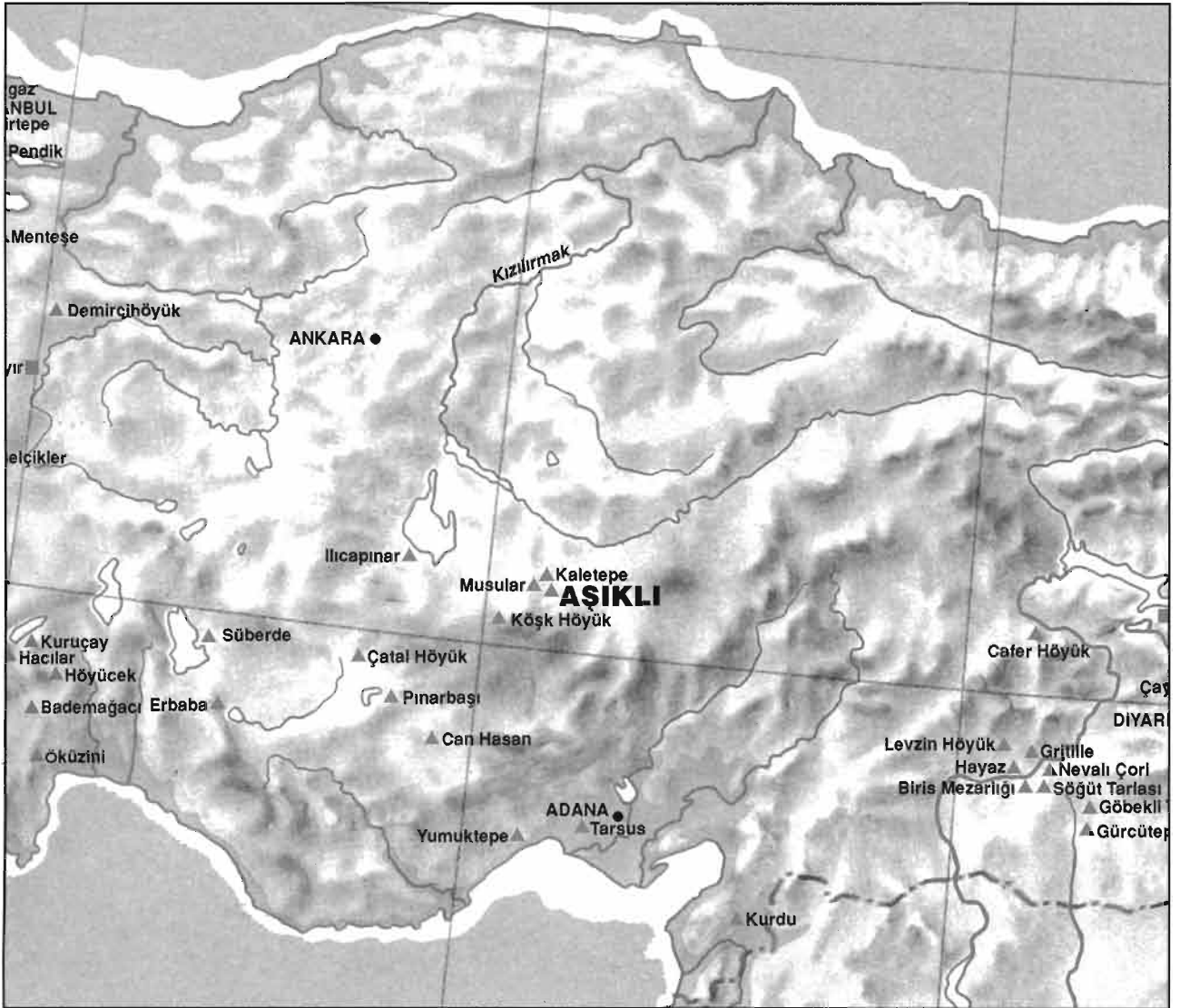


Aşıklı

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KEYWORDS: *Aşıklı, Aceramic Neolithic, Stratigraphy, Settlement Pattern, Burial Customs, Subsistence Economy, Industries, Human Activity, Socio-political Setting.*

ANAHTAR KELİMELEER: *Aşıklı, Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik, Tabakalanma, Yerleşme Düzeni, Ölü Gömme, Beslenme Ekonomisi, Teknoloji, Topluluk Uğraşları, Sosyo-kültürel Yapı.*

ÖZET

Aksaray'ın 25 km güneydoğusunda, Kızılkaya Köyü'ndeki Aşıklı Höyük'te 1989'dan bu yana kurtarma kazıları yapılmaktadır. Kazılarda Melendiz Su'yun kıyısında yer alan höyüğün kuzeybatısındaki derin sondajda şimdilik Akeramik Neolitiğe ait 3 tabaka saptanmıştır. 3. tabakada ancak 3 yapı evresi gün ışığına çıkarılmıştır. 10 yapı evreli 2. tabaka ile 3. tabaka arasında bir sel ve çöplük/işlik dolgusu vardır. Yapılar kerpiçtendir. Kerpiç konutların oluşturduğu mahalleler arasında küçük avlular, dar geçitler yer alır.

Düzeltilmiş radioaktif karbon ölçümlerine göre Aşıklı'nın 2. tabakası M.Ö. 8. binyıla tarihlendirilmektedir. Höyük üzerinde açılan geniş alanlarda 2. tabakanın üst yapı evrelerine ait yerleşme düzeni saptanabilmektedir. Höyük ortalarındaki geniş bir caddenin kuzey ve doğusunda halkın oturduğu mahalleler, mahalleler arasındaki çöplük/işlik olarak kullanılan büyük boş alanlar, güneybatısında ise olasılıkla yönetici ya da yöneten gruba ait müstemilatıyla birlikte iki binadan oluşan bir yapı kompleksi vardır. Bunlardan daha güneybatıda ki bir tapınak, diğeri ise yöneticinin oturduğu yer olarak yorumlanmaktadır. En son evrede yerleşme yeri doğuda bir çevre duvarı ile sınırlandırılmış ve bu kez kuzeydoğuda bu çevre duvarının içinde gelişen alandaki konutlar yöneticiye ya da yönetici sınıfa ayrılmıştır. Ayrıca höyük dışında, güneyde Melendiz kıyısında 3. tabakadan daha eski bir yerleşme parçası bulunmuştur.

