burnt Structure.

The third and last artifact cluster group consists of pottery, manuport and polished stone. With a degree of 40% this group is mostly related to Burnt Structure, and it has 20% relation degree with other two ritual contexts. The reason of this correlation could be explained by the Burnt Structure being destroyed by sudden fire and has lots of in-situ findings. According to analysis results it can be said that objects related to burial context and domestic context are sharply different. Objects that are correlated with Burnt Structure are defined as daily used objects such as ground stone, pottery, and sling ball. This situation must have been related to the fact that, this place is not associated with the ritual activities and at the end of sudden fire it had lots of in-situ findings.

It is significant that the Death Pit and the Ditch were associated with two separate assemblage groups. The Ditch is most strongly related to the first group (elaborated obsidian, stamp seal and stone bowl). The Death Pit is most strogly related to the

group two which is composed of figurine, sealing, mat impression and bead which may be considered as personal belongings. In contrast to these two special contexts, the Burnt Structure, possibly a domestic context, was associated with pottery, manuport items, and polished stone. I suggest that, the Ditch could be identified as a segregated meeting place of select individuals who gathered in isolation and performed culturally meaningful practices which involved stamp seal, stone bowl and elaborated obsidian use and discard. Nevertheless, this isolated meetingof select individuals would appear to have taken place in context of a large scale public event and at a speacially prepared place of the Red Terrace, which was composed of a series of other socially meaningful structured practices that involved human burials and food consumption.

In the light of the discussion up to now, rituals of this period could be summarized under two headings; Public and Private Rituals. Public rituals are highly visible and highly participated. Therefore, they did not obey strict rules in order to enhance aimed to social inclusion. The Red Terrace as a whole and the practices surrounding the deposition of the high numbers of human skeletons at the Death Pit can be considered as examples of the public rituals.

Private rituals are segregated in space and use of materials which indicate a different agenda. Segregated rituals were probably performed by a small and special group. It is understood that this special group had acess to special knowledge and skill that could handle objects such as obsidian, stamp seals and stone bowls. As will be remembered, obsidian was traded long-distance in Halaf Period. As an exotic material which represent the knowledge of sources and the social contacts, the symbolic meaning of obsidian is important as much as its physical properties. In fact, the elaborated vs. daily use obsidian tools were made from different sources with different colors, which may be an indication that the ritually symbolic vs the daily objects were differentiated.

In spite of the fact that production of ceramics was easier, Halaf settlements continued using of stone vessels. Considering the time and effort spent on them for decoration, they should have had different significance. In Domuztepe, most widely used stone resource is serpentine. In the region serpentine resources was available

but the selection of right sources (quality and workability) is very difficult and needs expertise (Dirican unfinished Phd Thesis). This indicated that great effort had been made to find a rightsource. Some evidence from the Hagoshrim settlemtn in Israel indicatethat the Southeastern Anatolian serpentine may have been used as the material of stone bowls in the Levant (Rosenberg, et al. 2010:281-293). Trading of this material which was often locally available suggest that serpentine of Kahramanmaraş serpentine may be a valuable object recognizable to the societies of a wide region. On the other hand, with their symbolically laden imagery recognizable to a wide audience, seals, which were often produced from the locally available serpentine, might have represented a kind of group identity, social status and its responsibilities rather than ownership.

More significantly, these materials were buried at the end of this segregated meeting of special individuals so that noone else could have acces to them. It is difficult to say who was in this special group, however it can be argued that they represented the groups which were involved in the public rituals. Their existence at the Ditch may be related to the end of past of social identities and relationships and beginning of new ones. It is possible to say that the groups executing these segregated rituals were the ones who had been deciding what is to be forgotten and to be remembered.

Indeed, some researchers believe that the 7^{th} and the 6^{th} millennium BC in Northern Mesopotamia is related to an increased segregation of male and female spheres with males taking increasingly more active public roles in which they were making decisions about the exchange of partners. According to Joan Oates (1996), headless female figurines were related to such nuptial agreements between men where female figurine heads were broken up when an agreement is achieved. David Wengrow (1998) also suggests that there were strong link between stone objects and gender representation. In his perspective, stone objects may have symbolized the unbreakable ancestral property of community controlled within male domains whereas artefacts made from clay, such as pottery, may have symbolized the female labor. Findings of pottery pieces in the Ditch, which may arguably be a male domain in the light of the above discussion, may be interpreted as demonstration of access to and control of female labor.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

In the light of the discussions so far, based on the Domuztepe rituals, practices of this period could be summarized under the following topics; first of all it can be said that rituals were not performed within strict guidelines. Despite the disappearance of the monumental buildings commitment to space was still continuing. Different temporary small Halaf communities had come together in especially large-scale agglomerated placements for ritual practices.

In the ritual zone enclosed by the Red Terrace, both communal and segregated ritual traditions are observed. Red Terrace is thought to be a boundary that separates areas of daily life vs. ritual areas of the settlement. The Death Pit and the Ditch, placed in the Red Terrace were very important spatial contexts, because of their relation to activities such as burials and food consumption. Analyses indicated that the objects related to these spatial contexts were differentiated. The figurine, sealing and the mat impression artefeact cluster was found associated with the Death Pit, while they showed a minimum correlation to the Ditch. These objects have been used in communal rituals and were shown to be relevant to each other and to the venue. The Death Pit was placed in central part of settlement and participated by large number of people. Through the highly visible rituals (such as preparing of Red Terrace or communal burials in Death Pit) social inclusion was achieved in this location of the settlement. It is possible that the Death Pit was part of a closing ritual associated with the abandonment of at least part of the site, since this context is chronologically very close to the abandonement of the site during the late Halaf Period.

On the other hand, the objects used in Ditch are different from the Death Pit. It indicates that a different type of ritual was performed with different types of objects. Stamp seals, stone bowls and elaborated obsidian are closely related to the Ditch. Objects which are correlated to this place could be interpreted as quite valuable in terms of social and cultural meaning. These objects differ from the other findings in

the way of raw materials, manufacturing technique and possibly symbolic value. The Ditch was arguably a venue for segregated rituals. Here it is thought that smaller groups were carrying out activities. With specialized knowledge, skill and social status to handle highly valued objects, these people perhaps were representatives of the sub-groups who gathered for the special occasion of feasting at Domuztepe.

As a result, it can be said that the group here had a determining role in the manipulation of the social processes, through the capital and power gained through the objects. The question hypothesizing whether the members of this group come from a prioritized class or representatives from different families will shed a light on the formation of institutional hierarchy in the next period. It is likely that the activity associated with the Ditch may be associated with some gender segregated social elite whose authority was accepted for making some important decisions. Nevertheless, this group does not seem to be consistent with an established institutionalized hierarchy that is capable of controlling the whole society in all economic and social matters.

The social and economic life of Halaf communities would appear to be based on extended family organizations (Akkermans 2003) who gathered in locations and formed large agglomerations such as Domuztepe. At these places, the social relations were controlled through highly visible public ritual activity where "socially significant" portable objects were employed. In the absence of monumental architecture, the relatively mobile groups of the Halaf period had focused on portable materials for defining their social relations and structuring their sense of self in a community. These objects gained their value due to their agency for constructing links between between the spaces and people. With the help of social practices which employed these objects, social relations were constantly revised and re-formatted with an eye toward the future. Such an interpretation calls for a closer look at the social structure of extended households in terms of gender and age relations which may be a subject of future study.

REFERENCES

Akkermans, P.M.M.G.

1989 "Tradition and Social Change in Northern Mesopotamia during the later Fifth and Fourth Millennia B.C." E.F. Henrickson and I. Thuesen (ed) *Upon this Foundation. The `Ubaid Reconsidered*. Copenhagen: 339-367.

1991 "New radiocarbon dates for the later Neolithic of northern Syria" *Paleorient* 17-1: 121-125.

1993 *Villages in the Steppe: Later Neolithic Settlement and Subsistence in the Balikh Valley, Northern Syria.* Ann Arbor.

2000 "Old and New Perspectives on the Origins of the Halaf Culture" in *l'Euphrate syriens de la Protohistoire à la fin du IIe millénaire av.J.-C.* Turnhout: Brepols: 46-54.

2008 "Burying the Dead in Late Neolithic Syria." In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*. Madrid: UAM: 621- 645.

Akkermans, P.M.M.G., I. Rossmeisl

1990 "Excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad, Northern Syria: a regional centre on the Assyrian frontier." *Akkadica* 66: 13-60.

Akkermans, P.M.M.G., M. Verhoeven

1995 "An image of complexity: the burnt village at Late Neolithic Sabi Abyad, Syria." *American Journal of Archaeology* 99: 5-32.

Akkermans, P.M.M.G., K. Duistermaat,

1996 "Of storage and nomads. The sealings from Late Neolithic, Sabi Abyad, Syria." *Paléorient* 22-2: 17-44

Akkermans P.M.M.G., K. Duistermaat

1997 "Of storage and nomads. The sealings from Late Neolithic, Sabi Abyad, Syria." *Paléorient* 22:17-44.

2004 "More Seals and Sealings from Neolithic Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria" *Levant* 36:1-11

Akkermans P.M.M.G., Glenn M. Schwartz

2003 *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c.16,000-300 BC).* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aldenderfer, M.
1993 "Ritual, Hierarchy, and Change in Foraging Societies" *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 12- 1:1-40.

Atakuman-Eissenstat, Ç.
2004 "*Ritualization of Settlement: Conditioning Factors of Spatial Congruity and Temporal Continuity during the Late Neolithic of Southeastern Anatolia*." (Unpublished Phd Thesis) Los Angelos: UCLA.

Azoury, I. and C. Bergman
1980 "A Stone Age Village on the Euphrates. I-V. Reports from the Halafian Settlement at Shams ed-Din Tannira: AUB Rescue Excavations 1974. II The Halafian Lithic Assemblage of Shams ed-Din Tannira" *Berytus Archaeological Studies Beyrouth* 28: 127-143

Bell, C.
1997 *Ritual: Perpectives and Dimensions.* New York: Oxford University Press.

2002 *Ritual theory, ritual Practice.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Bernbeck, R., S. Pollock and C. Coursey
1999 " The Halaf Settlement at Kazane Höyük. Preliminary Report on the 1996 and 1994 Seasons" *Anatolica* 25: 109-147.

Bertin, J.
1983 *Semiology of Graphics* (William J Berg, Trans.) Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press Madison.

Bloch, M.
1989 *Ritual, History and Pow*er. London: Athlone Press.
1992 *Prey into Hunter: The Politics of Religious Experience.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P.
1984 *Distinction*: *A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Harvard University Press.

Braidwood, R. J.
1937 *Mounds in the plain of Antioch. An Archaeological Survey*. Chicago: Oriental Instute Publications.

1995 *Tarih Öncesi İnsan.* İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

Brittain, M., O.Harris
2010 "Enchaining arguments and fragmenting assumptions: reconsidering the fragmentation debate in archaeology." *World Archaeology* 42- 4: 581-594.

Bulgarelli, G.M.
1981"Turquoise working in the Helmand Civilisation. Some Obsevations" *South Asian Archaeology* 1979 : 65-69.

Büyükkarakaya, A.M.
2004 *Anadolu Erken Neolitik Toplumlarında Mine Hipoplazilerinin Epidemiyolojisi (*Unpublished Master Thesis) Ankara: Hacettepe Universitesi.

Chauchat, J., Risson, A.
1998 *Visialization of Catagorical Data.* California: Academic Press.

Campbell, S.
1992 **"**The Halaf period in Iraq: Old sites and New." *The BiblicalArchaeologist* 55-4: 182-192.

1998 "Problems of definition: the origins of the Halaf in North Iraq " *Subartu IV- 1*: 39-52.

2000a "The Burnt House at Arpachiyah: a republication and reinterpretation." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 318: 1-40.*

2000b "Archaeological Constructs and Past Reality on the Upper Euphrates." in *Tishreen Dam Conference Proceedings,* Barcelona.

2007a "Rethinking Halaf Chronologies **" ,** *Paléorient* 33-1 : 101 – 134.

2007b "The Dead and the living in Late Neolithic Mesopotamia *" , Scienze dell'antichità Storia Archeologia Antropologia* 14/1:*125 – 140.*

2012 "Rhythms of the past: Time and memory at late Neolithic Domuztepe" in Ferran Borrell Tena, Mònica Bouso García, Anna Gómez Bach, Carles Tornero Dacasa & Oriol Vicente Campos (eds.) *Broadening Horizons 3. Conference of Young Researchers Working in the Ancient Near East.*

Campbell, S., E. Carter; E. Healey, S. Anderson, A. Kennedy, S. Whitcher
1999 "Investigating complexity in SE Turkey: The Domzuetepe project 1995-97" *American Journal of Archaeology* 103**:** 395-418.

2008 "Feasting and dancing: gendered representation and pottery in later Mesopotamian prehistory*."* In Diane Bolger (ed), *Gender through Time in the Ancient Near East*: 53-76.

Campbell , S. and A. Fletcher
2010 "Questioning the Halaf - Ubaid transition " , In Carter and Philip (ed), *Beyon the Ubaid* : 69 – 83 .

Campbell, S. and E. Healey
2011 "Stones of the living and bones of the dead? Contextualising the lithics in the Death Pit at Domuztepe" In O. Maeda (ed.) *The State of the Stone: Terminologies, Continuities and Contexts in Near Eastern Neolithic Lithics*: 327-342.

Campbell, S. Kansa, R. Bichener and H. Lau
2013 "Burying things; practices of cultural disposal at late Neolithic Domuztepe, southeast Turkey" in printing.

Carter, E.
1997 "The Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Survey projects: A Preliminary Report on the 1994 Season." *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 14:289-305.

Carter, E. S. Campbell, S. Gauld
2003 " Elusive Complexity : New Data from late Halaf Domuztepe in South Central Turkey." *Paleorient.* 29-2: 177-193.

Carter, E. Campbell
2007 " The Domuztepe Project, 2006" *Kazi Sonuclari Toplantisi* 29: 123-136.

Chapman, J.
2000 *Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places, and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of South Eastern Europe.* Routledge Chapman & Hall.

Chapman, J. and B.Gaydarska
2007 *Parts and Wholes. Fragmentation in Prehistoric Context.* Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Connorton, P
1989 *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Costello, S.K.
2011"Image, Memory and Ritual: Re-viewing the Antecedents of Writing" *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 21-02: 247 - 262.

Croucher, K. and S. Campbell
2009 "Dying for a change? Bringing new senses to Near Eastern Neolithic mortuary practice" in *Que(e)rying Archaeology: the proceedings of the 30th annual Chacmool Conference, Calgary*, 95-105. Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary.

Davidson, T.E.
1977 *Régional Variation within the Halaf Ceramic Tradition*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

Davidson T.E, T. Watkins
1981 "Two seasons of excavation at Tell Aqab in the Jezirah, NE Syria" *Iraq*, 43-1: 1-12.

DeMarrais E, LJ Castillo, T Earle
1996 "Ideology, materialization, and power strategies." *Current Anthropology*, 37-1: 15-31.

Dolukhanov, P.M.
1998 "Neolithic with a Human Face or dividing Lines in Neolithic Europe." Domanskaand Jacobs (ed) *Beyond Balkanization. Baltic pontic Studies* Vol.5: 13-22.

Durkheim, E.
1965 *The Elemantary Forms of the Religious Life. (*J.W. Swain. Trans) New York: Free Press.

Earl, T.
1987 "Chiefdoms in Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspective" *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16: 279-308.

2001 "Institutionalization of Chiefdoms" *Fundamental Issues in Fundamental Issues in Archaeology* 2001**:** 105-124.

Erdal, Ö. D.
2004 "*Eklem Hastalıklarının Yaşam Biçimiyle İlişkisi: Eski Anadolu Toplulukları Örneği"* (Unpublished PhD Thesis), Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi.

Erdem, D.
2006 *Social Differentiation in Çayönü And Abu Hureyra Through Burial Customs and Skeletal Biology*. (Unpublished Master Thesis) Ankara: ODTÜ.

Fletcher, A.
2008 "Ceramic Styles at Domuzte: Evidence for Social Interactionin the Late Neolithic*" 4 ICAANE*: 111-115.

Frangipane, M.
2007 "Different types of egalitarian societies and the development of inequality in early Mesopotamia" *World Archaeology* 9- 2:151-176.

Foucault, M.
2013 *Hapishanenin Doğuşu*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 4. Basım.

Fried, M. H.
1960 "On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State." In Stanley Diamond (ed) *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin*: 713-31. New York: Columbia University Press.

Güneş, S.
2012 "The Use of Bertin Graphs in Product Research" *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, Vol .2-2 : 94-106.

Garstang, J.
1908 "Excavations at Sakje-Geuzi in North Syria; preliminary report for 1908." *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* Vol. 1:97-117.

Goring-Morris A.N.
2000 The Quick and the Dead: The Social Context of Aceramic Neolithic Mortuary Practices as seen from Kfar HaHoresh. *In*:Kuijt I. (ed.), *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities. Social Organization, Identity, and Differentiation*: 103-135. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Greenacre, Michael J.
1994 *Correspondence Analysis in the Social Sciences: Recent Developments and Applications.* London: San Diego Academic Press.

Healey, E.
2001 "The role of obsidian at the Halaf site of Domuztepe, S.E. Anatolia" in Caneva, I., D. Lemorini, D. zampetti and P. Biag (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third Workshop on PPN Chipped Lithic Industries.* Berlin, pp 389-98.

2007 "Transanatolia: Bridging the Gap between East and West in the Archaeology of Ancient Anatolia "*Anatolian Studies* Vol. 57: 171-189.

Helms, M.W.
1988 *Ulysses' Sail.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Helwing, B.
2003 "Feasts as a social dynamic in Prehistoric Western Asia - three case studies from Syria and Anatolia." *Paléorient* 29-2:63-85.

Hayden, B.
1996 **"**Feasting in prehistoric and traditional societies." In Wilson, P. P. Wiessner Wiessner, S. Wulf (eds.)*Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective:* 127-146.

1998 "Practical and prestige technologies: The evolution of material systems" *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 5-1: 1-55.

2001 "The Dynamics of Wealth and Poverty in Transegalitarian Societies of Southeast Asia." *Antiquity* 75- 2: 571-582.

2009 "Funerals As Feasts: Why Are They So Important?" *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19- 01: 29-52.

Hodder, I.
2012 *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

1992 "Symbolism, meaning and context" in *Theory and Practice in Archaeology.* in I.Hodder (ed) *Theory and Practice in Archaeology*. Routledge.

Hole, F. and G. A. Johnson
1986 "Umm Quesir on the Habur: Preliminary Report on tne 1986 Excavation." *Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 36-37:172-220.

Horwitz, L.K.
1987 "Animal offerings from two Middle Bronze Age tombs". *Israel Exploration Journal* 37: 251-255.

Kansa, W.S, S. C. Gauld, S. Campbell and E.Carter
2009 "Whose Bones are those? Preliminary Comparative Analysis of Fragmented Human and Animal Bones in the "Death Pit" at Domuztepe, a Late Neolithic Settlement in Southeastern Turkey." *Anthropozoologica* 44-1:159-172.

Kansa, S. W, S. Campbell
2002 "Feasting With the Dead? – A ritual bone deposit at Domuztepe, South eastern Turkey (c. 5550BC)." In Sharyn Jones O'Day et al (ed) *Proceedings of the 9th ICAZ Conference,* Vol 1: Behaviour Behind Bones: 2-13.