Aşıklı'da obsidien dilgi endüstrisi egemendir. Jeokimyasal analizlere göre Aşıklı'ya obsidien blok halinde volkanik Göllüdağ çevresindeki Nenezi ve Kayırlı kaynaklarından getirilmiştir. Aşıklı'ların uğraşları arasında yontmataş, kemik/boynuz, sürtme taş endüstrileri, deri, ağaç, kemik işçiliği, avcılık ve az miktarda tarım yer alır.

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Aşıklı'nın 2. tabakasının üst yapı evrelerinde yoğun avcı ve toplayıcılığın yanında az da olsa *einkorn*, *emmer*, *durum* buğdayı, arpa tarımı başlamıştır. Aşıklı'da avlanan hayvanlar arasında atın bulunuşu son derece önem taşımaktadır. Aşıklı'da en çok yabani koyun/keçi az olarak da sığır, domuz, geyik ve tavşan, kuş ile balık avlanmıştır. Ancak köpek kemiklerinin bulunmayışı dikkat çekmektedir.

Aşıklı'da ölü gömme şimdilik intra-mural olarak adlandırılabilir. Yapılaşmanın yoğunluğuna karşı, bulunan insan bireylerinin sayısının azlığı, höyüğün başka bir tarafında ya da dışında ayrı bir mezarlık alanının bulunduğunu düşündürmektedir. Betimli buluntuların azlığı, Aşıklı insanların dinsel yaşam ya da inançları hakkında yeterli bilgi vermemektedir. Aşıklı'da kadın erkek arasındaki iş bölümü hakkında da daha fazla araştırmaya gereksinim duyulmaktadır. Ancak Aşıklı insan topluluklarının bir yönetici ya da yönetici grubu tarafından kapsamlı bir örgütlenme ile idare edilmesi gerektiği buradaki kültürel öğelerin ve verilerin çeşitliliğinden anlaşılmaktadır.

ABSTRACT

The medium-sized mound of Aşıklı Höyük lies on the banks of the Melendiz river in the village of Kızılkaya 25 km southeast of the city Aksaray. Since 1989 salvage excavations have been in progress at the mound, which is comprised of three main levels, all belonging to the Aceramic Neolithic, as confirmed by a deep sounding opened at the northwest. Excavations have now reached as far as the third building phase of Level 3 (Phase 3C), counting from the surface downward.

Level 2 consists of 10 building phases, among which Phase 2B has been exposed over a large area on top of the mound to reveal the settlement pattern.

By the upper phases of Level 2 agriculture had begun; although the economy was still mainly dependent on hunting and gathering, the inhabitants had begun to cultivate wheat (*einkorn*, *emmer* and *durum*) and barley. The developed organization in the upper phases of the Level 2 at Aşıklı, which played most probably a significant role in obsidian trade, leads us to believe that the community was guided by a ruler or an elite family.

Calibrated radiocarbon samples date Level 2 to the 8th millennium BC. Settlement remains even earlier than the habitation on the mound itself, have excavated to the south just on the banks of the Melendiz.

Certain indications of the division of labor between men and women are most interesting, but need to be followed up with additional research.

INTRODUCTION

At present the site most informative on the Aceramic Neolithic cultures of Central Anatolia is Aşıklı Höyük (Fig. 1; Esin 1998 a, 1998b). The mound lies in the Province of Aksaray (38° 21' 02" N, 34° 13' 04" E), just 25 km southeast of the province capital. When floodwaters fill the reservoir of the Mamasın Dam under construction in the immediate vicinity, Aşıklı Höyük will be surrounded on its north and west by a lake; it is for this reason that salvage excavations were begun by the Prehistory Department of the Istanbul University Faculty of Letters in 1989.

First discovered in 1963 by the Hittitologist E. Gordon, Aşıklı Höyük was investigated by I. Todd as part of a thorough and detailed surface survey (Todd 1980; Esin *et al.* 1991). The morphology of the region around Aşıklı has been presented by geologists as "*Volcanic Cappadocia*" (Toprak *et al.* 1994, Esin *et al.* 1991: 125, 139, pl. 1). The mound is situated on the banks of the Melendiz River in the village of Kızılkaya (Red Rock), which takes its name from a depression of Miocene formation characterized by reddish veins of mineral deposits.

The prehistoric mound of Aşıklı, 1119.45 m above the sea level, is located by the narrow valley along the alluvial flood-plain of the Melendiz River (Figs. 1-2, 4; Esin 1998 b: 62-63). Some 40 km to the south of the Kızılkaya village there are the heights of the Quaternary volcanic cone of Hasandağ and the Melendiz Range of Miocene origin, both over 3000 m high. Issuing from the slopes of these two mountain chains, the river Melendiz cuts through the canyon-like Ihlara Valley to meander past Kızılkaya Village, enclosing the mound of Aşıklı on the south, west and north. It then flows in the direction of Aksaray and continues northwestward, known as the *Ulurmak* (the Great River).

Tectonic explosions from the Miocene onward have filled the region with volcanic hard and soft rocks such as tuff, andesite, rhyolite, pumice and basalt. This tectonic activity formed the rock pillars of tuff with heads of

andesite that have weathered into the famous "Fairy Chimneys", and the numerous caves which were worked into underground churches by the early Christians.

The region, at an average of 1000 m above sea level, forms part of the cold Central Anatolian steppe. The annual rainfall is just over the 330 mm, almost at the minimum level necessary for dry farming (van Zeist, de Roller 1995). Cereal grains are raised today in the Melendiz valley; gardening and grape cultivation is of lesser importance. Oak covers the slopes of Hasandağ, and hack-berry woods with edible fruit (*çitlenbik*) grows among other broad-leaf trees in the Ihlara Valley. The economy is based more heavily on agriculture than industry; in addition to crops, both sheep and cattle are raised here.