Kuijt, I.
2004 "When the Walls Came Down: Social Organization, Ideology and the Collapse of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic" In H.G. Gebel, H.D. Bienert (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Symposium on Central Settlements in Neolithic Jordan: Studies in Early Near Eastern Production, Subsistence, and Environment,* Berlin.

Kuijt, I. and N.G.Morris
2002 "Foraging, Farming, and Social Complexity in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic of the Southern Levant: A Review and Synthesis" *Journal of World Prehistory* 16-4: 361-440.

Lee, D.J.
2003 *Social Differentiation: Pattern and Process.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Le Miere M. and O. Nieuwenhuyse
1996 "The prehistoric pottery" In Akkermans, P.M.M.G. (éd.),Tell Sabi Abvad: the Late Neolithic settlement. Report on the excavations of the University of Amsterdam (1988) and the National Museum of Antiquities Leiden (1991-1993)" in Syria: 119-285. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.

Lyonnet. B.
2000 *Prospection archeologique du Haut-Khabur accicental*. Beyrouth: Institut Français d'Archaeologque du Proche-Orient.

Mallowan M.E.L., C. Rose
1935 'Excavations at Tell Arpachiyah, 1933', *Iraq* 2: 1-178.

Merpert, N, R. Munchaev
1987 'The Earliest Levels at Yarim Tepe I and Yarim Tepe II in Northern Iraq." *Iraq* 49:1-36.

Miller D. and Tilley C. (eds)
1984 *Ideology, Power and Prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridege Press.

Mallowan M.E.L and J.C. Rose
1935 "Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah 1933" *Iraq* 2: 1-48.

Molleson, T. I.
1994 "Eloquent Bones of Abu Hureyra" *Scientific American* 271-2: 70-75.

Nieuwenhuyse, O.
2006 *Plain and painted pottery.* Phd Thesis. Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.

Oppenheim, M. F. Von.
1943 *Tell Halaf. Vol. 1.Die Prähistorische Funde*. Berlin.

Özbal, R.
2010 "A Comparative Look at Halaf and Ubaid Period Social Complexity and the Tell Kurdu Case." *TUBA-AR* 13: 39-50.

Özbek, M.
2005 "Neolitik Toplumlarda Baş veya Tüm Bedeni Alçılama Geleneği: Anadolu ve Yakındoğu'dan Bazı Örnekler" *TÜBA-AR VIII:* 127-135.

Özdoğan A.
1995 "Life at Çayönü during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period" *Readings in Prehistory, Studies presented to Halet Çambel*, İstanbul: Graphis Pub: 79-100.

1999 " Çayönü" in M. Özdağan and N. Başgelen (ed) *Neolithic in Turkey,The Cradle of Civilization*Arkeolojyi ve Sanat Yayınları:35-65.

Peregrine, N.P.
2002" Southern Asia Upper Paleolithic" in *Encyclopedia of Prehistory:* 370-371.

Plourde, A. M.
2009 "Prestige Goods and Formation of Political Hierarchy: A Costly Signaling Model." in S. Shennan (ed) *Pattern and Process in Cultural Evolution*: 265-277.

Pollock, S.
2011 Making a Difference: Mortuary Practices in Halaf Times. in Amy Baadsgaard, Alexis Boutin, And Jane (ed) *Breathing New Life into the Evidence of Death: Contemporary Approaches to Bioarchaeology*, Buikstra Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press.

Rappaport, R.
1999 *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roaf, M.
1990 *Cultural atlas of Mesopotamia and the ancient Near East*. Publiher Facts on File.

Rooijakker, C.T.
2012 "Spinning animal fibres at late Neolithic Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria" *Paléorient,* 38.1-2:93-109.

Rosenberg, D., N. Getzov, A. Assaf
2010 "New Light on Long-Distance Ties in Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic Near East." *Current Anthropology* 51-2: 281-293.

Service, E. R.
1962 Primitive Social Organization. New York: Random House.

Shennan, S.
1997 *Quantifiying Archaeology*. Edinburg**:** Edinburg University Press.

Schmith, K**.**
2010 "Göbekli Tepe, Southeastern Turkey. A Preliminary Report on the 1995-1999 Excavations." *Paléorient* 26- 26-1:45-54.

Smith, M.E.
1987 "Household Possessions and Wealth in Agrarian States: Implications for Archaeology" Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 6-4: 297-335

Stein, G.
1994 "Economy, ritual, and power in 'Ubaid Mesopotamia" In Stein G. M. Rothman (ed) *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East: The organizational Dynamics of Complexitiy*.

Szuchman, J. J.
2013 **"**The Bone Tools of Domuztepe**"** http://opencontext.org/search/DT (last access in 01.07.2013).

Tekin, H.
2005 "Yeni Buluntular Işığı Altında Anadolu'da Hassuna ve Samarra Seramiğinin Yayılımı Üzerine bir Gözlem." *H.Ü Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 22- 1**:** 183-202.

2005 "Hakemi Use. A new discovery regarding the northern distribution of Hassunan/Sammarran Pottery in the Near East" Antiquity 79-303 Article Number79008.

Tsuneki, Akira
2010 "A newly discovered Neolithic cemetery at Tell el-Kerkh, northwest Syria*."* In Paolo Matthiae, Frances Pinnock, Lorenzo Nigro and Nicholò Marchetti (ed) *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East May, 5th-10th 2008, "Sapienza" - Università di Roma* : 697-713. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Turner, V.
1969 *The Ritual Process*. Chicago: Aldine.

Twiss, K.C.
2008 "Transformations in an early agricultural society: feasting in the southern Levantine Pre-Pottery Neolithic." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27- 4: 418–442.

Verhoven, M.
2002 "Transformations of society: the changing role of ritual and symbolism in the PPNB and the PN in the Levant, Syria and south-east Anatolia." *Paléorient* 28-28-1: 5-13.

Watkins, T.
1990 "The Origins of House and Home" *World Archaeology*, Vol. 21, No. 3: 336-347.

Watkins T., S. Campbell
1987 "The Chronology of the Halaf Culture', in: O. Aurenche et al. (Eds.), Chronologies in the Near East." *BAR International Séries* 379: 427-464.

Watson, P. J., Steven S.A. LeBlanc, Charles L. Redman
1971 *Explanation in Archeology: An Explicitly Scientific Approach.* New York: Columbia University Press.

1983 The Halafian Culture: a Review and Synthesis. In t T.C. Young, P.E.L Smith and P. Mortenson (ed) *The Hilly Flanks and Beyond.*: 231-250 Chicago:University of Chicago Press.

Watson, P. J., S.A. LeBlanc
1990 *Girikihaciyan: a Halafian site in Southeastern Turkey*, Los Angelos: UCLA.

Wattenmaker, P., A. Mısır
1994 "1992 Excavations at Kazane Höyük" *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 12*: 177-192.

Wengrow, D.
1998 **"**The Changing Face of Clay: Continuity and Change in the Transition from Village to Urban Life in the Near East.**"** *Antiquity*, 72-278: 783-795.

Yoffe, N, A. Sherratt
1993 *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Zeder, M.A

1994 **“**After the revolution: Post-Neolithic subsistence in northern Mesopotamia” *American Anthropologist* 69- 1:97-126.

Zeist, W. and Waterbolk-van Roojen

1996 The cultivated and wild plants. In *Tell Sabi Abyad, the late neolithic settlement: report on the excavations of the University of Amsterdam (1988) and the National Museum of Antiquities Leiden*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A FIGURES

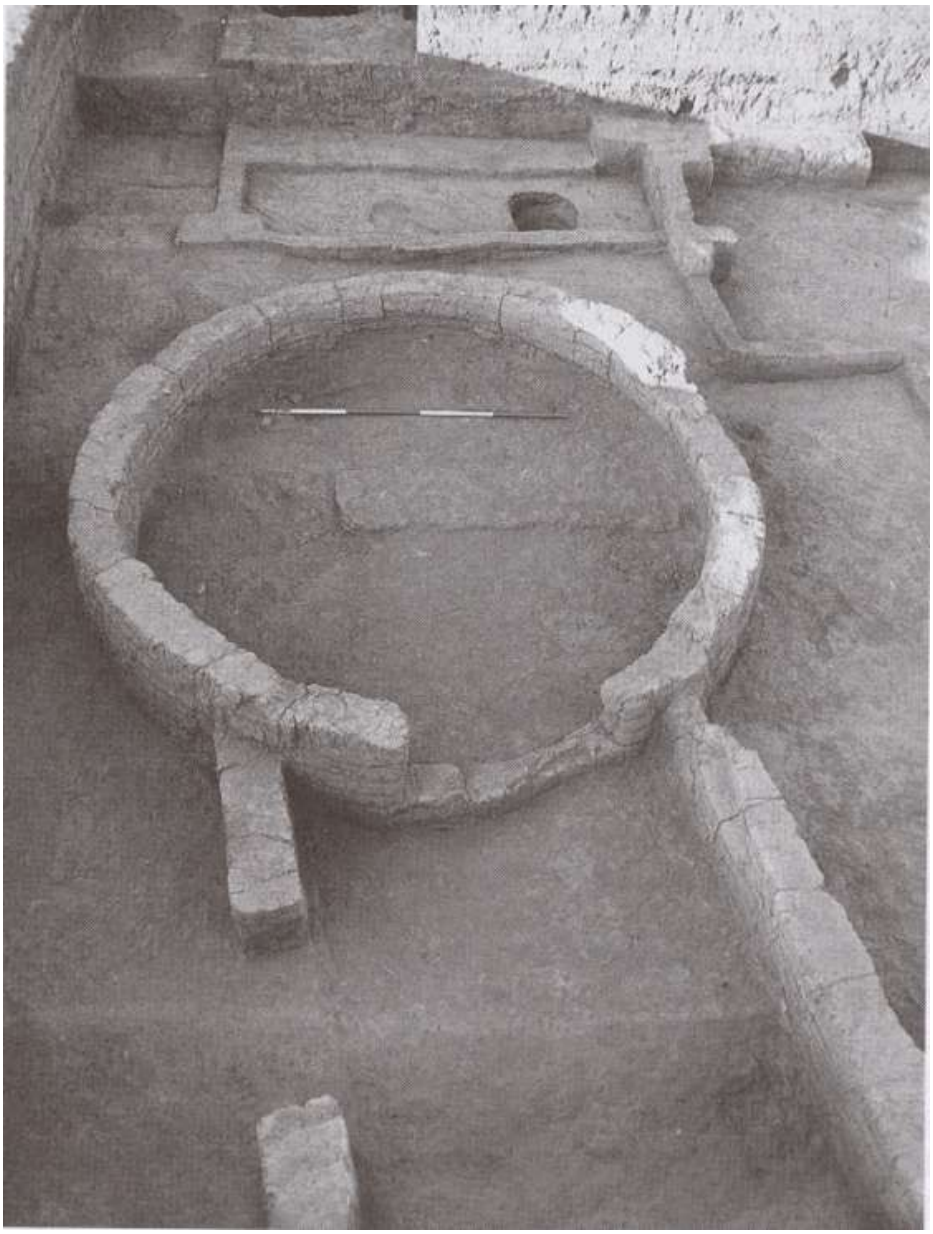


Figure 1. Example of Tholos from Sabi Abyad
(Akkermans, 2003:104).

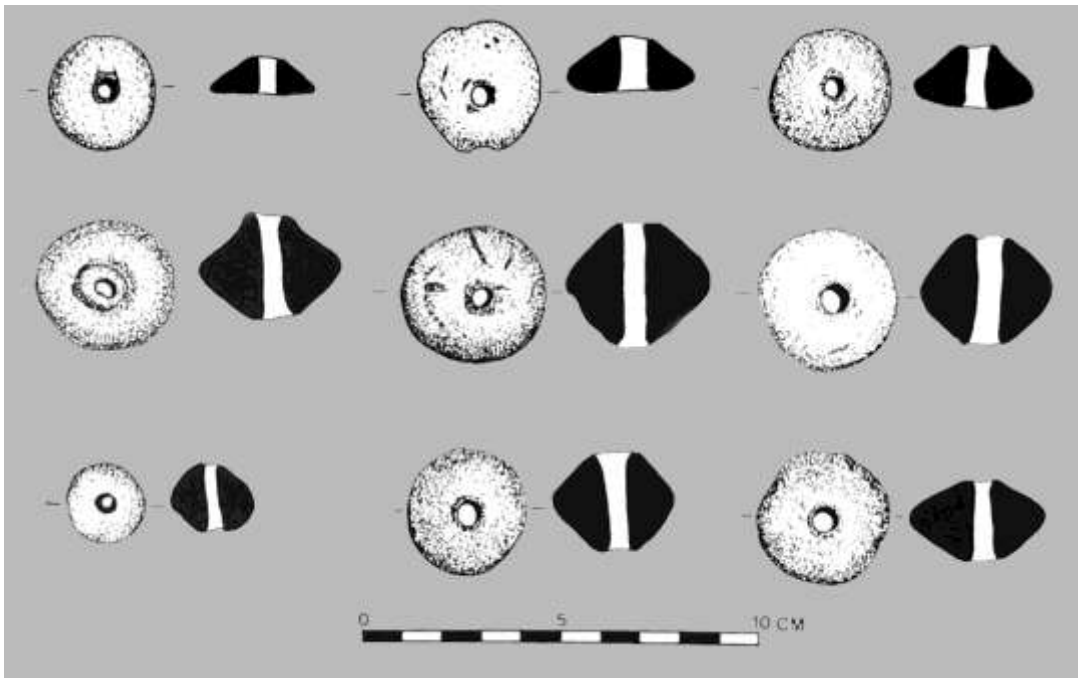


Figure 2. Examples of Spindle Whorls from Sabi Abyad, Operation I (Rooijakkers 2012:97).

Figure 3a. Samarra Pottery from Hakemi Use (Tekin 2005).

Figure 3b. Hassuna Pottery from Hakemi Use (Tekin 2005).

Figure 4. Examples of Painted Halaf Pottery from Domuztepe (from Domuztepe archive).

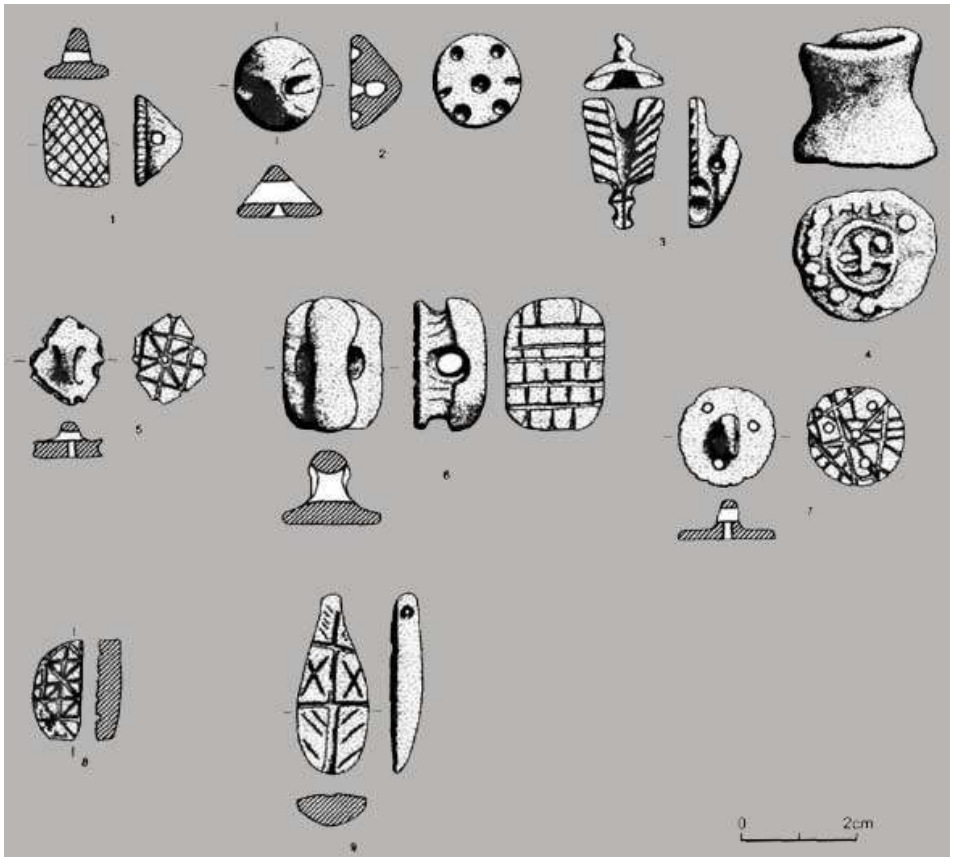


Figure 5. Stamp Seals from Sabi Abyad (Akkermans and Duistermaat 2004:4).

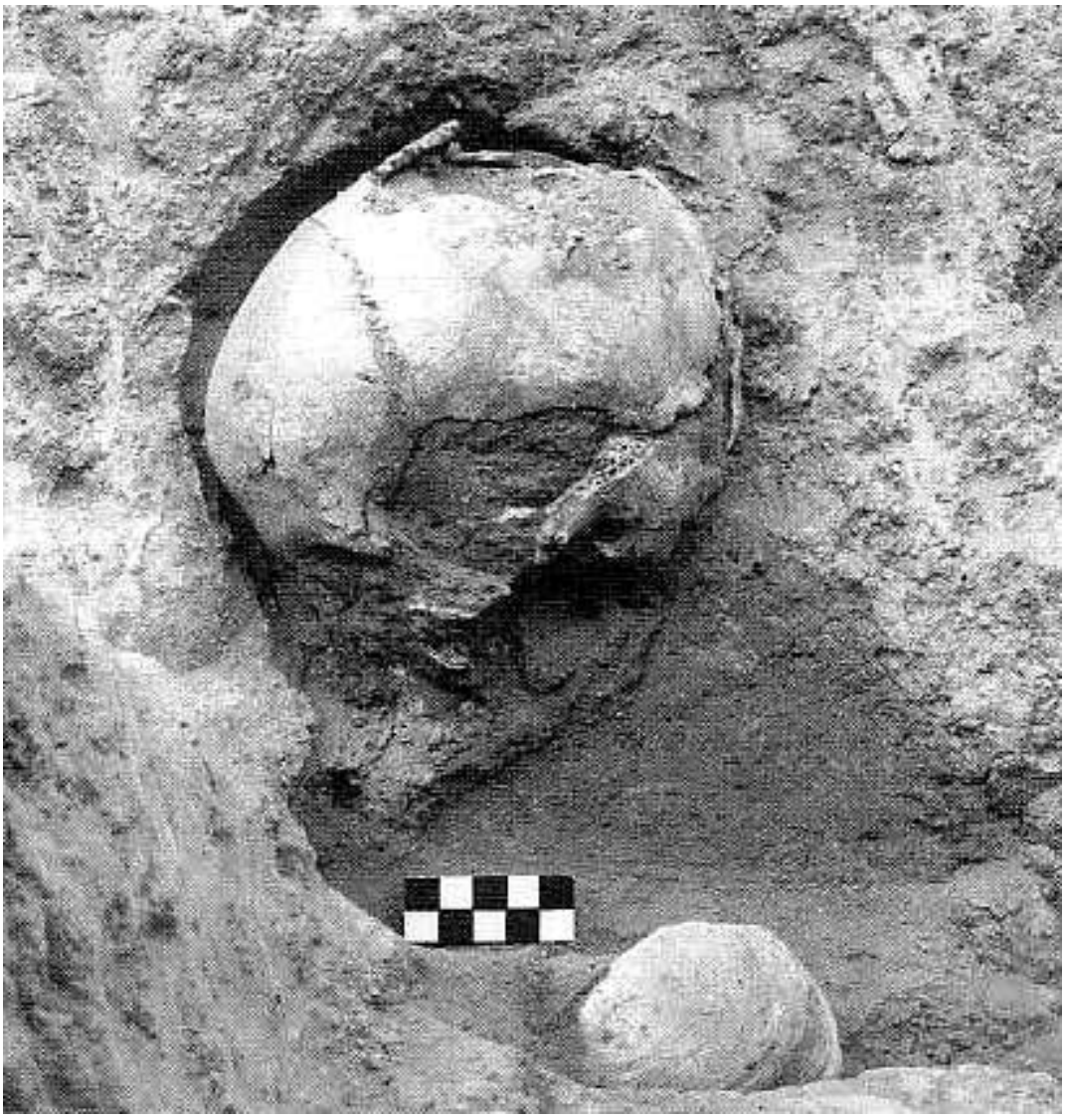
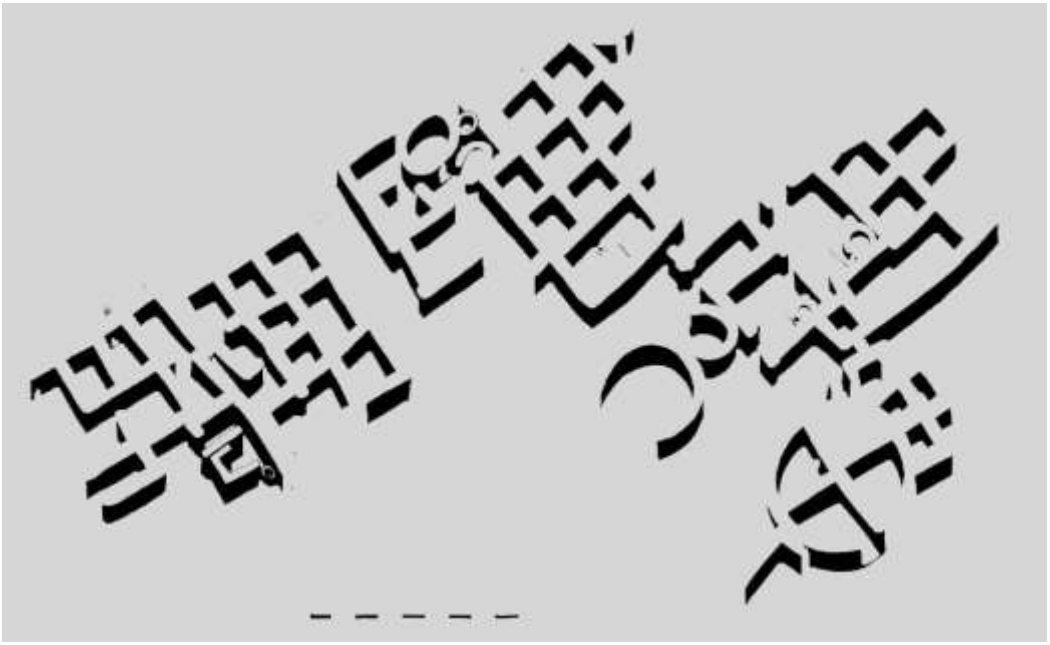


Figure 6. Skull Burial from Abu Hureyra Trench B (Moore and Molleson, 2000:281).



Figıre 7. Axionometric View of Burnt Village at Sabi Abyad (Akkermans and Verhoven 1995:10).

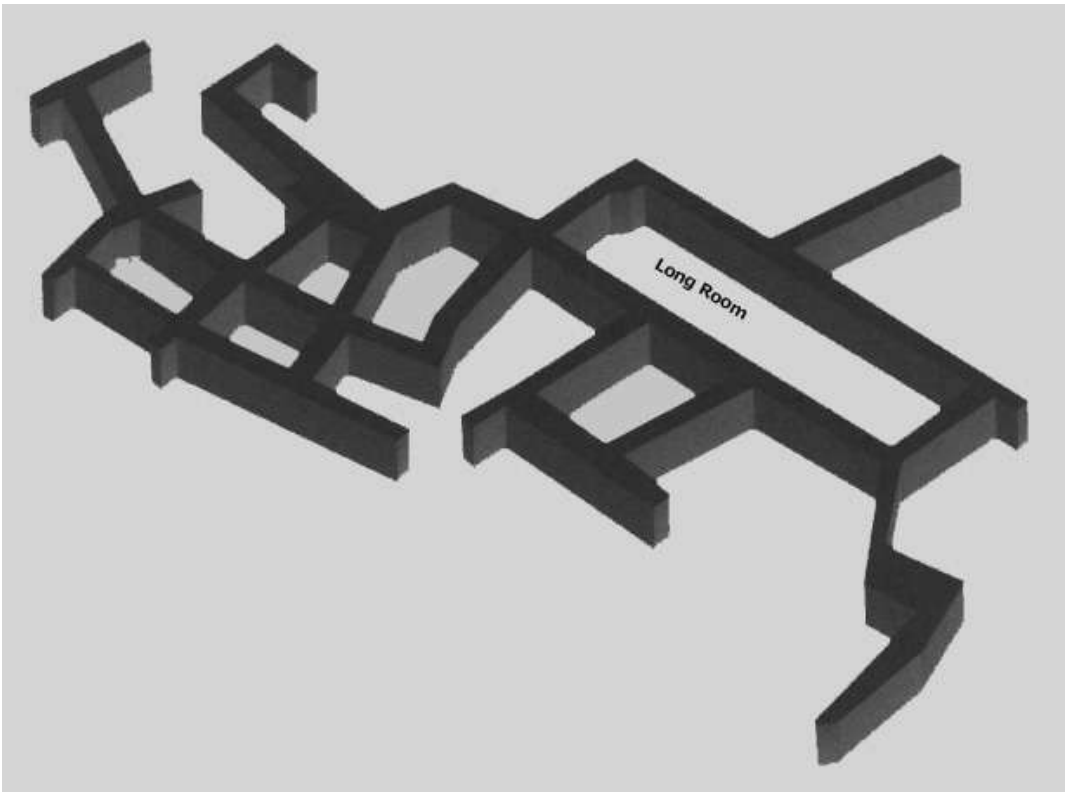


Figure 8. Axionometric View of Burnt House at Arpachiyah (Campbell 2000:5).

Figure 9. Plates from Burnt House at Arpachiyah (Campbell 2000:8-9).

Figıre 10. Obsidians from Burnt House at Arpachiyah (Campbell 2000:21).

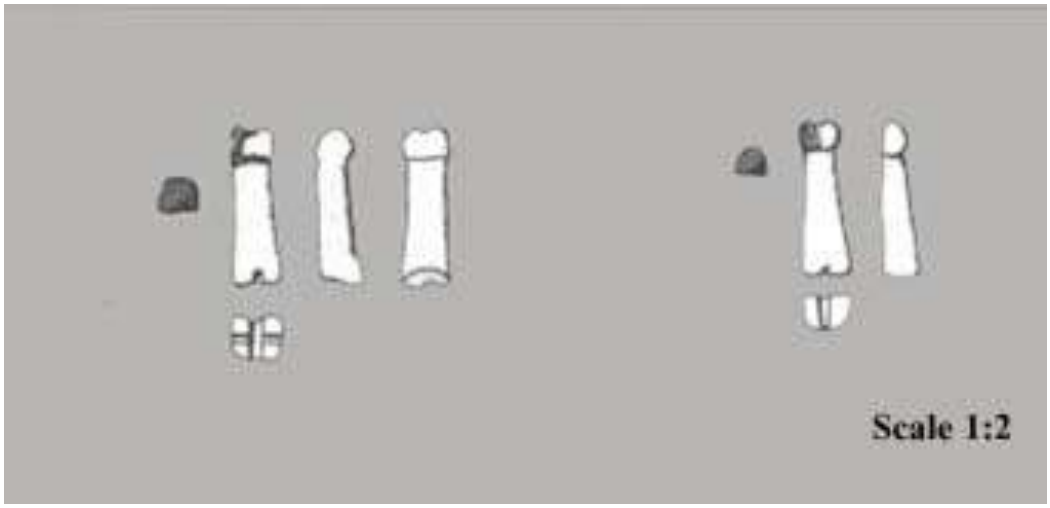


Figure 11. Knuckle Bones from Burnt House at Arpachiyah (Campbell 2000:19).

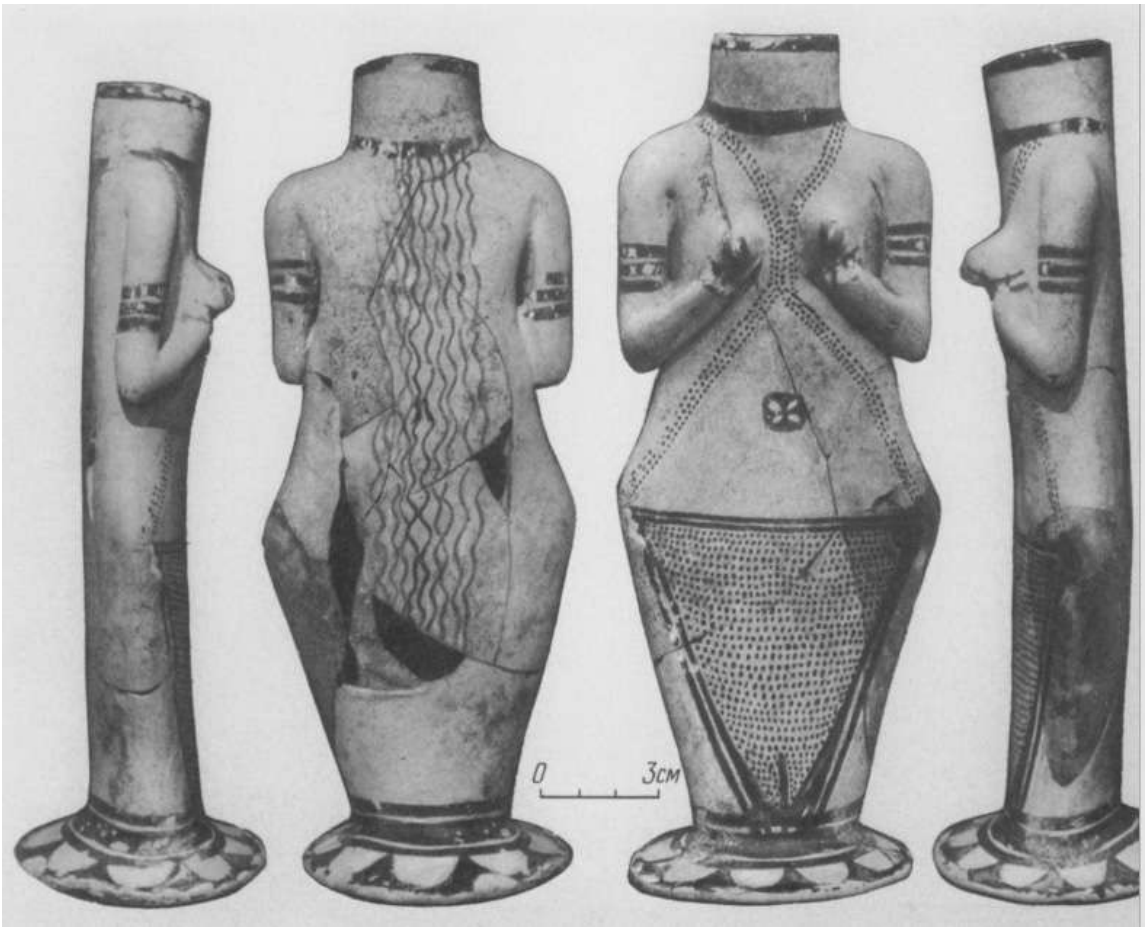


Figure 12. Yarim Tepe II, Broken Anthropomorfic Vessel (Merpert and Munchaev 1987:30).

Figure 13. Northern view of Domuztepe (from Domuztepe Archive).

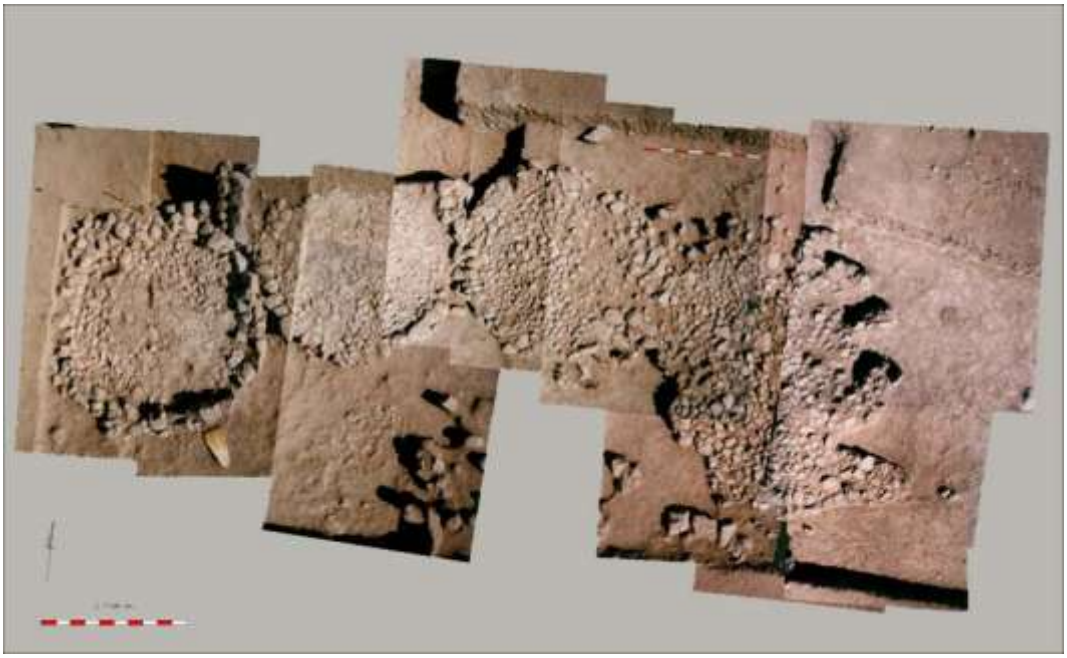


Figure 14. Tholoi at the Eastern Edge of Operation I (Carter et all 2003:124).

Figure 15. Red Terrace in Operation I (From Domuztepe archive).

Figure 16. Pits cutting into the Red Terrace (from Domuztepe archive).

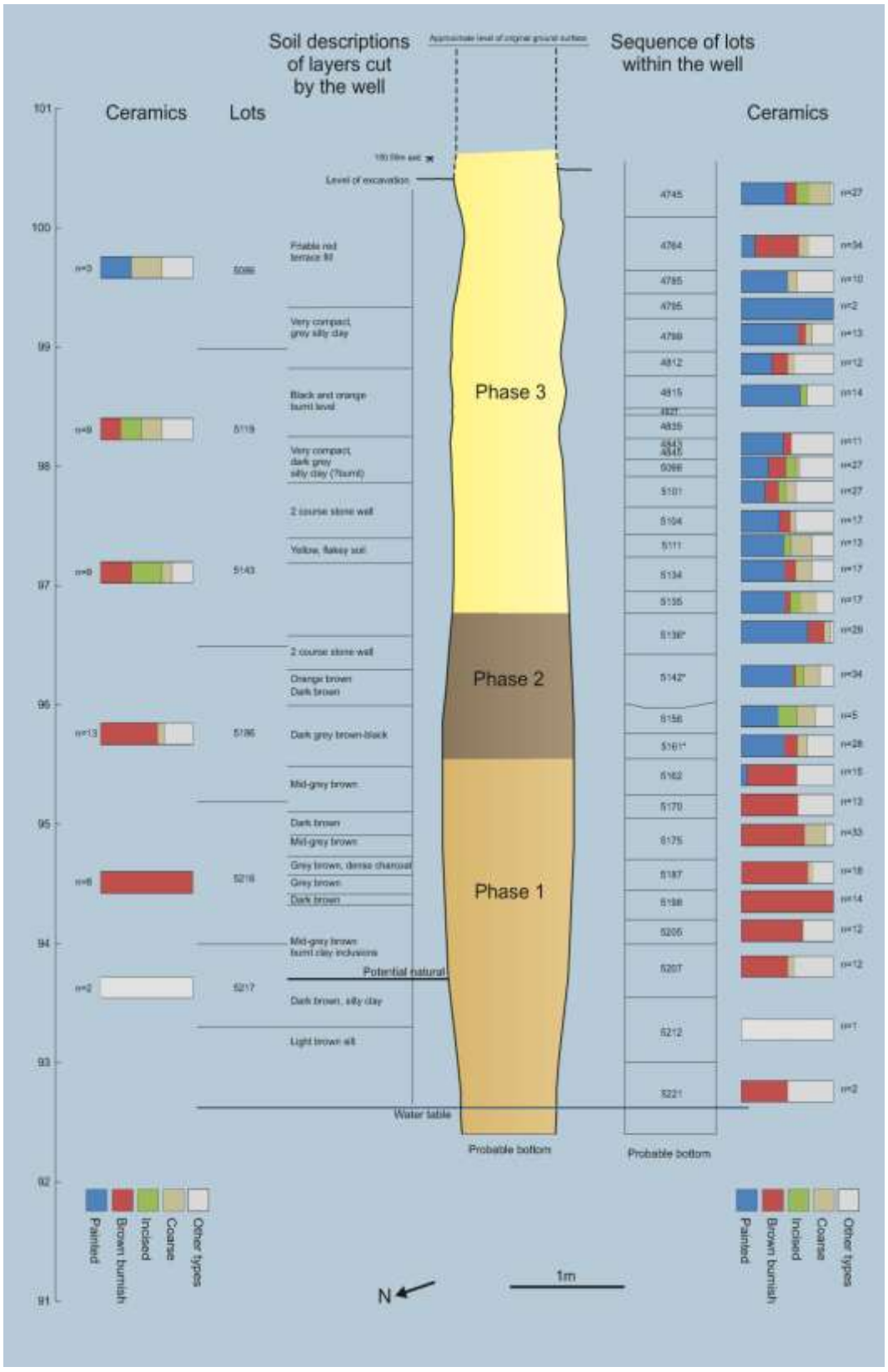


Figure 17. Well in the southern edge of the Red Terrace in the Middle-Late Halaf (Campbell 2012:340).