The region is rich in sources of obsidian, the main occurrences of this rock of volcanic origin are at the Pleistocene formations of *Acıgöl* and *Bekarlar* in the Derinkuyu depression of Nevşehir, nearby the Quaternary paleo-lake of *Çiftlik* in Niğde, the Quaternary formation of *Göllüdağ* and others in the immediate surroundings called "*Nenezi*", "*Kayırlı*", "*Bozköy*", and "*Kömürcü*". *Naviform* cores and blades at the ateliers of *Kömürcü* and *Kaletepe* imply early use of these sources with some on-site mass-production (Toprak *et al.* 1994, M.C. Cauvin 1996: 14 ff., 31, Balkan-Atlı and M.C. Cauvin 1997: 293 ff., Balkan-Atlı 1998a: fig. 1).

It is believed that some of these sources had been used even earlier by nomadic Paleolithic hunters and gatherers who set up temporary camps in the region (Balkan-Atlı and M.C. Cauvin 1997: 296, 306 with ill. 4, 311 with ill. 10). It seems that Aşıklı here in the Central Anatolian steppe, provided with convenient living conditions and nearby sources of volcanic glass, played a great role in trade, supplying not only Cyprus and the Levant, north Syria and Iraq with obsidian, but probably directing a whole network of more distant trade via the Gülek pass, the Çukurova and Cyprus (M.C. Cauvin 1966; Balkan-Atlı 1998a: 1-3, 15 ff.).

THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE AŞIKLI CULTURE

The mound of Aşıklı covers an area of 3.5 - 4 hectares, rising 15.35 meters above the Melendiz plain at the north, and 13.16 m at the south (Figs. 1-4). Prior to the excavations, a considerable part of the mound and, in particular the northwestern and southwestern slopes had been eroded due to natural agencies and by intensive ploughing (Figs. 2-4). Together with the oldest settlement remains on the riverbank south of the mound, a total area of about 4000 m² has been exposed; it is estimated that 10% of the mound has been excavated (Figs. 2-5). The structural remains which have come to light indicate that Aşıklı presents an incipient model for planned town setting and social organisation (Figs. 3-4). Most of the buildings are mudbrick, rectangular or trapezoidal in plan, often with rounded corners (Figs. 3-7, 12). Stone, which came into general use much later than mudbrick, was employed only when necessary and for the foundations of certain special structures; it was also used in the construction of storage bins and enclosure walls (Figs. 3-4, 13, 17-18).

The Stratigraphy

In the deep sounding in Grids 4 F-H and 4 G-H at the northwest of the mound (Figs. 2-4, 6-11) three levels, designated as 1-3 -counting from top to bottom, have yet been revealed. Level 2 is comprised of 10 consecutive "settlements," or building phases, and mudbrick houses and courtyards of three building phases of Level 3 (3 A-C) have thus far been exposed. To reveal as much as possible of settlement planning, the upper phases of Level 2 have been excavated horizontally over a wide area on the top of the mound (Figs. 2-4).

In addition to habitation on the mound, an additional segment of settlement was encountered on the banks of -and in- the stream of the Melendiz (Fig. 5). Sealed by a 1.5 m deep layer of gravel and sediment, the structures here must have been inundated by a sudden flood (Esin 1996: 35-26). It would appear that the Aşıklı residents then deserted their riverbank

abode to move elsewhere. Settlement at the mound site may well have begun after this, in which case the riverside settlement is definitely earlier. We cannot yet say for sure, however whether resettlement at the mound occurred immediately after the abandonment of the earlier settlement or some time later. The characteristic architectural layout seen at the settlements in the mound was already evident in the riverside habitation. Trapezoidal mudbrick houses were built up one against the next, separated at intervals by narrow courtyards. On the clay-plastered floor of one room -possibly a kitchen- a pair of deer antlers were found alongside stone implements, including a number of grinding stones. Under the floor of the neighboring residence was found a burial, a human skeleton on its left side in a kneeling position, the legs bent back from the knees. The head lay towards the south (Fig. 5). A large hearth with a pebble floor found in the northeast corner of another house appeared no different from those later discovered in the settlement in the mound (Özbaşaran 1998a). A quantity of obsidian tools and waste flakes were recovered from the fill of the houses. These first settlers must certainly have been specialized hunters and gatherers, but they had already established the settled life style that would continue at Aşıklı.

Another findspot worthy of mention is a burned phase on the northwest slope of the mound in Grids 2 J-L, well above the stratum of flood deposit. Because this area has not yet been excavated, no more exact stratigraphy or details are available.

Trenches in Grids 2P and 2M on the southwest of the mound have been dug to depths of 15.52 and 15.28 below the datum point respectively. Settlement phases below the flood deposit continue to this level; we could not reach virgin soil here due to the ground water (Figs. 2, 4; Esin *et al.* 1991: 129).

Virgin soil was reached, however, in a small area at the bottom of the deep sounding in Grids 4 F-H/4 G-H at the northwest of the mound; here virgin soil lies at -16.20 m (Figs.

2, 4; Esin *et al.* 1991: 128, 162, pl. 4). The deep sounding was begun as a step-trench in 1988-1990. Due to the extreme slope here at the northwest of the mound, however, not all the strata were clearly enough represented; excavation was therefore later renewed in the same trench to clarify the stratigraphic sequence (cf. Esin *et al.* 1991: 28). This control sondage in the step-trench has now progressed to the depth of -9.00/-9.20 (Figs. 7-9).

Due to agricultural activity on the mound prior to excavation -as well as natural erosion- what little remained of Level 1 had been well integrated into the topsoil (cf. Esin *et al.* 1991: 128). It is thus the substantial Level 2 of Aşıklı that defines this Aceramic (or Pre-Pottery) Neolithic culture for us. The structural characteristics of Level 2 represent those investigated in the mound in general; they include all the building techniques and principal features (Figs. 3-4, 6, 8, 18).

Separating Level 2 from Level 3 below is a level of silt representing a flooding at this section. Immediately above this and completely covering the areas opened in Grids 4 G-H are the remains of a dump/work-area (Figs. 7-9). Because the floodwaters seem to have washed through the structures of all phases of Level 3, leaving mixed debris in the rooms and on the walls, there may later be a need to correct the stratigraphy of the Level 3 settlements as understood at present.

Now ascribed to the earliest phase of Level 3 (*Phase 3C*) we have only Room UM against the left scarp of the trench, and the narrow court adjoining it to the south. The floor level is at -9.20 m (Figs. 3, 7).

In *Phase 3B* we have a courtyard (UY) with the north-south oriented two-room structure UN-VA, 10.00 x 3.00 m, in the center. To either side of UN-VA are more rooms, VL against the east profile, and a series of rooms, UT, against the west (Figs. 3, 7). One burial under the floor of UT contained a skeleton in the *hocker*, or fetal position, and slightly to the west of this internment a stone mortar had been separately buried. The depth of these structures runs from -8.70 to -8.86.

The structures in *Phase 3A* run into the western and eastern profiles; the center of the trench is occupied by the court UV, filled with flood deposit. Because at least one wall of each room is within the excavated area, we can estimate the dimensions of the rooms at between 3.5 x 4 m and 3 x 2.5 m. Room VI lies to the east, replacing Room VL of *Phase 3B* below; lined up along the opposite (western) side of the court again lie a series of rooms, from north to south, TR, TT with the narrow court TU, UK and VB (Figs. 3, 7). *Phase 3A* was exposed at levels between -7.68 and -7.87 m.

Aside from obsidian, the most frequent tools found in the rooms and fill of Level 3 were of bone and ground stone. The obsidian industry, both in the variety and relative proportion of tool types, can not be distinguished from that of Level 2. In this earlier level the blade industry is dominant, with scrapers on flakes and blades predominating. Within the sample, arrowheads are very few in number, and cores are generally bifacial.

Although the analyses of the plant and animal remains of Level 3 have not yet been completed, a preliminary study of the animal bone by B. Öksüz has revealed some information. She reports that the cattle bones represent mainly young animals. Relatively large in size, they should indicate the larger wild variety. In addition to the cattle, sheep, goat, horse, wild boar, rabbit and fox were represented, but no dog was recognized in Level 3 (cf. Buitenhuis 1996).

In Level 2, above the flood deposit, a large dump/work-shop area appeared in the deep sounding. At first it covered the entire area exposed in the sounding, completely isolating Level 2 from Level 3 below, but over the progressive building levels this dump/work-shop area (labeled RG/SI/SS according to phase) was gradually impinged upon by structures until it eventually covered only the southern part of the trench (Figs. 7-9).

The southern part of the trench in Grid 4 G-H was an area covered with a fill of different organic wastes, mudbrick remnants and

stones. It contained many animal bones and pieces of obsidian, and was laced with veins of ash. In 1998, the removal of Room G, which was situated against the south profile, revealed the room *VF*, which could be ascribed to *Phase 2J*. The floor was at -7.04, but the foundation walls reached deeper to 7.56.

Room *R* of *Phase 2H* against the east profile was likewise removed that same year. Here a floor level belonging to the later use of the same structure in *Phase 2G* was encountered at -5.68 m. Below this then appeared the room *UU* of *Phase 2H* with a hearth. It had been slightly larger than Room *R*; on the south and west, the walls of Room *R* indeed were built just inside its walls. The floor of *UU* lay at -6.12 m, while the wall foundations had been laid at the -6.68 depth. Beneath *UU* was a thin stratum of dumped waste, under which lay the room *VH* of *Phase 2J*. The west wall of *VH*, again of mudbrick, was based at -7.45 m.

In 1998 the room *VJ* in the north of the trench was also excavated. The top part of the walls, which again extend into the profile on the east, could be seen at a level of -7.50 to -7.60 m adjacent to the south and west walls of the room *RO* to the northeast. The foundation walls of room *VJ*, however were laid much deeper, at -8.58 m; the floor was at -8.43 m. As a support for the north wall, stones placed both vertically and horizontally lined the interior surface. Under the floor-formed of layer after layer of plaster-and the stones lining the wall, was a thick fill containing many animal bones.

Thus the open dump/working area of *Phase 2J* was bounded on the west by the rooms *VF* and *Y*, on the east by *VH*, and on the north by *VJ* and *RO*. The scheme here is thus that of a working area bounded by individual rooms, each independent of one another (cf. Özbaşaran 1998b: 3). The mudbrick walls of the structures were 25-30 cm thick and plastered with clay. They were all large enough to have served as residences.

In *Phase 2I* as well there is an area left as an open court, the *SI* dump (Fig. 11). To its east (underneath Room *R* but slightly larger) stood

the room *UU* with a hearth, to the southwest a granary (*RK*), to the west *RL* and *Y* to the north of it; to the east of *Y* and *RL* ran the rooms *PM*, *PN* and *AT*. South of these, then, the quite large structure *RI*, which continued in use throughout several building phases, and *RL*, closed the court *SI* on the north (Fig. 11). The number of buildings increased in *Phase 2I*, but whether or not this reflects an increase in the population of the settlement is not yet clear (Özbaşaran 1998b: 3).

The open dump/work-shop area *SS* that had covered more than half the area of the deep sounding in the preceding phase has now shifted further to the southeast (*SI*), with the addition of more structures to the north (Özbaşaran 1998b: 4). All of the rooms are trapezoidal/roughly rectangular, but variously oriented; while *RK*, *RI* and *Y* run north-south, the room *RL* is oriented east-west (*ibid.*).

Hearths were situated on the floors of *RI* and *RL*. In *RL* the westernmost of the small round bins was partitioned into three (Fig. 11). The bins, relatively scarce in the houses at Aşıklı, were unfortunately found empty, so that we still do not know what had been kept in them. They must certainly have served as storage space.

The plastered floor of *RI* had been cut through for a burial; one former Aşıklı inhabitant lay buried here in the *hocker* position. It was the practice at Aşıklı to renew and replaster the floor after a burial; the room then continued in normal use.

The room *Y* in the northwest corner of the deep sounding, built in the preceding phase, continued in use as a habitation after renovation of the walls and floor.

Building phase *2H*, then, was not much different from the earlier phases in settlement pattern; only the number of rooms and the dimensions of them had changed somewhat (Fig. 11). Old rooms had been restored for continued use; new walls had been built slightly inside or outside the position of old ones in order to reduce or enlarge the interior space. This had become a standard procedure at

Aşıklı, and it was the method used for each new building phase on the mound. The employment of such a building procedure suggests that each Aşıklı family had been allotted a certain area of residential space, which they appropriated over and had to make do with. Those wishing to enlarge their living space could only gain a bit of space by shifting walls outward into any available courtyard area.