Figure 18. Dancing Ladies Depicted Pot Piece from Ditch, Domuztepe (from Domuztepe archive)

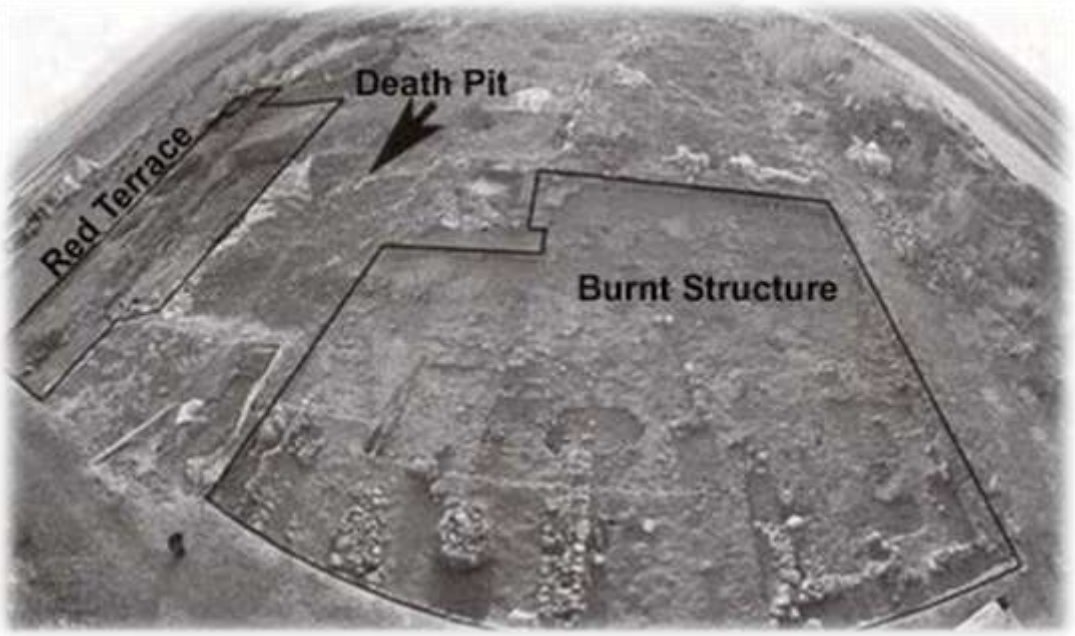


Figure 19. Death Pit, Burnt Structure and Red Terrace from South East (Carter and Campbell 2007:132).

Figure 20a. House Depicted Pot from Ditch (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 20b. Headless People and Raptors Depicted Pot from Ditch (from Domuztepe archive).

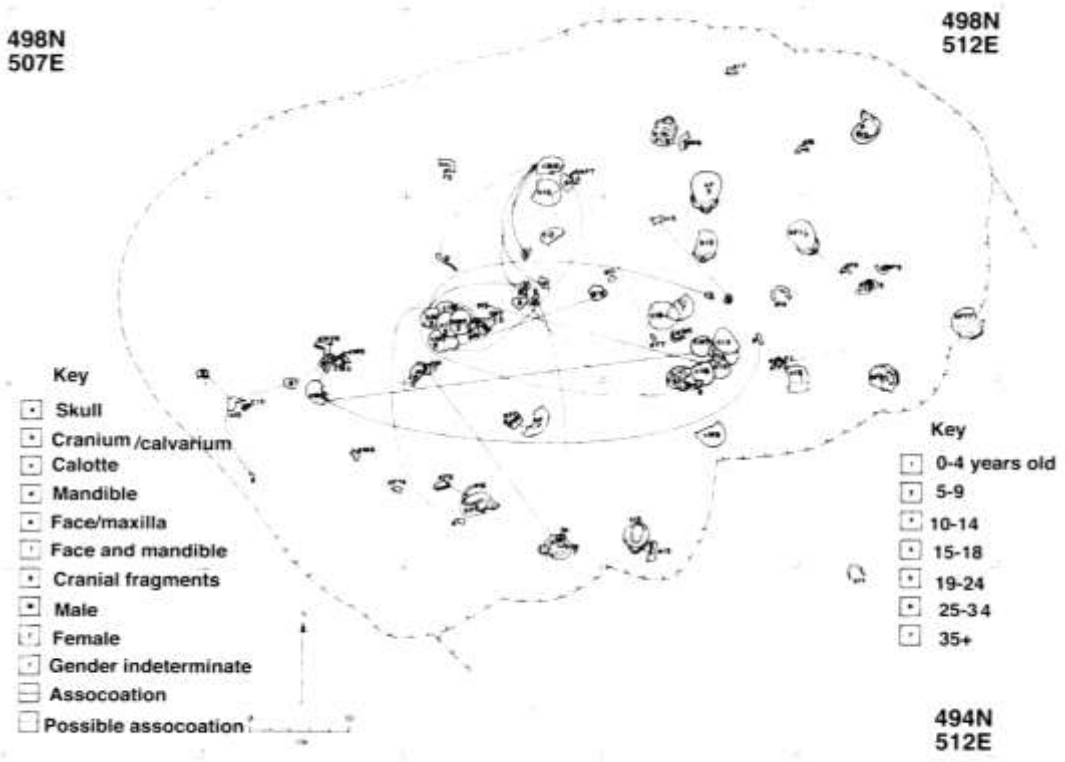


Figure 21. Plan of Death Pit (Campbell 2012:317).

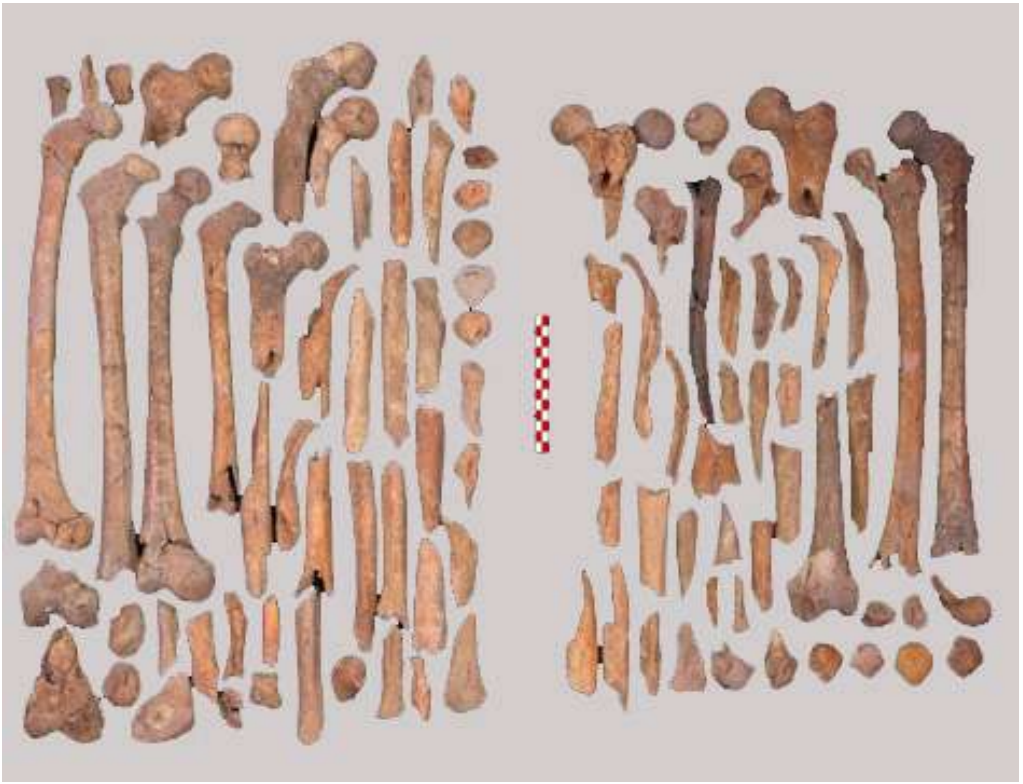


Figure 22a. Human Long Bones from Death Pit (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 22b. Human Skulls from Death Pit (from Domuztepe archive).

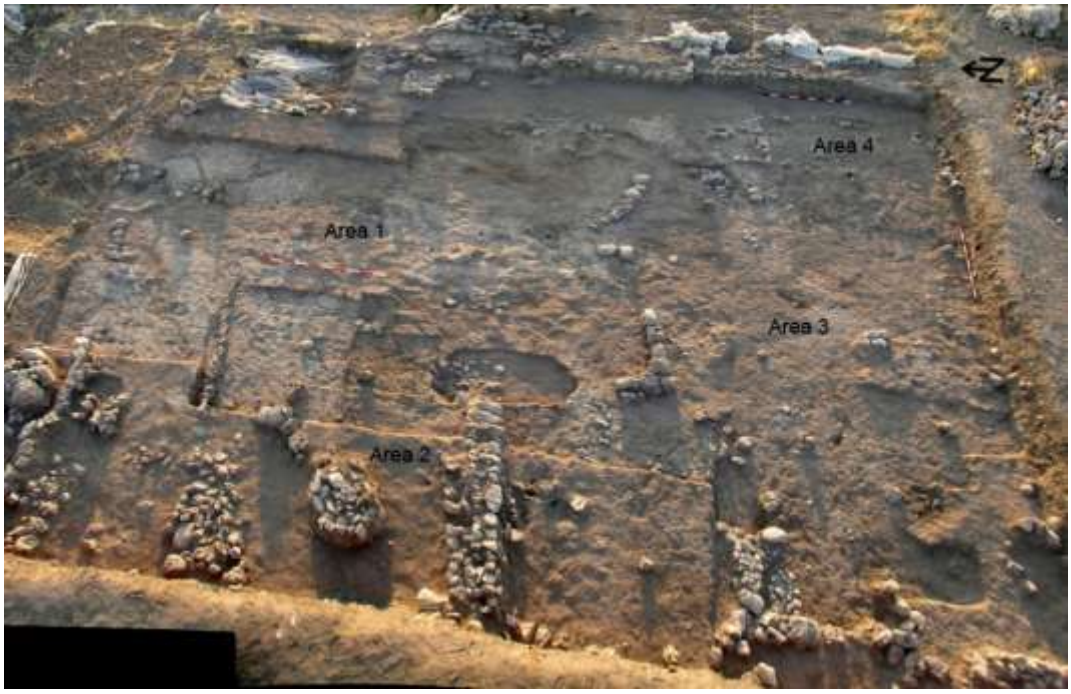


Figure 23a. Picture of Burnt Structure (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 23b. Line of Bones (from Domuztepe archive).

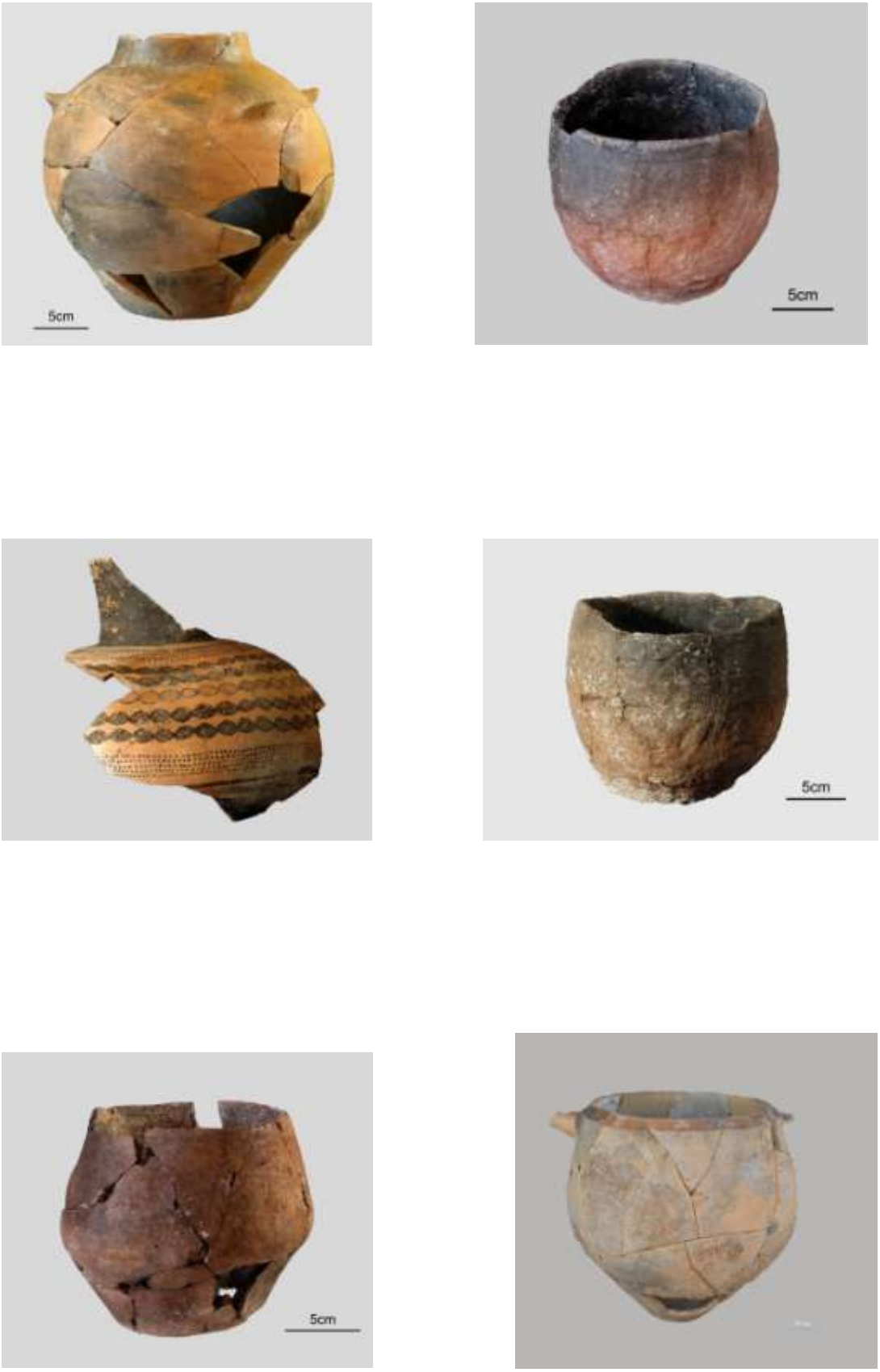


Figure 24. Pottery from Burnt Structure (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 25. Beads from Burnt Structure (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 26a. Thick-burnished Ware (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 26b. Painted Halaf Pottery Naturalistic Scenes (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 26c. Unpainted Halaf Pottery (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 26d. Painted Halaf Pottery (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 27. Stamp Seals from Domuztepe (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 28. Sealing from Domuztepe, Halaf Transitional Phase (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 29. Stone Vessels from Domuztepe (from Domuztepe archive).

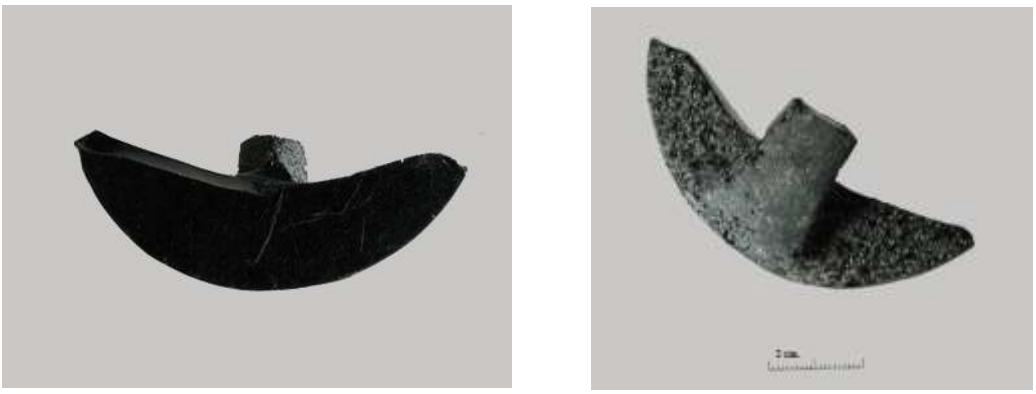


Figure 30a. Handled Obsidian Mirrors (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 30b. Obsidian Beads (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 30c. Pieces of Obsidian Vessel (from Domuztepe archive).

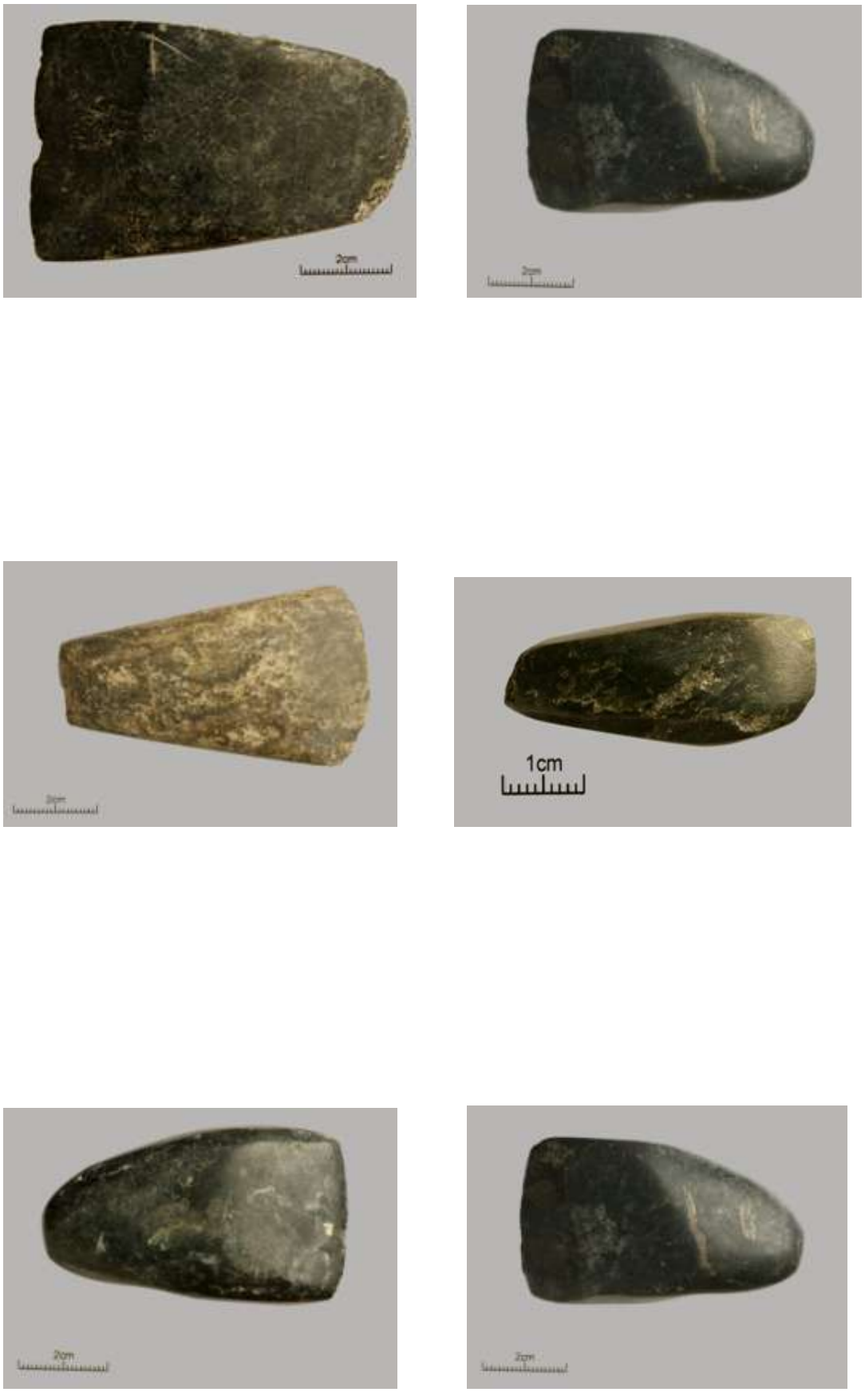


Figure 31. Polished Stone Axes from Operation I (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 32a. Headless Pendant Figurines (Carter et all. 2003:127).

Figure 32b. Male Figurine (Carter et all. 2003:128).

Figure 32c Serpantine Pendants (Carter et all. 2003:129).