The rooms *G* and *R* were added in this phase, and the long narrow room *RK* of the preceding phase was enlarged. Keeping the west wall in the same location, the east wall was shifted further to the east, making *RK* more spacious in Phase 2H (Fig. 11). This of course reduced the proportions of *RG*, the open court to the east, which continued in use as a dump/workshop area. Indeed, this open space had seen no change in character since the beginning of Level 2. With the dismantling of Phase 2H, debris cleared from the old structures was again heaped in this dump in preparation for next phase building. Despite some reduction in size, throughout the whole of Level 2 this area excavated in the deep sounding retained its use as a dump and work-shop area as indicated by of shallow veins containing abundant animal bone, hack-berry seeds, and implements of obsidian and bone as well as other waste. The deposit in these veins had usually been burned.

The old room *RK* was replaced in Phase 2H with the larger structure *MS*, with a hearth at the southwest corner of its clay-plastered floor. Across the north of the room, a bench-partly of stone and partly of mudbrick ran towards the west wall (Figs. 9, 11).

Room *D*, reusing only the west wall of the earlier structure, was built above *RL*. Like room *R*, room *D* also had a hearth in its northeast corner (Fig. 11).

The new room *P* copied the plan of *RI* below it; a new hearth was built above the old (Fig. 11). Room *Y*, on the other hand, was smaller than its predecessor, and its walls were

and at the center of the west wall, low mud-brick partitions were installed, and a thin wall of mudbrick at right angles to the north wall divided the north of the room into two. The southeast corner was covered with large flat stones laid so as to overlap one another, probably a kind of insulation for whatever produce or wares were stored here. Room *Y* must not have served as a residence in Phase 2H; it was more likely a store-room or pantry.

The single-room structure *AS* replaced its two-room predecessor at the far north of the trench. Some sort of division must have been called for here, however, because a curtain-wall of very thin mudbrick and stone represents an attempt at interior division in this phase (Özbaşaran 1998b: 5). A hearth was located in the southeast corner. The west section with plastered walls and floor may well have served as a residence (Fig. 11).

In Phase 2G the function of the open area *RG* of the preceding phase was taken over by the smaller dump/work-shop area in the southeast of the trench designated as *MN* (Fig. 11). The narrow open area *NG*, which appears to be branching off between the structures to the west like a dead-end alleyway (Fig. 9) has a different floor level.

The rooms of the structures *G* and *D*, from the southwest to the northwest respectively, continued in use during Phase 2G. The walls and floor of the room *Y* were renovated, but the storage bins on the floor were left out (Fig. 11). In the north of the deep sounding the room *AS* was reduced in size during the renovation; it received a new floor, and the division wall was taken away. *AT* to the east of *AS* retained its place, but its new walls reduced the size of the room (Fig. 11).

The west wall of the one-room structure *P* of the preceding Phase 2H-towards the center of the trench north of Room *R*-was also altered, and the hearth that had earlier projected perpendicularly quite far from the south wall had to be situated parallel to it in Phase 2G (Fig. 11). Shifting the west wall of structure *P* further to the east opened communication into

the alley-like court NG (Fig. 1). Room R to the east of P retained its character from the preceding phase.

There were hearths in rooms MS and D as well as P. In P, however, a second, poorly preserved hearth was discovered in the northwest corner and traces of two pits for burials opened in the floor. All the rooms in Phase 2G had clay-plastered walls and floors (Özbaşaran 1998b: 6).

The number and organization of the structures in Phase 2F were no different from those in Phase 2G (Fig. 11). The structures G, D, P, Y, AS and AT once again continued in use. The wall to the east of the dump/work-shop area (MS) of the previous phase was rebuilt in Phase 2F with a double row of mudbricks, making it 48 cm across. This open area has been designated MT in Phase 2F (Figs. 9, 11). Even though the walls of the dump MN had been reinforced with stones in Phase 2G, the need was felt to strengthen its mudbrick construction in Phase 2F. In another alteration here, the northward continuation of the passage NG was closed off with a wall of mudbrick (Fig. 11). The small room MT thus formed must have been used as a storage or work area (Fig. 11), for it was found heaped full of river pebbles like those used to pave the hearths (Özbaşaran 1998b: 6).

A small window-like smoke-hole accompanying the hearth in the northwest corner of room P indicates that the tradition of the ventilated hearth began in Phase 2F. Hearths were also present in rooms ME and AS of this phase, the one in ME preserving its position in the foregoing phase.

Due to erosion of the north slope, settlement remains of Phase 2E were found very much disturbed in Grids 4 G-H (Fig. 10). Remnants in the northern half of Grid 4 G had been washed down the slope; only the southern part of the rooms here could be excavated (Fig. 10). Although the main lines of the settlement were preserved, certain structural distinctions appear (Fig. 10).

The dump/work-shop area JY was set apart from the structures and narrow passages by

mudbrick walls unique in character (Fig. 10). An internal wall also separated the open area into two. Narrow streets or passages now generally divided the mudbrick houses of the settlement into living quarters (Fig. 10). Thus the layout so characteristic of the upper phases at Aşıklı can be seen evolving in this phase, 2E (Fig. 10; cf. Fig. 3).

The greatest change apparent in the Phase 2E remains in the deep sounding of Grids 4 G-H is that involving the Phase 2F structure ME in the south of the trench. Rooms ME and MT of the previous phase were now transformed into one two-room structure (Fig. 10). The resulting building was comprised of three interconnecting rooms, with the new structure over old ME partitioned into two rooms -JU and JV- by a internal division wall, and then joined to a room over the old Phase 2F room MT, the walls of which had been built anew (Fig. 10; Özbaşaran 1998b: 7). In the northwest corner of the northern division JU was a storage bin paved with rather large stones; its walls were formed with small clumps of mud, and the whole was plastered over with clay. In the bin were found a few burned animal bones, a skull, scattered grains of cereal and a few pieces of charcoal. The east wall of the structure was supported by flat medium-sized stones set at floor level (Fig. 9); among these had been placed a shoulder bone of a large animal. A hearth in the southwestern room JV was of the same construction as those previous phases (Figs. 8-10).

With renovation of the floors and walls, the structures G, D, Y, H and R continued in use in Phase 2E (cf. Figs. 10, 11). By closing off the space between Y and P, however, the small room AF was created.

Phase 2D preserved the layout of the preceding Phase 2E (Fig. 10). Remains of Structure Y must have been eroded. The other structures, with the exception of JU-JV remained in use unaltered save for renovation of the floors and walls. The doorway in the interior partition wall between JU and JV, however, had been closed with a block of mudbrick. The southern

portion of the structure was blanketed with a fill of loose yellow earth and put out of use.

Structures *D*, *P*, *R*, and *G* continued in use in Phase 2C although some changes were made (Figs. 9, 10). The east wall of room *P* is new. Large flat stones were set up as reinforcement along the base of the southern walls of rooms *P* and *R* (Fig. 10). The tradition of stones set vertically along the base of the walls, initiated in this phase at Aşıklı, has continued in use through modern times in Cappadocia.

The greatest innovation in Phase 2C remains in this area (in Grid 4 H) appears in the one-room structure *C* built to replace the JU-JV building at the west of the dump/work-shop area, now designated simply as *S*. Structure *C*, with a hearth in the southwest corner, a bench/raised platform in the northwest corner and a round support for a post in the center of the floor conveys quite a different impression (Özbaşaran 1998b: 8). A flat stone was placed at the bottom of the post-hole, and stones were then placed around the post-hole for support (Figs. 9, 10).

In Phase 2B, then, rooms *D*, *P* and *R* ran from west to east along the north of the dump/work-shop area *S*, with room *C* to the west of it. Because of the erosion on the steep northwestern slope of the mound, not all the walls of *D*, *P* and *R* remained intact (Figs. 9-10). Room *O*, to the north of *C*, was now partially built over by Room *C*, with the eastern part incorporated into the dump/work-shop area *S*. From their remains in the east and west profiles it is clear that most of the rooms were renovated and reused in Phase 2B.

Room *C* apparently continued to serve the same purpose as before, although altered in plan and dimension (Özbaşaran 1998b: 8). The small room *O* now probably functioned as a store-room of *C*. Remnants of what must have been an oven, or hearth were found partially preserved in the northeast of Room *C*. Under the clay plaster of its oval floor were found huge logs charred into small bits.

The dump/work-shop area *S* was now enclosed by even sturdier walls, and a narrow

open space isolated the east wall of *C* from the dump (Fig. 10). The dump/work-shop area was by now much better isolated from the structures.

In Phase 2A deposit similar to that in the burned veins from 2B again accumulated in the dump. Many animal bones, tools and waste flakes of bone, antler and obsidian, charred and rotted plant remains, and pieces of mudbrick were found here, mixed with deposit from Phase 2B and -most probably- deposit from the later settlements on the mound, which have not survived to the present.

Prior to the excavations, the mound of Aşıklı was sown and harvested. The use of tractors and heavy plows aggravated the natural erosion and resulted in the total destruction of the latest phases on the mound. Thus the remains from Level I have all been scattered and mixed into the topsoil save for a few pits in Grids 3-4 J and 4 H, one earthen channel and a few sections of flooring.

The deep sounding in Grids 4 G-H has thus provided much information not only on the stratigraphy, but also on settlement layout and construction and the tradition involved here. The settlement remains in the upper strata of the sounding (Phases 2A through 2C), moreover, represent the northwesternmost portions of the corresponding settlements excavated on the mound (cf. Fig. 3 and Esin *et al.* 1991: 162, pl. 4).

The Layout of the Settlement

The architecture of Level II exposed in the wide area excavated on the mound of Aşıklı is proving a great boon to our understanding the layout of the settlement (Figs. 3-4, 12-18; Esin *et al.* 1991, Esin 1996 and 1998a-b).

We now have a much better idea of the building phases 2A - 2C on the mound. Most important is the wide pebble road GA which climbed northwestward from the banks of the Melendiz up the southeastern slope towards the approximate center of the mound (the trenches in Grids 3-6 N-O). It remained in use

throughout all building phases of the settlement, rising gradually with each successive phase (Figs. 3-4; Esin 1994).

From the stratigraphy in the deep sounding in Grids 4 G-H we know that this road or street continued in use at least until the end of Phase 2C; here the more recent strata where the pebble road passed by have been eroded. To the southwest of the road in Grids 3-5 N-R stood a building complex distinct in function the mudbrick residences to the north and east of the street (cf. Figs. 3, 13; Esin 1994). This complex, destroyed by erosion, has been reinforced on the east by terracing walls of stone masonry. The complex comprises the two main structures HV, the casemate construction adjacent to the road, and T to the south of it (Figs 3, 13; Esin 1994: 125, fig. 1, pls. 9-10). These two structures stand on either side of the long, narrow court-yard HJ with walls on stone foundations (Figs. 3, 13). Building T, the east wall of which also stands on stone foundations, and the mudbrick rooms and court-yards to the west and south of it make up one unit of the complex (Fig. 3). The floors and interior walls of T were painted in red (Figs 3, 13-14). The southern half of the lowest of the floors in structure T -which indicated that the complex had remained in use during at least three building phases- has been restored and painted in yellow with iron oxyde. Prof. E. Geçkinli has reported that the original flooring, 6-8 cm thick, consisted of a paste made of ground tuff and water, plastered with a red clay containing iron oxyde and then polished (Figs. 13-14). Inside T were post-holes for large wooden posts and a large hearth situated against the east wall, where a canal for the drainage of liquid opened to the exterior. In the previous phase the canal had opened through the south wall. Along the north, west and south walls ran a low bench or step also covered with red plaster. A large domed mudbrick oven stood in the adjacent court HG. Its floor was paved with blocks of basalt. The basalt blocks were later plastered over with a thick layer of clay. Two graves were found under the floor of room AB, belonging to this