Figure 32d. Human Head (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 32e Anthropomorfic Vessel (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 32f Animal Head (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 33a. Bone Points (from Domuztepe archive)

Figure 33b. Bone Spatula (from Domuztepe archive)

Figure 33c. Notched Scapulae
(from Domuztepe archive)

Figure 33d. Bone Needle
(from Domuztepe archive)

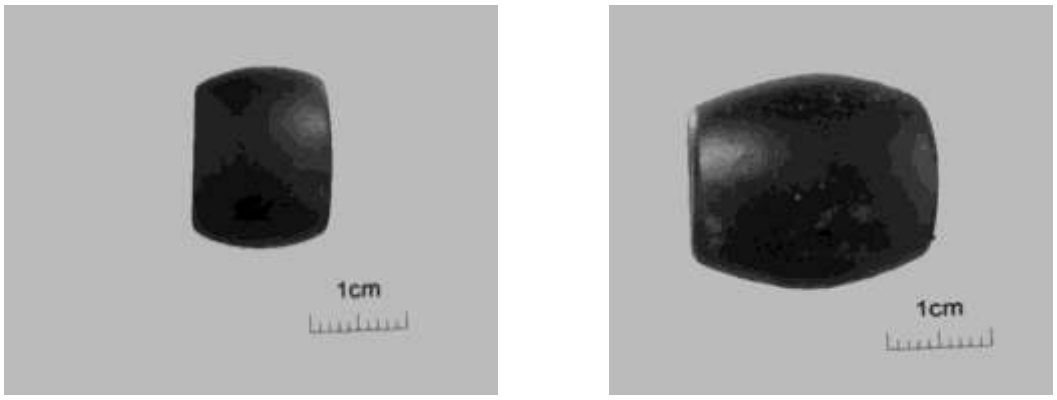


Figure 34a. Serpantine Beads (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 34b. Shell Beads (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 34c. Pendants (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 35. Sling Balls from Operation I (from Domuztepe archive).

Figure 36. Pot Discs from Operation I ((from Domuztepe archive).

APPENDIX B. DATA OF DEATH PIT

Op. Name	Lot No	Object Type	Artifact Name	Material
Op. I	1700	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentinite
Op. I	1700	Ground Stone	Grinding Stone	Basalt
Op. I	1700	Ground Stone	Pestle	Basalt
Op. I	1700	Ground Stone	Grinding Stone	Basalt
Op. I	1700	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1706	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1706	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	1706	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	1706	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	1706	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	1706	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1706	Worked Stone	Disc	Lime Stone
Op. I	1706	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1706	Ground Stone	Pestle	Basalt
Op. I	1706	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	1706	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	1706	Adornment	Bead	Bone
Op. I	1706	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1706	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1708	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Modelled clay	Disc	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Bone tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	2502	Adornment	Bead	Shell
Op. I	2502	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	2502	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay

Op. I	2502	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2502	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	2502	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2502	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2502	Worked Stone	Disc	Limestone
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op.I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Worked Stone	Disc	Unidentified
Op. I	2502	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2502	Polished Stone	Vessel	Limestone
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2502	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2502	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2502	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Chert/Flint
Op. I	2505	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2505	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Basalt
Op. I	2505	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Quartz?
Op. I	2505	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Basalt
Op. I	2512	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	2514	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	2514	Bone tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2514	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2514	Deregistered	Handstones	Serpantine
Op. I	2547	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone

Op. I	2547	Polished Stone	Macehead	Serpentine
Op. I	2547	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2547	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2547	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2547	Pottery	Spindle Whorle	Pottery
Op. I	2547	Adornment	Vessel	Obsidian
Op. I	2547	Ground stone	Worked stone	Serpentine
Op. I	2567	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	2567	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2567	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2567	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	2567	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2567	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2567	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2567	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2580	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2580	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2580	Polished Stone	Vessel	Obsidian
Op. I	2747	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2747	Adornment	Bead	Pink Stone
Op. I	2747	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1703	Ground Stone	Pestle	Basalt
Op. I	1703	Worked Stone	Disc	Quartzite
Op. I	1704	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentine
Op. I	1704	Polished stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	1704	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentine
Op. I	1704	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Clay
Op. I	1704	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1704	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1704	Adornment	Pendant	Chert/Flint
Op. I	1704	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery

Op. I	1704	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	1704	Adornment	Bead	Bone
Op. I	1704	Adornment	Bead	Obsidian
Op. I	1704	Modelled Clay	Sling ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1707	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	1707	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1707	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1707	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1707	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1707	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1931	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	1931	Ground Stone	Block	Limestone
Op. I	1931	Ground Stone	Grinding Stone	Basalt
Op. I	1931	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1931	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1931	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1931	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1931	Polished Stone	Vessel	Obsidian
Op. I	1934	Polished Stone	Macehead	Serpentine
Op. I	1934	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	1934	Bone Tool	Spatula	Bone
Op. I	1934	Bone Tool	Tool	Bone
Op. I	1934	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Serpentine
Op. I	1934	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Quartz
Op. I	1934	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	1934	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1934	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1934	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2563	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2596	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2596	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay

Op. I	2596	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	2597	Adornment	Bead	Lime Stone
Op. I	2597	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2597	Bone Tool	Tool	Bone
Op. I	2597	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2597	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	2597	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Compressed clay
Op. I	2597	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2597	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2597	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1711	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1711	Ground Stone	Hand Stone	Basalt
Op. I	1711	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	1711	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1711	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1715	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	1719	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1719	Ground stone	Quern	Basalt
Op. I	2495	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2495	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2496	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2496	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2496	Manuport	Mineral, stone	Mineral
Op. I	2496	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2496	Pottery	Pot Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2500	Adornment	Bead	Obsidian
Op. I	2500	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2500	Bone Tool	Spatula	Bone
Op. I	2500	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2500	Manuport	Rock Crystal	Rock Crystal
Op. I	2500	Pottery	Pot Disc	Pottery

Op. I	2500	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2500	Polished Stone	Vessel	Stone
Op. I	2538	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	2538	Manuport	Rock Crystal	Rock Crystal
Op. I	2538	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2541	Bone tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2541	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2541	Deregistered	Hand Stone	
Op. I	2542	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2542	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2542	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2542	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2543	Adornment	Bead	Turguoise
Op. I	2560	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Chert/Flint
Op. I	2560	Manuport	Mineral	Mineral
Op. I	2561	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	2561	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	2561	Adornment	Bead	Stone
Op. I	2561	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	2561	Adornment	Bead	LimeStone
Op. I	2564	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2564	Adornment	Bead	LimeStone
Op. I	2564	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2564	Adornment	Bead	Quartz
Op. I	2609	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2638	Bone Tool	Spatula	Bone
Op. I	2641	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2641	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	2657	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Serperntine
Op. I	2664	Bone Tool	Point	Bone

Op. I	2664	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2664	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2664	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2664	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2695	Adornment	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2695	Bone Tool	Tool	Bone
Op. I	2696	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2696	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2696	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Limestone
Op. I	2696	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2697	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	2697	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2697	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2697	Impression	Impression	
Op. I	2699	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	2699	Adornment	Bead	Rose quartz
Op. I	2699	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2699	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3037	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3039	Polished Stone	Vessel	Seperntine
Op. I	3044	Adornment	Bead	
Op. I	3088	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3197	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3199	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3199	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3300	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3301	Worked Bone	Worked Bone	Bone
Op. I	3302	Bone Tool	Neddle	Bone
Op.I	2669	Adornment	Bead	Quartz
Op. I	2682	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine

Op. I	2690	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2690	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2690	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Basalt
Op.I	2690	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Basalt
Op.I	2692	Impression	Impression	Plaster
Op.I	3199	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3296	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3296	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3300	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3268	Modelled clay	Token	Unbaked clay
Op. I	3239	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3290	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3295	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3383	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked clay
Op. I	3383	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked clay
Op. I	3384	Ground Stone	Hand Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	3393	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2600	Ground stone	Axe or Adze	Chert/Flint
Op. I	2600	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2611	Worked Bone	Disc	Bone
Op. I	2623	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2629	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Basalt
Op. I	2629	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Basalt
Op. I	2630	Modelled Clay	Lumps	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	2649	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentine
Op. I	2649	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2649	Impression	Impression	Clay
Op. I	2663	Adornment	Bead	Turquoise
Op. I	2663	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2663	Polished stone	Vessel	Serpentine

Op. I	2663	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2619	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2619	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2656	Bone Tool	Spatula	Bone
Op. I	2656	Adornment	Bead	Deep Red Stone
Op. I	2656	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2656	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2656	Adornment	Bead	Light Green Stone
Op. I	2658	Ground Stone	Blade	Serpentine
Op. I	2658	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2658	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2658	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2658	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2658	Ground stone	Palette	Lime Stone
Op. I	2658	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2659	Impression	Impression	Fired clay
Op. I	2659	Adornment	Bead	Stone,
Op. I	2659	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2659	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2659	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2659	Adornment	Bead	Obsidian
Op. I	2659	Ground Stone	Pendant	Obsidian
Op. I	2673	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2673	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2681	Bone Tool	Notched Scapula	Bone
Op. I	2681	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2683	Adornment	Bead	Obsidian
Op. I	2683	Adornment	Bead	Turquoise
Op. I	2689	Adornment	Bead	Obsidian
Op. I	2688	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2693	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery

Op.I	2800	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2801	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2802	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1938	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Lime Stone
Op. I	1938	Bone Tool	Worked bone	Bone
Op. I	1938	Modelled clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	1938	Modelled clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	1938	Polished stone	Vessel	Stone
Op. I	1938	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1938	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1938	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1938	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	1938	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	1938	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	1938	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	1938	Adornment	Bead	Stone
Op. I	1938	Bone tool	Tool	Antler
Op. I	1939	Bone tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	1939	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	1939	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	1939	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	1939	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1939	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	1939	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	1939	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	1939	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	1939	Adornment	Bead	Dolomite
Op. I	1939	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1939	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1939	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	1939	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine

Op. I	1939	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Limestone
Op. I	1939	Ground Stone	Grinding Stone	Limestone
Op. I	1939	Bone tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	1939	Bone tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	2467	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentinite
Op. I	2467	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentinite
Op. I	2467	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2604	Adornment	Bead	Lime Stone
Op. I	2607	Impression	Sealing	Unbaked clay
Op. I	2607	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2608	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2612	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	2614	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2614	Impression	Sealing	Unbaked clay
Op. I	2615	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2615	Polished Stone	Vessel	Limestone
Op. I	2615	Ground Stone	Palette	Basalt
Op. I	2615	Ground stone	Worked Stone	Basalt
Op. I	2616	Impression	Impression	Plaster
Op. I	2616	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2617	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2621	Adornment	Bead	Steatite
Op. I	2622	Adornment	Bead	Deep Red Stone
Op. I	2622	Ground stone	Worked Stone	Chert/Flint
Op. I	2626	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2627	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2627	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2627	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2627	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2627	Impression	Impression	Plaster
Op. I	2627	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine

Op. I	2627	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2627	Impression	Impression	Fired clay
Op. I	2627	Ground stone	Worked stone	Basalt
Op. I	2631	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2639	Bone tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2639	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2640	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2642	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2642	Ground Stone	Polisher	Stone,
Op. I	2643	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2643	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2643	Modelled Clay	Figurine	Fired Clay
Op. I	2643	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2644	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2646	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Alabaster
Op. I	2646	Modelled Clay	Figurine	Stone
Op. I	2646	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2646	Impression	Impression	Mat
Op. I	2648	Adornment	Bead	Chert/Flint
Op. I	2648	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2648	Impression	Impression	Plaster
Op. I	2650	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2651	Adornment	Bead	Chert/Flint
Op. I	2651	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2651	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2651	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2651	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2652	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	2652	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2652	Adornment	Bead	Obsidian
Op. I	2652	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine

Op. I	2652	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Stone
Op. I	2653	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2653	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2653	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2653	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2654	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	2654	Ground stone	Hand Stone	Basalt
Op. I	2655	Worked bone	Worked bone	Bone
Op. I	2655	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	2660	Adornment	Pendant	Chert/Flint
Op. I	2660	Adornment	Bead	Dark Red Color
Op. I	2660	Adornment	Bead	Quartzite
Op. I	2660	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2660	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2660	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2660	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2661	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	2661	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	2661	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2661	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2661	Adornment	Bead	Quartz
Op. I	2661	Ground stone	Worked Sherd	Basalt
Op. I	2662	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2662	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2670	Modelled Clay	Sling ball	Unbaked clay
Op. I	2670	Ground Stone	Polisher	Limestone
Op. I	2671	Impression	Impression	Fired Clay
Op. I	2671	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2671	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2674	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2674	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine

Op. I	2674	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	2675	Polished Stone	Axe	Obsidian
Op. I	2675	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	2675	Adornment	pendant	Serpentine
Op. I	2675	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2675	Modelled Clay	Sling ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	2675	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2675	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2675	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2675	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2675	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2675	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2675	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2675	Adornment	Bead	Diorite
Op. I	2675	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2677	Adornment	Bead	Dolomite
Op. I	2677	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2677	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2677	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	2677	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2677	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2677	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	2679	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	2679	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	2679	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	2684	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	2684	Shell	Worked Shell	Shell
Op. I	2684	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	2684	Ground Stone	Worked stone	Basalt
Op. I	2685	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone

Op. I	2687	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Stone
Op. I	2687	Impression	Basket	Plaster
Op. I	3056	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3074	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine

APPENDIX C. DATA OF BURNT STRUCUTRE

Operation Name	Lot No	Object Type	Artifact Name	Material
Op. I	3063	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	3067	Modelled Cay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	3827	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3959	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3949	Polished Stone	Axe	Serpentinite
Op. I	3945	Polished Stone	Axe	Serpentinite
Op. I	3927	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	4040	Shell		Shell
Op. I	4039	Manuport	Shell	Shell
Op. I	3827	Manuport	Shell	Shell
Op. I	3990	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4040	Adornment	Bead	Quartz
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4036	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	4044	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3063	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpantine
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentin
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentin

Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentin
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentin
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentin
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentin
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Disc	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3063	Chipped Stone	Point	Chert/Flint
Op. I	3250	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	3067	Artefact	Stamp Seal	Serpentinite
Op. I	3067	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3249	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3063	Polished Stone	Vessel	Limestone
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentinite
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Pot Disc	Pottery
Op.I	3067	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Pot Disc	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery

Op. I	3250	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3250	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3250	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Dolomite
Op. I	3836	Adornment	Bead	Dolomite
Op. I	3854	Chipped Stone	Tranchet	Obsidian
Op. I	3836	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Serpentine
Op. I	3854	Adornment	Bead	Dolomite
Op. I	3836	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	3836	Adornment	Bead Blank	Serpentine
Op. I	3940	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3827	Modelled Clay	Sling ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	3836	Worked Stone	Disc	Limestone
Op. I	3865	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	3963	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3865	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3854	Adornment	Pendant	Dolomite
Op. I	3853	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3854	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	3865	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	3919	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Quartz
Op. I	3854	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentinite
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Stone
Op. I	4022	Polished Stone	Vessel	Jasper
Op. I	3892	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3892	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery

Op. I	3919	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3919	Ground Stone	Token	Stone
Op. I	3927	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3865	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3836	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	3869	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	3827	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired Clay
Op. I	3949	Ground Stone	Ball	Basalt
Op. I	3836	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3865	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3959	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3959	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3918	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentinite
Op. I	3886	Worked Stone	Disc	Stone
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3990	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3949	Worked Stone	Disc	Quartzite
Op. I	3928	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3853	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3919	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3919	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3919	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3854	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3853	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3959	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3927	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3927	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3959	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Serpentine

Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead Blank	Quartz
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3991	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op.I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Clay
Op. I	3927	Pottery	Vessel	Clay
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3928	Modelled clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	3959	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3958	Modelled clay	Sling ball	Fired clay
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Stone
Op. I	4012	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	4009	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Quartz
Op. I	3958	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3958	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	3958	Ground Stone	Mortar	Serpentine
Op. I	3945	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine

Op. I	3927	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4036	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4022	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3992	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3918	Polished Stone	Lunate	Obsidian
Op. I	4001	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Serpentinite
Op. I	3836	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3958	Worked Stone	Pierced Disc	Serpentine
Op. I	3927	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Stone
Op. I	4033	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentinite
Op. I	4044	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	4036	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4044	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4036	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4048	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4044	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3919	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3879	Polished Stone	Vessel	Calcite
Op. I	4048	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4047	Adornment	Bead	Stone
Op. I	4048	Adornment	Bead	Obsidian
Op. I	4039	Polished Stone	Figurine	Serpentine
Op. I	4036	Adornment	Bead Blank	Obsidian
Op. I	4022	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Chipped Stone	Tranchet	Obsidian
Op. I	3827	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	4022	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3927	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3854	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine

Op. I	4005	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4048	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	4040	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3992	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4036	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Dolomite
Op. I	4046	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4001	Polished Stone	Vessel	Limestone
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Bead	Stone
Op. I	4048	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	4048	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3892	Chipped Stone	Blade	Obsidian
Op. I	3991	Adornment	Bead	Pottery
Op. I	3919	Impression	Impression	Impressions
Op. I	4043	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3963	Polished Stone	Weight	Limestone
Op. I	3958	Worked Stone	Disc	Chert/Flint
Op. I	3940	Polished Stone	Macehead	Serpentine
Op. I	4012	Worked Stone	Spindle Whorl	Serpentine
Op. I	3945	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Ground Stone	Rubbing Stone	Pumice
Op. I	3990	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3250	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3853	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3825	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3853	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3869	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3892	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3825	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3869	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery

Op. I	3865	Polished Stone	Vessel	Jasper
Op. I	3853	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3945	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3976	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3963	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3963	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3963	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3976	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3976	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3976	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3958	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4043	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3990	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4051	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4039	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Serpentine
Op. I	4051	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	4053	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	4046	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Fired clay
Op. I	4040	Ground stone	Worked stone	Serpentine
Op. I	4053	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4025	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3991	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3992	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3990	Worked Stone	Disc	Serpentine
Op. I	3990	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3990	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4051	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4053	Ground Stone	Worked Sherd	Pumice
Op. I	3992	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4036	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4022	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery

Op. I	4022	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4039	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4036	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4006	Adornment	Bead	Dentalium Shell
Op. I	4012	Bone Tool	Weft bobbin	Bone
Op. I	4005	Polished Stone	Axe or Adze	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Modelled Clay	Sling Ball	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3919	Adornment	Bead	Stone
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3945	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4040	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op.I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery

Op. I	4044	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op.I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
OP. I.	4005	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Stone
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Amorphous silica
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	LimeStone
Op. I	3067	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op.I	3250	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3250	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4025	Sealing	Sealing	Clay
Op. I	3990	Worked Bone	Worked Bone	Bone
Op. I	3975	Adornment	Pendant	Stone
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Pendant	Ceramic/stone
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Pendant	Ceramic
Op. I	3827	Worked Bone	Worked Bone	Bone
Op. I	3976	Adornment	Pendant	Stone
Op. I	3250	Pottery	Ware	Clay

APPENDIX D. DATA OF DITCH

Operation Name	Lot No	Object Type	Artifact Name	Material
Op.I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op.I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op.I	3073	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3745	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3745	Adornment	Bead	Bone
Op. I	3725	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3725	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3967	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3980	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	3954	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentine
Op. I	3891	Manuport	Shell	Shell
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Spatula	Bone
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3745	Bone Tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	3745	Adornment	Bead	Quartzite
Op. I	3680	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3702	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. VIII	3962	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Basin	Serpentine
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine

Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3160	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op.I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Mirror	Obsidian
Op. I	3073	Artefact	Stamp Seal	Quartzite? Green
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3196	Adornment	Bead	
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3196	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3196	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery

Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op.I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3196	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3624	Ground Stone	Pestle	Basalt
Op. I	3624	Bone Tool	Tool	Bone
Op. I	3624	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3073	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3624	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3638	Ground Stone	Slabs	Serpentine
Op. I	3702	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3680	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentine
Op. I	3702	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3680	Artefact	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3638	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3702	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentine
Op. I	3624	Polished Stone	Vessel	Marble
Op. I	3702	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine

Op. I	3680	Artefact	Vessel	
Op. I	3624	Chipped Stone	Drill	Chert/Flint
Op. I	3624	Chipped Stone	Arrowhead	Chert/Flint
Op. I	3725	Bone Tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	3656	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3680	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3745	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3745	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3680	Adornment	Bead	Dolomite
Op. I	3725	Adornment	Bead	Faience/frit
Op. I	3725	Adornment	Bead	Quartzite
Op. I	3725	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3680	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3680	Modelled Clay	Token? sealing	Unbaked Clay
Op. I	3745	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3745	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3702	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3725	Adornment	Pendant	Green Stone
Op. I	3702	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3822	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentine
Op. I	3745	Adornment	Stamp seal	Serpentinite
Op. I	3680	Adornment	Bead Blank	Stone
Op. I	3680	Bone Tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	3822	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3822	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3822	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3680	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3907	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3867	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3926	Bone Tool	Point	Bone

Op. I	3926	Bone Tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	3907	Bone Tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	3907	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3907	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3867	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3867	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3866	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3867	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3954	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentine
Op. I	3954	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Quartzite
Op. I	3926	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3867	Bone Tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	3926	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3864	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3867	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3883	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3852	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3889	Deregistered	Worked bone	Bone
Op. I	3852	Adornment	Pendant	
Op. I	3866	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3920	Adornment	Bead	Shell
Op. I	3960	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3920	Worked Stone	Disc	Lime Stone
Op. I	3953	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentine
Op. I	3954	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3953	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3953	Bone Tool	Needle	Bone
Op. I	3960	Adornment	Bead	Bone
Op. I	3950	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Serpentine
Op. I	3980	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentine
Op. I	3983	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Quartz

Op. I	3980	Modelled clay	Figurine	Terracotta
Op. I	3954	Adornment	Bead	Bone
Op. I	3895	Ground Stone	Worked Stone	Sandstone
Op. I	3926	Ground Stone	Polisher	Limestone
Op. I	3899	Ground Stone	Disc	Quartzite
Op. I	3895	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3895	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3926	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentine
Op. I	3954	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3702	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3685	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3685	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3685	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3973	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3890	Ground stone	Polisher	Serpentine
Op. I	3920	Polished Stone	Rubbing Stone	Jasper
Op. I	3937	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3937	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3899	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3995	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentine
Op. I	3891	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3890	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3962	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3962	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3962	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Pottery
Op. I	3961	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3967	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3967	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3680	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3980	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3995	Worked Stone	Disc	Serpentine

Op. I	3989	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Fired clay
Op. I	3962	Worked Stone	Worked Stone	Quartz
Op. I	4032	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentine
Op. I	3995	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3999	Adornment	Pendant	Serpentine
Op. I	3989	Modelled clay	Figurine	Pottery
Op. I	3745	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3895	Worked Stone	Worked stone	Serpentine
Op. I	3745	Ground Stone	Mortar	Serpentine
Op. I	3895	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3989	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3989	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3883	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3857	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3983	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3902	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	4020	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4020	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3920	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3920	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3920	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3920	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4032	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4032	Worked Stone	Worked stone	Serpentine
Op. I	3980	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3973	Pottery	Spindle Whorl	Fired Clay
Op. I	3995	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3896	Bone Tool	Notched scap.	Bone
Op. I	4024	Bone Tool	Notched scap.	Bone
Op. I	3995	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3702	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine

Op. I	3926	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3867	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3864	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3867	Pottery	Vessel	Pottery
Op. I	3866	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3685	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3680	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3883	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3685	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3680	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3624	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3624	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3624	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3999	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3999	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3999	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3999	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4042	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3995	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3995	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3073	Pottery	Pot disc	Pottery
Op. I	3995	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3999	Worked stone	Disc	Serpentine
Op. I	4000	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4000	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	4000	Pottery	Worked Sherd	Pottery
Op. I	3920	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3920	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3680	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3680	Bone Tool	Notched scap.	Bone
Op. I	3980	Pottery	Worked sherd	Pottery

Op. I	3764	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	4024	Chipped Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4024	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	4000	Polished Stone	Vessel	Serpentine
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Notched scap.	Bone
Op. I	3926	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3899	Adornment	Stamp Seal	Serpentine
Op. I	3899	Bone tool	Notched scap.	Bone
Op. I	3899	Bone tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	4000	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3999	Adornment	Bead	Turquoise?
Op. I	3891	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3890	Adornment	Bead	Stone, unidentified
Op. I	3890	Adornment	Bead	Amorphous silica
Op. I	3965	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3890	Adornment	Bead	Amorphous silica
Op.I	3702	Worked Bone	Worked Bone	Bone
Op. I	3890	Adornment	Bead	Stone, unidentified
Op. I	3890	Adornment	Bead	Serpentinite
Op. I	3965	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3965	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3638	Adornment	Bead	Stone, unidentified
Op. I	3890	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3702	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3702	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	4020	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3890	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3995	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3899	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3954	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op.I	3995	Adornment	Bead	Limestone

Op. I	3891	Adornment	Bead	Basalt
Op. I	3899	Adornment	Bead	
Op. I	3680	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3937	Bone Tool	Spatula	Bone
Op. I	3866	Bone Tool	Point	Bone
Op. I	3866	Bone Tool	Awl	Bone
Op. I	3638	Adornment	Bead	Limestone
Op. I	3638	Adornment	Bead	Serpentine
Op. I	3999	Worked stone	Disc	Stone, unidentified
Op. I	3073	Bone Tool	Spatula	Bone
Op. I	3878	Worked bone	Worked bone	Bone
Op. I	3702	Worked bone	Worked bone	Bone

APPENDIX E. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Deniz Erdem

Date and Place of Birth: 19 Mayıs 1979, Ankara

Phone: +90 312 210 42 17

Fax: +90 312 210 35 93

Email: derdem@metu.edu.tr

EDUCATION

Year of Graduation	Degree	Institution
2013	Phd	METU Settlement Archaeology
2006	MS	METU Settlement Archaeology
2002	BS	H.Ü. Protohistory and Near Eastern Archaoloy

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2006-2009	METU/ Science and Society Center	Research Assistant
2009-Present	METU / TACDAM	Research Assistant

EXCAVATION AND SURVEY EXPERIENCES

Year	Place	Enrollment
1998-2000	Panaztepe Excavations	Trench Supervisor
1998-1999	Limantepe Excavation	Trench Supervisor
2001-2012	Hakemi Use Excavation	Field Supervisor
2005-2010	Domuztepe Excavation	Trench Supervisor
2005	Kerkenes Excavation	Geophysic Surveyor
2006	Komana Excavation	Geophysic Surveyor

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Basic French

SYMPOSIUMS

2008 Social Differentiation in Pre-Pottery Neolithic Periods Through Burial Customs and Skeletal Biology, *6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Roma

2009 "Seramiksiz Neolitik Dönem'de Sosyal Farklılaşma" ODTÜ Yerleşim Arkeolojisi Anabilim Dalı Güneydoğu Araştırmaları Sempozyumu

PUBLICATIONS

Erdem, D.

2005 "Hititler'de İnanç Sistemi" in İlker Koç (eds) 2005 *Hititler,* ODTÜ Toplum ve Bilim Merkezi Yayınlar, Ankara.

Tuna, N., D.Erdem

2009 "Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Müzesi Deneyimi", in *Üniveriste Müzeleri ve Müzecilik Deneyimi,* Ankara.

Erdem, D.

2010 "Seramiksiz Neolitik Dönem'de Sosyal Farklılaşma" in B. Erciyas (eds) *Güneydoğu Anadolu Araştırmaları Sempozyum Bildirileri - Studies in Southeastern Anatolia Symposium Proceedings.* Ankara.

APPENDIX F. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

"Domuztepe Yerleşiminde Küçük Buluntu Dağılımının Sosyal Bağlamı; Ritüel Sergileme ve Toplum" başlıklı tezimde Geç Neolitik Dönem'e tarihlenen Domuztepe yerleşiminden ele geçen küçük buluntuların birbirleri ve mekânlarla olan ilişkileri incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma için yerleşimden üç alan seçilmiştir. Bu alanlardan ikisi Ölüm Çukuru ve Hendek, kırmız teras adı verilen yapı ile çevrelenmiş alanda yer almaktadır. Terasın yapımında kullanılan kırmızı toprağın yerleşim dışından getirildiği ve özel bir alanı çevrelediği düşünülmektedir. Diğer alan ise terasın çevrelediği alanın hemen yanında ele geçmiştir ve Yanmış Yapı olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu alanın daha çok evsel aktivitelerle ile ilgili olduğu saptanmıştır. Bu kontekstlerden ele geçen küçük buluntuların dağılımı Uyum Analizi yöntemi ile incelenmiştir. Bu yöntem sayesinde nesnelerin birbirleri ve mekânlar ile olan ilişkileri ve bu ilişkilerin derecelerinin saptanması mümkün olmuştur. Analizlerin amacı Domuztepe'de gerçekleşen ritüellerin doğasını açıklamaya çalışmak bu sayede de Geç Neolitik topluluklarının sosyal organizasyonlarında ritüellerin önemi anlamaya çalışmaktır.

Alternatif bir teorik yaklaşım ışığında dönemin mekan-nesne-insan arasındaki ilişkileri yeniden inceleyerek, maddi kültür, ilgili ritüel faaliyetler ve yerleşim modellerinin eleştirel bir analizi yardımı ile Halaf Dönemi boyunca sosyal ve ekonomik eğilimleri anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bunu takiben, ritüel faaliyetlerin önemi, bu eğilimler bağlamında toplumsal değişim kalıplarını anlamak için değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuç olarak bu tez kapsamında çalışılan nesnelerin bireyler ve gruplar arasındaki karmaşık sosyal ilişkilerin düzenleyicisi olduğu tartışılmıştır. Bu nedenle, nesnelerin kullanımı ve ritüel birikimi toplumsal örgütlenme de rutin ritüel faaliyetlerin önemini göstermektedir; ancak yine de buluntular kesin bir şekilde tüm Domuztepe'nin ekonomik ve ritüel aktivitesini toparlayan bir merkezi otoritenin varlığını tartışmaya izin vermemektedir.

Kuzey Mezopotamya'da "Halaf" olarak tanımlanan dönem (M.Ö. 6000-5200), yerleşik yaşama geçiş ve şehir devletlerinin ortaya çıkışı arasında kalan bir zaman

aralığını tanımlamamak için kullanılmaktadır. 6.bin yıl topluluklarına genel olarak baktığımızda, geniş akrabalık ilişkileri kapsamında oluşan ev odaklı bir yapılanma gözlemlenmekle beraber, bu "ev" odaklı grupların Domuztepe gibi ortalama 20 hektarlık büyük alanlara sahip yerleşimlerde sosyal ilişkilerini nasıl düzenledikleri net bir biçimde anlaşılamamaktadır. Yerleşimlerdeki mimari yapı ve yerleşim dokusu, "eşitlikçi" bir kaynak dağıtım ve erişim düzenine işaret etse de, bu dönemde yaygın bir biçimde kullanılmaya başlanan obsidyen, mühür, taş kap, figürin ve boyalı seramik gibi birçok nesnenin sosyal ilişkileri ve sosyal hiyerarşileri belirlemede önemli bir rolü olduğu düşünülebilir.

Halaf Dönemi geleneksel olarak ilk şehir devletlerini karakterize eden merkezi otorite, ritüel ve ekonomik merkezileşme evriminde önemli bir aşama olarak algılanmaktadır. Ancak, bu anlayış bugüne kadar yapılan çalışmalarla yeterince desteklenmemiştir.

Geleneksel antropolojik yaklaşımlar ve çizgisel evrimciler ilk tarım topluluklarının eşitlikçi bir yapıya sahip olduğunu iddia etmektedirler. Ancak kurumsal hiyerarşinin bulunmadığı bu topluluklarda ev odaklı bir hiyerarşiden bahsetmek mümkündür. Bourdieu evi yaş, cinsiyet, akrabalık ilişkilerine bağlı eşitsizliğin kurgulandığı en küçük yapı olarak tanımlamaktadır. Halaf olarak tanımladığımız dönem ise kronolojik olarak bu ilk tarım toplulukları ile kurumsallaşmış hiyerarşinin bulunduğu şehir devletlerinin tam ortasında yer almaktadır. Genellikle sosyal evrim kuramı kapsamında konuya yaklaşan araştırmacılar, Neolitik dönemin küçük ve bölgesel olarak merkezileşmemiş köy tipi yerleşimlerinin, çeşitli ekonomik ve sosyal dinamikler neticesinde şehir-devletleri ortaya çıkaran daha karmaşık bir yapılanmaya doğru gittiklerini ileri sürmektedirler. Bu kuramın ürettiği modellere göre, nüfus artışı, bölgesel kaynakların kullanımı, mesleki özelleşme ve ticaret gibi faktörler kişiler arasındaki ilişkilerin ve dolayısıyla sosyal yapının ve yerleşim düzeninin karmaşıklaşmasına neden olmaktadır. Sosyal evrim kuramları üzerinden hareketle ve geniş bir alana yayılmış objelerin benzerliğinden yola çıkarak, Halaf için alışveriş ağlarının kontrolüne dayalı ve ilkel şeflik (low-level chiefdom) düzeyinde bir merkezi otoritenin varlığından söz etmektedirler. Kurama göre, bu karmaşayı en etkin şekilde düzenleyecek sosyal yapılanmalar zaman içinde evrilerek, siyasi ve dini otoritenin bölgesel düzeyde merkezileşmesine ve şehir devletlerin ortaya çıkmasına

yol açmaktadır. Ancak kazılardan ele geçen buluntular yerleşim dokusu ve mimari gibi bu görüşü desteklememektedir.

Halaf dönemi yerleşimlerinin ve nesnel kültür zenginliğinin, obsidyen alışverişinin kontrolüne bağlı olduğu halen güncelliğini koruyan bir tartışma konusudur. Ana kaynakları, İç Anadolu ve Doğu Anadolu bölgesinde bulunan obsidyenin, Güney Mezopotamya ve Filistin kıyılarına kadar uzanan ticaretinin coğrafik olarak arada konuşlanmış Halaf toplulukları tarafından kontrol edildiği ve bu kontrolün bazı yerel merkezi güçlerin oluşmasına sebep olduğu tartışılmaktadır. Diğer taraftan, bazı araştırmacılar seramikler üzerindeki desenlerden hareketle Halaf topluluklarının dokumacılık üzerine uzmanlaşmış olabileceğini iddia etseler de, tekstil, halıcılık veya hasır örgü nesnelerin toprak altında çabuk bozunmaya uğraması dolayısıyla bu iddiaları doğrulamak mümkün olmamaktadır. Halaf yerleşimlerinde sıklıkla ele geçen "taş baskı mühürler" in varlığı, alış-veriş veya genel olarak mülkiyet kontrolüne dayalı bir bürokrasinin ürünü olarak görülebilir. Sonuç olarak yerleşim dokusu ve mimari yapısı itibari ile eşitlikçi gibi görünen; ancak uzak mesafe ticareti, karmaşık ritüel aktiviteler ya da mühür gibi bazı küçük buluntular düşünüldüğünde küçük ölçekli de olsa bir merkezileşmenin gerekliliği Halaf topluluklarının paradoksal yapısını gözler önüne sermektedir. Şu ana kadar geliştirilen teoriler ise bu durumu açıklamada yetersiz kalmışlardır. Bu noktada Halaf Dönemi topluluklarının var olan geleneksel yaklaşımların dışında yeni bir perspektif ile incelenmesi gerekliliği doğmuştur.

Bir önceki dönemle kıyaslandığında Halaf'ta çok daha yoğun bir materyal kültür çeşitliliği ve kullanımı olduğu görülmektedir. Karmaşık ritüel aktiviteler ile birlikte materyal kültürün bu dönemin sosyal ilişkilerinde belirleyici bir rolü olduğu düşünülebilir. Hatta Domuztepe gibi büyük ölçekli yerleşimlerin bu karmaşık aktivitelere ev sahipliği yaptığı düşünülebilir. Bu düşünceden yola çıkarak bu aktivitelerin tanımlanması bu esnada kullanılan malzemelerinin rolünün anlaşılması bu dönemin sosyal yapısının da anlaşılmasını kolaylaştıracaktır.

Ritüeller sosyal eşitsizliğin legalize edildiği aktiviteler olarak tanımlanabilir. Ve özellikle yazısız toplumlarda sosyal yapının ancak bu aktivitelerin ve bu esnada kullanılan nesnelerin materyal kültür kalıntılarının incelenmesi ile anlaşılması

mümkün olacaktır. Bu bakış açısı ile ritüel temelli materyal kültür çalışmalarının. Bu nedenle Halaf Döneminin genel yapısı ancak daha çok yerleşimde yapılacak olan bu tip çalışmaların sayesinde anlaşılabilecektir.

Ritüel terimi sadece dini aktiviteleri değil çok daha geniş alanda çok farklı aktiviteleri kapsamaktadır (evlilik, boşanma, ziyafet vs) hatta bütün bunlarında ötesinde kültürel hareketleri tanımlamak için kullanılmaktadır. Ritüeller sosyo-kültürel entegrasyonu ya da değişimi olarak tanımlanabilirler. Hatta insanları ortak bir kimlik altında kolektif bir grup yaratacak sosyal manifestolar olarak tanımlanışlardır.

Connerton'ın da söylediği gibi özellikle yazısız topluluklarda, toplumsal hafızanın manüple edilmesi için kullanılmışlardır. Bu topluluklarda oluşturulan kolektif hafıza sosyal yapının belirlenmesinde büyük rol oynamaktadır ve ritüeller neyin hatırlanıp neyin unutulacağının belirlendiği aktivitelerdir. Bu tip aktivileterl toplumsal dengeyi sağlamak için kullanılmaktadır ve var olan sosyal eşitsizliği legalize etmek için sosyal ağlar oluşturulmaktadır. Bu aktiviteler kalıcı eşitsizlik için gerekli araçları oluşturmaktadırlar ve insan topluluklarının sosyal davranışları ve yapıları ancak bu aktivitelerin maddi kalıntılarının incelenmesi ile mümkün olacaktır. Ritüeller bir çeşit sembolik sunum olarak düşünülebilir. Bu özelliğinden dolayı ritüeller toplumun yapılandığı aktiviteler olarak düşünülebilir. Ve bu alanlarda söz sahibi olanlar ya da bu ritüellerin yürütücüleri de ellerinde bir çeşit sembolik ve sosyal güç birikimini tutmaktadırlar.