same unit. In one were found the skeletons of a young woman and an elderly man; in the other, a young woman buried together with her baby (Figs. 3, 13; Esin *et al.* 1991: 131-132, 167, pl. 9, Esin 1998b: 90). The woman had apparently undergone the brain surgery known as trepanation; our paleoanthropologist Prof. M. Özbek reports that she survived for only a few days following the operation (Özbek 1992: 153-154, 160, figs. 7-8, Esin 1998b: 90). The interior walls of this room (AB) with the burials were painted in a more purplish red. Both the construction and interior furnishings of this complex composed of T, HV and their ancillary structures leave no doubt that this unit represented something different from the other mudbrick structures in the Aşıklı settlement. Those buried in *hocker* position beneath the floor of AB, therefore, must also have been different from the others in the community, special individuals of an elite class. A comparison of the interior features of Structure T with those of the "Terrazzo" Building at Çayönü and the "Temple" at Nevalı Çori suggests that this structure at Aşıklı may also have been a shrine used for religious ceremonies (Esin 1996: 36-37 with note 29, Hauptmann 1993, M. Özdoğan *et al.* 1994: 107-108). To the west of the casemate structure HV was a pavement of large mudbrick blocks, each 90-100 cm across; on this stood large stone supports for posts. The existence of such a porch or portico overlooking the Melendiz must certainly confirm that this structure was used by privileged individuals (Esin 1996: 37, fig. 12.).

In Grids 6 N-O the pebble road forks (Fig. 3) into two narrow streets, one proceeding to the northeast, the other to the northwest. The alleyway to the northeast leads into a small court, also covered with pebbles, above which new neighborhoods later sprang up (Grids 7 N-O). In one of these, with a narrow court to its east, stood the house TM (Figs. 3, 15), one of the few examples of an Aşıklı residence with bins and storage space. In the northwest corner of TM was a large hearth, nearly centered in front of the north wall were two small

cylindrical mud-plastered storage bins sunk into the floor, and in the northwest corner, more storage space. This bin was convex, bowing out into the room and edged with a line of small stones (Figs. 3, 15).

The "neighborhoods" of Phases 2A - 2C were generally formed of several houses clustered together. Some of the one-room houses were built with narrow courtyards next to them (Fig. 3). Other houses had two or three rooms. Narrow alleyways, 0.50-1.00 m wide, or open court-yard areas separated the residential clusters from one another. Despite this plan in row housing, each house within the living-quarter was supported by its own four walls (Fig. 3). Although there was no communication between one house and the next, there were openings in the partition walls of the multi-room dwellings, providing access between the individual rooms (Esin 1998b: 89). There were no doors in the exterior mudbrick walls, however; access must have been from the flat roofs of the residences or through a window-like opening high in the walls. Portable ladders must then have been used (Fig. 16; Esin 1998b: 84).

On some of the house floors were spread mats woven from reeds and straw from the harvests of wild and cultivated wheat (Esin 1998b: 91). In the floors were shallow holes in which the wooden posts that supported the roof stood, surrounded by stones (Esin *et al.* 1991: 166, pl. 8/3). Some of the hearths that generally occupied one corner of the room were accompanied by chimney holes through which the smoke and fumes were released into the narrow courts outside (Esin *et al.* 1991: 166, pl. 8/1). Large flat stones were set vertically into the ground around the hearth, and the floors were paved with pebble stones; all was then plastered with a thick layer of clay. A ridge of mudbrick also bordered the shallow earthen canals constructed to facilitate the removal of ash (Esin *et al.* 1991: 166, pl. 8/2).

Not only the floors, but the interior and exteriors of the walls as well, were usually plastered with a thick layer of clay. In some rooms this

plaster had been carefully renewed at intervals. In certain rooms/houses the interior walls were tinged with pink, yellow or reddish hues (Esin *et al.* 1991: 130). The standard lengths of mudbricks used in the walls were 90-100 cm, 60 cm and 30-45 cm; the widths varied from 25 to 30 cm; all were usually 6-8 cm thick (Esin 1996: 38).

Between the clusters of "neighborhoods" were open court-yard areas like that of JA in Grids 6-7 J-L, which provided outdoor work space and functioned also as dumps (Figs. 3, 12). They served as ateliers for the production of bone, antler and obsidian tools, and probably for the butchering, cleaning and distribution of food from hunt and harvest; after the supplies had been portioned out between the inhabitants, the residue was burned. This was represented by thin lenses of ash containing animal bones, stones of the red hack-berry fruit (*Celtis tournefortii*) and other vegetable matter, and waste flakes from the bone- and chipped-stone tool industries. The development of such dump/work areas is best exemplified in the deep sounding in 4 G-H, where one such open area can be followed throughout Level 2, from the earliest phase to the latest (Fig. 8-9).

In the final phase of Level 2, the dump in Grids 6-7 J-K was built over (Figs. 3, 12); the new neighborhoods added here were bordered on the northeast (Grids 10-12 J-K) by an enclosure wall (Figs 3, 17-18), which continued in 'S'-curves toward the southeast. Following the curves of the walls was a pebble paved side-street, narrowing to the west. The enclosure wall was built of large stone blocks-tuff, andesite, limestone and the like-with mudbrick and smaller stones in the interstices. It can be followed into Grids 10-11 H to the northeast (Fig 3). The neighborhood complex just inside the wall in Grid 11-K distinguishes itself from the other residential clusters by being set on stone foundations (Fig. 3, 17-18; Esin 1998b: 84). The interior walls and floors of its structures were all red. A skeleton recovered in very poor condition from a grave under the court-yard here was probably that

of the landlord. Leaning to all four walls of a storage-room adjoining the court, ran storage bins formed of thin mudbrick slabs (Fig 3; Esin 1996: 39, fig. 14, Esin 1998b: 84 with illustration below). It seems that the residence of the privileged personages who earlier inhabited the special complex at the southwest of the mound must have been transferred here to this northeastern area within the enclosure wall in this final phase of Level 2 (Fig. 3). The enclosure wall could be followed in this phase as far eastward as the dump/work-shop area in Grid 13 K. Further to the southeast in Grids 12 L-M this enclosure wall gradually descends to a deeper level, where it could be followed, although much more poorly preserved (Figs. 3, 17). This must have been due to an irregularity in the topography of the mound, a depression toward the center; in Grids 9 N-O the mudbrick habitation remains from this final phase of Level 2 must also be at a lower level, whereas in Grids 8 N-O they had been encountered immediately under the topsoil, there was no sign of them at this higher level in Grids 9 N-O (Fig. 3). Stretches of the enclosure walls were encountered on the south slope (Grids 13 R-S) as low as -4.00/-5.00 m. We shall probably find the outer wall of this final phase of Level 2 turning westward from here to enclose the settlement all along the south as well.