Son zamanlarda yapılan çalışmalar insanların yerleşik yaşamla birlikte ritüel aktivitelerle çok daha yakın bağlar kurduğunu göstermiştir. Hatta Göbekli Tepe, Jerf el Ahmar, Tell Abr bigi yerleşimler belirli coğrafyaların özellikle tapınak ya da ritüel aktiviteler için seçildiğini göstermektedir. Seramiksiz Neolitik Dönem; yerleşik yaşam, bir araya gelme, ölüm, ata kültü, hafıza ve geçmişle kurulan ilişkiler olarak özetlenebilir. Güç kavramının en erken formu Ön Asya neolitiğinde atalarla ile kurulan ilişkidir ve bu tekrarlanan ritüeller ve ölümle kurulan ilişkilerde kendini göstermektedir.

Seramiksiz Neolitik Dönem kült objeleri, kafatası kültü (alçılı kafatasları ve kafatası deformasyonları), ikincil gömüleri ve kült yapıları bu dönemin toplumsal algısı ile doğrudan ilgilidir ve toplumsal yapının belirlenmesinde önemli rol oynamaktadır. Ölü gömme törenleri ortak inancı taşıyan toplumsal bireylerin katılımını arttırmak ve törenleri daha başarılı hale getirmek için herkesin görebileceği kamusal alanlarda gerçekleştirildiği düşünülmektedir. İkincil kafataslarının bulunduğu fiziksel mekânlar ve etnografik veriler ışığında ölüm ritüellerinde yüksek katılımın olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Kafatasları evsel düzeyde ritüel törenlerinin, ata kültünün en önemli göstergelerinden biridir aynı zamanda evlilik, akrabalık ya da politik sebeplerle kurulan ev halklarının hem kendi aralarında hem de birbirleri olan ilişkilerinin düzenlenmesinde önemli rol oynadığı söylenebilir. Ölüm ve ata kültü ritüelleri kontrol eden kişilerin elinde güç birikmesini sağlayan birer araç olarak kullanıldığı iddia edilmektedir. Kafatasları aynı zamanda bulundukları mekânla ilişkileri üzerinden hem prestij kazandıran hem de sosyal aidiyeti simgeleyen nesnelere dönüşmektedirler.

Seramiksiz Neolitik Dönem sonlarına gelindiğinde eşit değerler ve ritüel elitlerin birlikte var olmasına dayanan organizasyon, gelişen toplumsal düzen ve topluluklardaki nüfus toplanması karşısında varlığını çok sürdürememiştir (Kuijt 2004, 183-199). Dönemin sonlarına gelindiğinde çeşitli sebeplerden büyük yerleşimler ve görkemli mimari geleneği ortadan kalkmış; yerine çok daha küçük ölçekli ve basit yerleşimler almıştır. Bu çöküş ekonomi ve yerleşim dokusunda değişikler meydana getirdiği gibi toplumsal yapı ve ritüellerde de değişim yaratmıştır. Materyal kültürde yüksek bir artış ve çeşitlenme gözlemlenmektedir. Malzeme ile toplum arasında giderek artan bir iletişim görülmektedir.

Halaf Dönemi'ne gelindiğinde ise küçük ve geçici yerleşimlerde bir önceki dönemden tanınan anıtsal ritüel mimari geleneğinin kaybolduğu görülmektedir. Ancak büyük ölçekli ve kesintisiz yerleşimlerin aynı zamanda ritüeller için bir toplanma merkezi görevi üstlendiği söylenebilir. Gömü ve ziyafet üzerine yoğunlaşan bu dönemin ritüellerinde çok çeşitli nesnelerin kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Nesnelerin üzerlerindeki bezeklerin birçok yerleşimde karşımıza çıkması ise sembolik bir dilin oluştuğunu düşündürtmektedir.

Bu teorik çerçeveden yola çıkarak Domuztepe yerleşimi ve buradan ele geçen mekânlar, nesneler ve bunların birbirleri ile olan ilişkileri ve bunların sosyal bağlamı anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Domuztepe Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde Kahramanmaraş ilinde yer almaktadır. MÖ 6500-5.500 arasına tarihlenen höyük 20 ha'lık alanı ile bilinen en büyük Halaf Dönemi yerleşimlerinden biridir. Bu döneme tarihlenen başka büyük ölçekli yerleşimlerde olmakla birlikte Domuztepe aynı zamanda geniş bir kazı alanına sahip olması nedeniyle en fazla bilgi edindiğimiz kaynaklardan da birisidir. Höyük, Güneybatı Suriye sınırına yakın bir yerde konumlanmıştır, bu sınır aynı zamanda geleneksel Halaf bölgesinin de sınırıdır. Bu konumu ve geniş kazı alanı ile kronolojik olarak iki devrim arasına sıkışmış olan bu dönem için önemli bir bilgi kaynağıdır.

Domzutepe'nin sağladığı en önemli bilgilerden biri yerleşimin sosyal yapısı, günlük yaşamı, ritüelleri, materyal kültürü ve diğer yerleşimlerle olan ilişkilerini gösteren ipuçlarıdır. Yerleşim sakinleri uzak mesafe ticareti ile yoğun biçimde uğraşmışlardır özellikle obsidyen ile. Bunların dışında höyükten çok sayıda küçük buluntu ele geçmiştir. Aynı zamanda yoğun damga mühür kullanımı gösteren veriler de mevcuttur. Yerleşim aynı zamanda birçok karmaşık ritüel aktiviteye de ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Bütün bu bilgiler ışığında yerleşimde düşük dereceli de olsa bir merkezi yapının var olduğunu düşündürtmektedir.

Domuztepe yerleşiminden üç farklı alan seçilmiştir; Yanmış Yapı, Ölüm Çukuru ve Hendek. Seçilen alanlarda ele geçen malzemelerin mekânlarla ilişkileri anlaşılmaya çalışmıştır. Bu alanlardan Yanmış Yapı evsel Ölüm Çukuru ve hendek ise karmaşık ritüellerin yapıldığı alanlardır.

Yanmış Yapı aslında tek bir evi değil ev ve avlulardan oluşan bir kompleksi tanımlamaktadır; bu nedenle ev yerine yapı olarak adlandırılmıştır. Yapı aynı zamanda bugüne kadar mimari ile ilgili bilgilerimizi zorlaması açısından da oldukça önemli bilgileri barındırmaktadır. Yapıdan elde edinilen bilgilere baktığımızda ilk olarak duvarların organik materyalden büyük ihtimalle de hasırdan yapıldığını düşündürtmektedir ve ayrımların kemik sıraları ile gösterildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Yapının yaklaşık olarak 5, 600-5,575 cal. tarihleri arasında kullanıldığı saptanmıştır.

Yapının yangın sonucu tahrip olduğu kesin bir şekilde saptanmıştır, organik materyal kullanımı da özellikle bazı bölümlerde ateşin yoğunluğunun artmasına ve yapının tamamen yok olmasına sebep olmuştur. Yapı içinde ele geçen çok sayıdaki in-stu malzemeden yola çıkarak bilinçli olarak yakılmadığı kaza sonucu bir yangınla yok olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu yangının Ölüm Çukurunda düzenlenen seramoniler sırasında kullanılan ateşin yapıya sıçraması sonucu çıktığı düşünülmektedir.

Diğer iki mekân ritüel alanı olarak tanımlanmıştır ve Kırmızı Teras adı verilen bir yapı ile çevrelenmiş özel bir alanın içinde yer almaktadır. Teras doğu–batı doğrultusunda yapılmıştır ve Operasyon I'in kuzey bölümünde yer almaktadır. Terasın yapımında kullanılan kırmızı toprağın yerleşimin dışından özel olarak getirildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Terasın çevrelediği alan içerisinde ritüel alanlar, bazı çöp çukurları ve bir kuyu yer almaktadır. Terasın özel alan ile gündelik alanı birbirinden ayıran bir sınır görevi gördüğü düşünülmektedir.

Bu alan içerisinde yer alan Hendek çeşitli zamanlarda yeniden kazılmış 60-75 cm genişliğindedir. Hendeğin içinde birçok seramik parçası dışında çeşitli küçük buluntular, kemik ve karbon bulunmuştur. Karbon dışında yoğun suya maruz kalmış toprak bulunmaktadır. Oldukça yoğun bir şekilde ele geçen bu toprak ve karbon yoğun bir organik malzeme ve su kullanımını göstermektedir. Yoğun bir şekilde ele geçen seramikler ise bu yerin uzun zaman kullanımda olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Hendek'te karbon ve hayvan kemikleri dışında çok sayıda küçük buluntu ele geçmiştir. Bunlar arasında; Erken Halaf Dönemine tarihlenen (5.700-5.500 B.C.) kafası koparılmış bir erkek figürin, damga mühürler, kemik aletler, tutamaklı obsidyen ayna parçası sayılabilir. Hendekte üç adet tüme yakın seramik kap ele geçmiştir. Bu seramikler üzerlerindeki bezekler itibari ile önem arz etmektedir. Bir tanesinin üzerinde iki katlı ev tasviri bulunmaktadır ve bunun ritüeller esnasında kullanılan evin bir modeli olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bir diğeri üzerinde ise dans eden kadınlar motifi bulanmaktadır ve yine bu dansın ritüeller sırasında yapıldığı var sayılmaktadır. Sonuncu seramiğin üzerinde ise başsız insanlar ve onların üzerinde uçan yırtıcı kuşlar tasviri yer almaktadır. Bu motif de ritüelistik bir sahne olarak yorumlanabilir.

Terasla çevrelenmiş alanda ele geçen bir kontekst ise Ölüm Çukuru 'dur. İsminden de anlaşılacağı üzere gömü mekânı olarak tanımlanmıştır. Kısa süreli kullanılan Ölüm Çukuru'nda 40'dan fazla birey tespit edilmiştir. Ölüm Çukuru sadece basit bir gömü alanı değildir; aksine çeşitli karmaşık ölü gömme ritüellerine ev sahipliği yaptığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki kemiklerin parçalanarak gömülmesidir. Ölüm çukuru'nda çok sayıda bilinçli olarak parçalanmış ve gömülmüş insan kemiği ele geçmiştir, kafatasları ayırma işlemi burada da karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Diğer bir gelenek ise kafataslarına uygulanan bir işlemdir; bazı kafataslarında sert bir objeyle yapılan vuruk izleri bulunmuştur. Bu işlemin ölüm sebebi mi olduğu yoksa ölüm gerçeklerştikten sonra mı uygulandığının tespiti mümkün olmamakla birlikte bir ritüelin parçası olduğu düşünülmektedir. Yine bazı kemiklerin ısıya maruz kaldıkları tespit edilmiş aynı zamanda diş izlerinin de bulunması yamyamlık ya da insan kurbanı geleneğini akla getirmiştir.

Kemiklere ek olarak bazı küçük buluntular da ele geçmiştir. Bunlar arasından seramik parçaları, taş aletler, damga mühürler ve baskıları, boncuklar ve kemik aletler sayılabilir. Ancak bu buluntuların mezar eşyasından çok kendi başlarına birer gömü oldukları düşünülmektedir. Her kullanım aşamasından sonar çukur ince bir kül tabakası ile mühürlenmiştir. Bu külün başka bir yerde yakılan ateşten elde edildiği ve buraya taşındığı sanılmaktadır. Ölüm Çukuru iki adet büyük küp ile alanın diğer kısmında ayrılmış ve bir gömü alanı olarak işaretlenmiştir.

Ölüm Çukuru'nda ele geçen hayvan kemikleri, bunların niteliği, sunumu, pişirme alanları ve kaplar düşünüldüğünde buranın aynı zamanda ziyafet aktivitelerine de ev sahipliği yaptığı düşünülmektedir.

Bu üç alandan ele geçen küçük buluntuların birbirleri ve seçilen alanlarla arasında geçerli bir ilişkinini olup olmadığının anlaşılması için uyum analizi yöntemi uygulanmıştır. Uyum Analizi buluntu gruplarının birbirleri ile ilişkilerini mekânsal dağılıma göre saptamakta ve buluntular mekânlarla olan ilişkileri doğrultusunda kümelenmesini sağlayarak mekânlarla olan ilişkilerinin derecelerinin ölçülmesine olanak vermektedir. Bu yöntem sayesinde çoklu verinin ve ilişki derecelerinin iki boyutlu grafiklerle sunulması mümkün olmuştur. Analizlerin yapılabilmesi için her

buluntu grubuna ve kontekste birer numara verilmiş ve bir standart sağlanmıştır, bütün analizler boyunca bu standart kullanılmıştır.

Daha öncede belirtildiği gibi analizler sayesinde iki boyutlu tabloların çizilmesi mümkün olmuştur; bu tablolarda satır ve sütunlar arasına yerleştirilen noktaların birbirine olan mesafesi ilişki derecelerini göstermektedir. Ancak bu metodun bazı açmazları bulunmaktadır. Uyum analizi yöntemi uygun çapraz tabloları oluşturabilmek için yöntem satır ve sütunları aynı ölçekte değerlendirmektedir. Analiz tablosundaki noktalar düzensiz bir yapıya sahip olduğu için veri kaybına yol açmaktadır, aynı anda hem ilgili noktaları öğrenmek hem de karışık bir şekilde hareket eden nokta bulutunu anlamak için oldukça fazla zaman kaybedilmektedir. Bu problem çözmek için Bertin grafik yöntemi kullanılmaktadır. Bu yöntem sayesinde Uyum analizi koordinatları aşamalı olarak sıralanabilmektedir. Bertin Grafik bir matris sunumu olarak tanımlanabilir. Ve bu grafik sayesinde ilk matrisi daha homojen bir yapıya dönüştürmek ve daha net bir sunum elde etmek mümkün olmaktadır. Bertin Graphs direk olarak uyum analizi durum tablosundan verileri alarak çok daha ayrıntılı kümelenmiş gruplar oluşturmaktadır ve doğal olarak yorumlamayı da kolaylaştırmaktadır. Aynı zamanda da veri kaybını minimize etmektedir. Böylelikle Uyum Analizinin permutasyon tablolarından çok daha homojen kümeler elde edilmesini sağlayarak bu homojenlik sayesinde satır ve sütunlar arasında ki ilişki derecelerini de netleştirmektedir. Bu sebepten analizler süresince analiz sonuçları bertin grafik tabloları ile sunulmuştur.

Analizler iki kere tekrarlanmıştır. İkinci tekrarda günlük kullanım nesnesi olarak tanımlanan gruplar çıkarılarak daha net bir resim elde edilmesi amaçlanmıştır.

Analizlerin ilk etabında bazı buluntular mekânsal dağılımlarına göre gruplanmıştır. Bu gruplardan ilki kemik aletler, taş kaplar ve figürinlerden oluşmaktadır. Bu grup Hendek ile %100, Ölüm Çukuru ile %50 Yanmış yapı ile de %25lik bir ilişki derecesine sahiptir. Diğer bir grup ise damga mühürler, mühür baskıları ve disklerden oluşmakta olup, %75 Hendek ve Ölüm Çukuru ve %50 Yanmış Yapı ile ilişkilenmiştir. Son grup ise manuport ve boncuklardan oluşmaktadır. Bu grup %50 Hendek, %75 Ölüm Çukuru ve %100 Yanmış Yapı ile ilişkilenmiştir. Bazı buluntular ise diğerleri ile herhangi bir korelasyon göstermemiş ve tek başlarına

temsil edilmişlerdir. Bunlar öğütme taşları, seramik ve ağırşaklardır. Öğütme taşları sadece Hendek ile ve %25 lik bir derece ile ilişkilenmiştir. Seramik ise Yanmış Yapı ile oldukça düşük bir dereceyle ilişkileniştir. Ağırşaklar ise Hendek ve Ölüm Çukuru ile %25 lik bir ilişki göstermektedir.

Daha keskin bir sonuç elde edebilmek için daha çok gündelik olarak tanımlanabilecek olan taş ve kemik aletler, disk, ağırşak gibi buluntular çıkarılarak analizler tekrarlanmıştır. Bu ikinci analizlerde buluntular mekânsal dağılımına göre üç grup oluşturmuşlardır. Bunlardan ilki taş kap, damga mühür ve özel obsidyenlerden oluşmaktadır. %100 lük bir dereceyle Hendekle ilişkilenen bu grup %40 Ölüm Çukuru ve %20 Yanmış Yapı ile ilişkilenmiştir. İkinci grup ise figürin, mühür baskısı ve hasır izlerinden oluşmaktadır. %100 lük bir derece ile Ölüm Çukuru ile ilişkilenen bu grup %40 hendek ve %20lik bir derece ile de Yanmış Yapı ile ilişkilenmiştir. Sonuncu grup ise seramik, küçük baltacıklar ve manuporttan oluşmuştur. Kontekstlerle yoğun bir ilişki göstermeyen bu grup %40 yanmış yapı ile ilişkilenirken Ölüm çukuru ve Hendek ile sadece %20 lik bir korelasyon göstermiştir. Analiz sonuçlarını tartışabilmek için Halaf ritüellerine yakından bakmak gerek.

Ritüel kontekstler sosyal birlikteliğin sağlanması açısından öneme sahiptir. Halaf Dönemi'nin birçok ritüel pratiği Erken Neolitik Dönem'den bilinen gelenekler üzerine oturaktadır. Küçük grupların ritüeller için bir araya gelmesi hem toplumsal birlik algısın güçlendirmekte hem de toplumsal yapıya şekil veren müzakerelerin yapılmasına olanak vermektedir. Erken Neolitikte oldukça sıkı bir şekilde takip edilen ve görkemli yapılarda gerçekleşirken törenler, Halaf Dönemi'nde aynı mekâna sadık kalmakla birlikte her seferinde farklılaşabilen bilen ritüellere dönüşmüştür. Bu durum küçük, geçici ve dağınık halde bulunan Halaf yerleşimleri ve yerleşim dokusu ile de tutarlıdır. Ancak bu dönemde karşımıza çıkan ve büyük boyutlu olan yerleşimlerinin toplu ritüel aktiviteleri için de kullanıldığı düşünülmektedir. Sabi Abyad 3 de ele geçen taş duvarlar ile çevrili teras merkezi plaza olarak tanımlanmıştır. Yine Domuztepe 'de Operasyon I'de ele geçen ve Geç Halaf Dönemi'ne tarihlenen kırmızı teras ile domestik alandan ayrılmış olan kült alanı da buna örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Bu alanlarda ne tip seramonilerin gerçekleştiği sorusuna ise materyal kültür kısmen cevap vermektedir. Örneğin seramiklerde sıklıkla görülen dans sahnelerinin bu aktiviteler ile ilgili olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu

tasvirlerin hepsinde aynı kostüm ve duruşa sahip aynı yöne bakarak dans eden figürler tasvir edilmiştir. Bu sahnelerin bir ritüel ya da festival canlandırması oldukları var sayılmaktadır.

Halaf Dönemi ritüellerini ikiye ayırmak mümkündür; ziyafet ve gömü. Ancak gömü ritüel yapınun çok büyük parçasını oluşturmaktadır. Üç tip gömü aktivitesi bulunmaktadır; insan, obje ve mekân gömüleri.

İnsan gömme geleneklerine bakıldığında oldukça çeşitli olduğu görülecektir; çukurlara yapılan toprağa inhumasyon ve kremasyon, kap içi gömüleri ve az sayıda görülen kafatasının ayrılması gibi. Ölüler de ne yön birliği ne de gömü pozisyonu birliği bulunmaktadır. En karakteristik olan gelenek çukurlara yapılan gömülerdir; ancak bu çukurlar evlerin tabanlarının altında değil evlere bitişik mezar odaları ya da çukurlar şeklindedir. Bu tip gömü geleneğine birçok Halaf yerleşiminde rastlanmaktadır. Yerleşim dışında da mezarlıklar bulunmaktadır. Ancak kafatası alımı ile ilgili çok fazla örnek bulunmamaktadır. Bunlardan biri Yarim Tepe II'de ele geçen bir çocuk mezarına aittir. Çocuğun kafatası alınmış ve iskeletin geri kalanının üstüne yerleştirilmiştir. Bougras'da ise iki tane bilinçli olarak deforme edilmiş kafatası ele geçmiştir. Halaf Dönemi'ne ait en ilginç ölü gömme mekânı ise Domuztepe'den ele geçen Ölüm Çukuru'dur. Burada tek kontekste çok çeşitli uygulamaların olduğu görülmüştür. Bu dönemde ev içi gömüler azalmıştır; genellikle kadın ve çocuklar evlerin tabanlarının altına gömülmektedir; ancak bu esnada evlerin hala kullanımda olup olmadığı belli değildir.

Bu dönem mezarlarında mezar eşyası kullanımı çok fazla değildir. Bu eşyalar çoğunlukla seramiklerden oluşmaktadır; ancak taş kaplar, minyatür baltalar ve süs eşyalarına da mezarlarda rastlanmaktadır.

Halaf Dönemi yerleşimlerinde insanlar gibi objeler de gömülmektedir. Bu objeler insan gömülerini anımsatacak şekilde gömülmüşlerdir. Bu uygulamanın birçok Halaf yerleşiminde örneği mevcuttur. Bunlardan biri Yarim Tepe II de ele geçen bir antropomorfik kaptır. Obje bilinçli olarak kırıldıktan sonra kremasyon işlemi sırasında yakılmış ve daha sonra gömülmüştür. Tel el-Kerkh'de ise kremasyon geleneği ile gömülen yeni doğan mezarında bilinçli olarak kırılmış seramik kap ele

geçmiştir. Yine aynı yerleşimde iki ya da üç kaptan oluşan bir gömü ele geçmiştir. Domuztepe ’de ise Kızıl Teras’ta son kullanım evresine tarihlenen bir dizi taş kap gömüsü ele geçmiştir. Yine aynı yerleşimde bulunan Ölüm Çukuru’nda ele geçen objelerin mezar eşyası olmaktan çok bağımsız gömüler olduğu düşünülmektedir. Ölüm Çukuru’nun da yer aldığı kızıl terasın aynı zamanda ziyafet aktivitelerine de ev sahipliği yaptığı düşünülmektedir. Ve bu aktiviteden sonra kalanların ayrı birer çukura gömüldüğü anlaşılmaktadır.

Bu dönemi bir başka ölü gömme geleneği ise mimari de karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bazı yerleşimde binaların işlevlerinin yakılarak ya da gömülerek sonlandırıldığı görülmüştür. Bunun en iyi örneklerinden biri Sabi Abyad 6’da ele geçen Burnt Village’dir. Kasıtlı olarak yakıldığı tespit edilen Burnt Village’de birkaç yuvarlak planlı ev dışında depo binası ele geçmiştir. Depo binasında taş aletler, öğütme taşları, havanelleri ve mühür baskıları ve hesap için kullanıldığı düşünülen tokenlar olarak özetlenebilecek yüzlerce buluntu ele geçmiştir. Bina da aynı zamanda insan iskeletleri de ele geçmiştir. Bir erkek ve bir kadına ait olan iskeletlerin pozisyonlarından anlaşıldığı kadarıyla bu iskeletler öldükten sonra çatıya yerleştirilmişler ve yangın sırasında çatının çökmesiyle beraber binanın içine düşmüşlerdir Yine Bougras’da III. 6 bireye ait iskelet parçalarının da bulunduğu yangınla tahrip olmuş bir bina ele geçmiştir. Bu binanın bilinçli olarak yakılıp yakılmadığı bilinmemekle beraber House 12 ismi verilen binanın kasten yakıldığı anlaşılmıştır. Bu iki yerleşimde de farklı kullanım amaçları olan mekânlar daha sonra insan gömülerine de ev sahipliği yapacak şekilde tahrip edilmiştir. Yakma geleneğinin bir başka örneği ise Arpachiyah yerleşiminden Halaf 1b dönemine ait bir binadır. TT6 ismi verilen ve Burnt House olarak da tanınan yapının depo binası olduğu anlaşılmıştır. İki odası bulunan yapıda (Long Room- Full Room) yaklaşık olarak 150 adet obje ele geçmiştir. Bilinçli olarak yakılan binanın tabanında yangın öncesinde kırılmış ve tabana yayılmış tabakların bulunması yapının farklı bir anlamı olabilceğini akla getirmektedir, Aynı zamanda bu kadar çok değerli objenin ele geçmesi binaya ayrı bir önem katmaktadır. Hatta bu binadan ele geçen buluntular Halaf Dönemi için statü göstergesi olan objeler olarak düşünülebilir. Binaların yakılması geleneğinin temizlik ya da kapatma süreci ile ilişkilendirilmektedir. Ayrıca ölü gömmenin de bir parçası olarak düşünülebilir.

Bu dönemin ritüellerinin uygulanma biçimlerini iki şekilde değerlendirmek mümkün; bunlardan ilki merkezi yerlerde birçok kişinin katılımı ile gerçekleştirilen görünürlülüğü yüksek ritüellerdir. Bu aktiviteler esnasında katı kurallar yerine toplumsal ihtiyaca göre değişiklik gösterebilen daha esnek bir yapının olduğu düşünülmektedir ve buradaki amaç çeşitli küçük toplulukların bir araya getirilmesiyle sosyal birliktelik oluşturulması olarak özetlenebilir. İkinci tip ritüel aktivte ise özel ritüeller olarak tanımlanabilir. Küçük ve farklı bilgi birikimleri olan özel gruplar tarafından yürütüldüğü düşünülen bu seramonilerin farklı amaçları olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Bu aktivitiler sırasında nesnelerin de yardımı ile yeni söylemler oluşturulduğu ve bu sayede de toplumsal süreçlere yön verildiği düşünülmektedir. Seramoniler esnasında kullanılan nesneler daha sonra gömülmektedir, bu işlemin sona eren sosyal süreçleri sembolize ettikleri var sayılmaktadır.

Domuztepe de ele geçen kontekstlerden ikisinin karmaşık ritüellerle ile ilgili olduğu belirtilmişti. Bunlardan ilki, Ölüm Çukuru adı verilen alandır. Bu mekân hem karmaşık ölü gömme geleneklerine hem de ziyafet aktivitelerine ev sahipliği yapmıştır. İki büyük küple işaretlenerek alan görünür bir hale getirilmiştir. Ele geçen buluntulardan buradaki aktivitelerin oldukça yüksek katılımla gerçekleştiğir ve bu özelliği ile Ölüm Çukuru'nun komünal ritüel aktivitilere örnek teşkil ettiği söylenebilir.

Hendek ise ayrılmış ya da özel ritüellere ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Burada daha küçük grupların aktivite yaptığı düşünülmekledir. Bilgi birikimi ve statüleri farklı olan bu kişilerin nesneleri de kullanarak yeni söylemler oluşturduğu söylenebilir. Burada kullanılan nesneler analizler sonucunda anlaşılmıştır ki diğer ritüel alanından farklıdır aynı zamanda da sembolik olarak farklı anlamlar içermektedir. Hendek'teki ritüellerde her gruptan seçilmiş kişiler mi yoksa tamamen özel bir grup mu vardı bilmek zor. Kendi içlerinde bağımsız olan genişletilmiş ailelerin özerklikleri bu merkezi ritüeller sırasında kaybedilmiş olabilir. Bu sorunun cevabı bir sonraki dönemde merkezileşmenin nasıl olduğu sorusunun cevabını da verecektir.

Uyum analiz sonuçları evsel alan ile ritüel alan ile ilişkilenen nesnelerin birbirinden keskin bir şekilde ayrıldığını göstermiştir. Ayrıca iki farklı ritüel alanı ile kümelenen

malzemelerin de birbirinden farklı olduğu saptanmıştır. Daha komünal ve görselliği yüksek olarak değerlendirilen Ölüm Çukuru' nun mühür baskıları, boncuklar ve hasır izlerinden oluşan grup ile yoğun ilişkileri bulunmaktadır. Bu nesnelerin mezar eşyası yerine bağımsız gömüler olduğu iddia edilmekle birlikte, genellikle kişisel eşyalardan oluşmaları ölüm ritüelleri ile oldukça uyumludur.

Ayrılmış özel ritüellere ev sahipliliği yapan Hendek ile damga mühürler, taş kaplar ve özel obsidyenlerle yoğun ilişki göstermiştir. Daha seçkin olarak yorumlanabilecek bu yerde ele geçen buluntular malzeme, işçilik hem de sosyal ve kültürel anlam bakımından oldukça değerli nesnelerdir. İlk olarak bu nesnlerin hepsinin malzemesinin taş olması oldukça önemlidir. Diğer önemli bir sonuç ise aynı taştan yapılan (serpantin) mühür ve taş kapların birbiri ile ilişkilenmeleri olmuştur. Vengrow taş nesnelerin daha çok erkek varlığını, kil nesnelerin ise kadın varlığını temsil ettiğini ileri sürmektedir. Mühürlerin kullanım amaçları tam olarak saptanamamakla birlikte üzerlerindeki motiflerin birçok Halaf yerleşiminde ortak olması aidiyetten ziyade daha başka sembolik anlamları olduğunu akla getirmektedir. Hendek'te ele geçen obsidyen buluntular ise özel nesneler olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bunlar alet niteliği taşıyan nesnelerden farklıdırlar. Obsidyen kaplar, ayna, boncuk gibi obsidyenden yapılması oldukça zor olan nesnelerden oluşmaktadırlar. Bu nesnelerin bir diğer özelliği ise alet yapımında kullanılanlardan farklı bir kaynaktan gelen ve farklı renkte olan obsidyenlerden yapılmış olmalarıdır. Bu nesnelerin özel ritüellerde gömülmeleri ise akla biten sosyal süreçleri sembolize ediyor olabileceklerini getirmektedir.

Bu nesnelerin bugünkü kapitalistik bakış açısı ile prestij nesneleri olarak değerlendirilmeleri mümkündür; ancak Domuztepe'den ele geçen buluntular ve bunların ritüel alanlarla ilişkilerinin incelenmesi sonucunda kullanım alanları ve biçimlerinin de malzemelere değer kazandırdıkları söylenebilir. Bu nesnelerin gömülmesi bunların toplumdan bağımsız kişilerin kendilerine atfettiği güç nesneleri olmadıkları tam tersine gücünü ve işlevlilerini toplumsal süreçlerde kazandıklarını düşündürtmektedir. Nesneler, toplumsal ilişkinin mekân üzerinden kurulduğu topluluklarda eskiyle iç içe girmiş durumdadırlar ve bu ilişkiyi manuple etme rolünü üstlenmişlerdir. Hatta toplumun farklı katmanlarından gelen insanların bu nesnelerin

insan ve mekân üzerinden kurdukları ilişki sayesinde toplumsal bağlarını oluşturdukları iddia edilebilir.

Bu değerli nenelerin gömülmesi ve mekâna anlam katması ya da gömüldüğü mekânla beraber objelerin farklı bir anlam kazanması söz konusu olabilir. Objelerin gömülmeleri kapanan bir toplumsal süreci veya o objelerin işlevini tamamlaması ile ilgili olabilir. Bazı araştırmacılar bu objelerin insan kimliğinin ayrıştırılan bir parçasını temsil ettiğini düşünmektedir. Bu geleneğinin ölüden çok yaşayanlarla ilgili bir aktivite olduğunu düşündürtebilir. Gömülen objelerin genellikle seramik ve taş kaplar olduğu göz önüne alınırsa bu objelerin toplumsal anlamda farklı bir rollerinin olduğunun düşünülmesi de mümkün görünmektedir. Gömülen mekânın özellikleri sayesinde gömülen nesne kontrol edilir, günlük yaşamdan koparılır.

Gömü kültürel olarak yaratılan bir kimlik sürecidir. Gömüler kasıtlı olarak mekânla link oluşturmak, kontrol etme, unutma-hatırlama olayını yapılandırmak ve ritüellerin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için kullanılır. Sosyal olarak güçlü materyal süreci de bundan farklı değildir. Gömünün amacı; spesifik lokasyonlara sosyal kapital yatırımı Yerlerin unutma ve hatırlama süreçleri ile birlikte ayrılmaz bir parçası Bugünün bir parçası olarak geçmişin oluşturulması ve yönetilmesi için bir yol Gömme, gömülen nesneler ile yaşayanlar arasında bir sınır yaratır. Aynı şekilde seramiklerin kırılması evlerin yakılması geçmişle ilişkili bir yıkım süreci olarak yorumlanabilir.

Sonuç olarak Halaf Dönemi'nde ritüellerin özellikle gömü üzerinden gerçekleştirilmesi aslında hatırlama ve unutma süreçlerini akla getirmektedir. Bazı ritüellerin yerleşimin merkezi bir kısmında gerçekleştirilmesi ve yüksek katılımla yapılması aslında sosyal birliktelik ile ilgiliyken ayrılmış ritüellerin toplumsal manipülasyon süreci ile ilgili olduğu iddia edilebilir. Daha öncede tartışıldığı gibi gömülen nesnelerin farklı sembolik ve kültürel değerleri bulunmaktadır. Sosyal ya da kültürel olarak sorumlu olarak tanımlanması ve böyle bir kapitale sahip nesnelerin gömülmesi aslında belki de biten sosyal süreçleri işaret ediyor olmalıdır. Bu durumda özellikle ayrılmış ritüelleri yapan grubun neyin unutulup neyin hatırlanacağını belirleyen grup olduğunu söylemek olasıdır. Bu nesnelerin belirli yerlere gömülmesi bu mekânın biten sosyal süreçlerin temsiliyeti açısından büyük öneme sahip olduğunu göstermektedir.

Sonuç olarak da ritüel alanlarla özellikle de Hendek ile ilişkilenen nesnelerin (taş kap, mühür ve obsidyen) sosyal olarak değerli ya da sorumlu nesneler olarak tanımlanması mümkün görünmektedir.

Özetleyecek olursak analiz sonuçları; günlük ve ritüel alan malzemelerin birbirlerinden net bir şekilde ayrıldığını gösterirken, iki farklı ritüelin yapıldığı alanların ilişkili olduğu nesneler de birbirinden farklılık göstermiştir. Ölüm çukurunda (figürin, mühür baskısı ve hasır izleri) ele geçen malzemeler ölüm ritüeli ile ilişkili ve kişisel eşyalar olarak tanımlanmaktadır ve bu nesneler Hendek ile çok az derecede bir korelasyon göstermektedir. Öte yandan Hendek'te daha az sayıda ve "farklı statülere sahip" kişiler tarafından gerçekleştirilen ritüellerde kullanılan nesneler ise, en çok bu mekân ile ilişkilenmiştir ve analize dâhil edilen diğer ritüel alan ve evsel yapıyla korelasyon derecesi oldukça düşüktür. Bu nesneler gerek malzeme ve yapım tekniği gerek de sembolik ve kültürel değerleri açısından diğer buluntu gruplarından farklılık göstermektedir. Aynı zamanda burada ele geçen seramikler üzerindeki farklı tasvirler bulunmaktadır ve bu bezeklerden de yola çıkarak Hendek de yapılan ritüellerin ölüm olgusuyla ilgili olduğu kadar yeniden üretim ile de bağlantılı olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu farklı değerlere sahip malzemelerin belirli yerlere gömülmesi ise nesneler üzerinden mekâna yapılan kapital yatırımını gözler önüne sermektedir. Sonuç olarak mekân ve nesne üzerinden kazanılan kapital ve güç sayesinde buradaki ritüelleri yöneten grubun aslında toplumsal süreçlerin manipülasyonunda etkin olduğu söylenebilir. Bu grubun ayrıcalıklı bir zümre mi yoksa farklı ailelerden gelen temsilcilerden mi oluştuğu sorusu ise bir sonraki dönemde kurumsallaşan hiyerarşinin oluşumu konusunu da çözecektir. Hendek ile ilişkilenen nesneler hem yapıldıkları malzemeler, hem yapım teknikleri hem de kullanım ve gömülme biçimleri itibari ile hendeğin kullanım amacını doğrular niteliktedir. Ve bu nesneler sosyal ve kültürel olarak önemli nesneler olarak tanımlanmışlardır.

Analizlerin bir diğer sonucu ise farklı iki amaca hizmet eden iki farklı ritüel aktivitenin aynı mekânda gerçekleşmesidir. Buradan da anlaşılacağı gibi yürütülen aktivite kadar mekânında özelliği önemlidir. Ve bir önceki dönemden bilinen mekâna bağlılık burada devam etmektedir. Özetle Domuztepe 'de var olan bir insan-nesne-mekân kurgusundan bahsetmek mümkün görünmektedir. Mekâna bağlılık açısından

benzerlik söz konusuyken Halaf'ta günün koşullarına göre değişebilen ritüeller söz konusu. Bina yapılmaması ise sosyal yapının çok kompozit olması ve herkese uyabilecek sosyal katılımı sağlayacak pratiklerin tercih edilmesiyle ilgilerdir. Erken Neolitikte ritüeller geçmişle bağları vurgularken Halaf'ta bugün ve gelecek ile ilgilenilmiştir. Mekân ilişkisi ve portatif nesneler ritüellerin çok katı olmadığını daha ziyade katılımcı bir yapıya sahip olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bütün bu tartışmalar ışığında Domuztepe yerleşiminde kurumsallaşmış bir hiyerarşinin bulunmadığı genişletilmiş aile odaklı organizasyonun olduğu söylenebilir. Eşitlikçi gibi görülen yaşam biçiminin rekabet alanını ritüeller oluşturmaktadır. Kırmızı Teras ile çevrelenmiş ve gündelik yaşam alanından ayrılmış olan bölgede iki farklı ritüel geleneği gözlemlenmektedir.

Materyal kültür çeşitliliği ve taşınabilir olmaya başlaması göçebe yaşam biçimi ile tutarlıdır ancak hem mimari hem de malzeme gömüleri düşünüldüğünde hem de bezekler yolu ile oluşturulan sembolik dil göz önüne alındığında nesnelerin önemli bir rolü olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Özellikle seramiklerin üzerindeki bazı motiflerin ritüellerin yeniden canlandırma özelliği ile ilgili olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Sonuç olarak geleneksel yaklaşımların çizgisel evrim sürecinde Halaf Dönemine bir yer bulma ve bu dönemin yapısını anlama çabaları yetersiz kalmıştır. Buraya kadar yapılan tartışma ışığında karmaşık ritüellerin ve bu esnada kullanılan sosyal ve kültürel değeri bulunan nesnelerin bu dönemin sosyal yapısını biçimlendirmede önemli bir rol oynadığı söylenebilir. Oluşturulan bu sembolik dil sayesinde toplumun biçimlendirildiği iddia edilebilir. Esnek bir toplumsal yapıya sahip olan Halaf topluluklarında ritüeller ve sembolik dil sayesinde dengesi çabuk bozulabilecek olan toplumsal yapının tekrar tekrar müzakere edilerek dengeye oturtulmaya çalışıldığı söylenebilir.