The residences and settlement patterns throughout the Aceramic Neolithic building phases of Level 2 at Aşıklı are also significant because of the relatively complex socio-political culture they reflect (cf. Hodder 1999: 25).

Burial Customs

Throughout both Levels 2 and 3 at Aşıklı, the dead were buried in pits under the house floors. Occasionally a pit was reused for a secondary burial. By no means, however, were there burials under every room or house in the settlement. Although more than 400 rooms of Levels 2 and 3 have been excavated, the number of individuals found buried in the settlement does not surpass 70. For this reason, the number of skeletons recovered is not helpful

in estimating population fluctuation from phase to phase (cf. Özbek 1998). The position of the skeletons is not always the same. There are burials in the hocker position, but there are also skeletons extended, face up, and others lying on one side, sometimes with the legs bent at the knees (Fig. 5; Esin 1998b: 90).

Most of the skeletons show traces of burning (Özbek 1998). The average age of death at Aşıklı is reported at 31.8 (Özbek 1998). Two males from Aşıklı were of Mediterranean type (*ibid.*). Some of the males survived to 55-57 years of age (Esin 1998b: 90, 92), whereas the majority of the females died between the ages of 20 to 25 (*ibid.*). Despite evidence for wounds, trepanation, and various bone-, spinal and dental disease, M. Özbek characterizes the population of Aşıklı as a relatively healthy one. Wear patterns on the teeth reflect a diet of game, wild vegetation and fruit, as well as some cereals (*ibid.*). Children represented 37.8% of the deceased, with 43.7% of them having died in infancy (0-1 yr.) (Özbek 1998).

The conclusion of studies on the DNA samples from the skeletons of Aşıklı promises to give us a better idea of the genetic relationships among the inhabitants.

Subsistence Economy and the Industries

Analyses of the animal bone and plant residue of Aşıklı have so far been completed only on material from the upper phases of Level 2 (Buitenhuis 1996, van Zeist, de Roller 1995, Esin 1998a, Esin 1998c). It should be kept in mind, therefore, that these results are preliminary and subject to change after the final analyses.

According to the analyses so far, game from the hunt and the vegetables and fruit collected by the inhabitants constituted the basic sources of the diet at Aşıklı. The amount of cultivated *einkorn*, *emmer* and *durum* wheat eaten was minimal, as was also true of the barley and legumes planted by the population. Wild wheat and barley was also reaped, however, and brought into the village, where it was husked. Most popular among the wild fruits were the red hack-berry (*Celtis tournefortii*).

tii). The most frequently consumed wild animals were sheep, goats, pig and cattle; horse, deer, rabbit and different kinds of birds and fish were also eaten (Buitenhuis 1996). According to H. Buitenhuis animals such as the sheep and goats may have been in a stage of *proto-domestication*, although there is no evidence of truly domestic animals at Aşıklı. Because farming had only recently come into practice, it was mainly wild grain that was being consumed (van Zeist, de Roller 1995).

The tools most frequently used at Aşıklı were fashioned from obsidian, bone and antler. Geochemical analysis indicates that much of the obsidian came from the sources of Kayırlı and Nenenzi near Göllüdağ. It was brought to Aşıklı as nodules; flaking and shaping took place within the settlement (M.C. Cauvin 1996: 14). Cores of the type used at Aşıklı were found at ateliers near both sources, however, indicating that obsidian was being worked near the sources as well. According to N. Balkan-Atlı, the tools were fashioned at Aşıklı by first removing large thick flakes from the blocks, then thin ones to prepare the basic form (Balkan-Atlı 1998b). The cores were bifacial, with two striking surfaces. Most of the scrapers, which constitute the largest component of the Aşıklı assemblage, were formed on the thick flakes; arrowheads were formed on blades, and the microliths on the tiny blades resulting from the preparation of the flaking surfaces (*ibid.*). Among the microliths, geometrics were few; numerically they appeared most frequently in the earlier building phases of Level 2. Arrowheads, chisels and piercing tools were very few. The material studied through 1997 comprised a total of 15,684 tools; among these the microliths accounted for 7.68%, arrowheads 0.78%, pointed blades 1.66%, borers 1.05%, scrapers 55.77%, side scrapers 0.13%, retouched blades 29.15%, retouched flakes 4.6%, chisels 13%, and tools for multiple function 0.14% (Fig. 19; *ibid.*).

The majority of the obsidian tools were employed in leather-working, cutting, splitting wood and producing bone implements; a very few showed traces of being used in the

harvesting of either wild or cultivated plants (personal communication from P. Anderson, 1995).

By far the largest tool group in the bone/antler industry were the awls (Fig. 19; Esin 1998b: 92-93). Most of the tools had been fashioned from the leg bones of sheep and goats. Although an occasional spatula displayed a small piercing, it is striking that needles with eyes are missing in the assemblage. Many belt hooks were found (Fig. 13; Esin 1998b: 92-93). Our first impression (prior to wear analysis) is that most of the bone tools were used in leather-working. Many of the tools, the awls in particular, showed traces of burning; the awls with fire-hardened tips must have been intended for the piercing of relatively hard materials.

The ground stone industry produced in addition to a good number of small flat polished celts-mortars and pestles of porous basalt and andesite, and many grinding stones of both types, i.e. those used above and below the product being ground (Esin *et al.* 1991: 167, pl. 9/2-3). Some of the grinding stones were surprisingly large, weighing more than 10 kg. Some had been secondarily used; when the grinding surface had become too worn, they were turned over or on one side and reused. Very few stone vessels were recovered, and those found were usually of tuff or limestone, and not particularly well made (Esin *et al.* 1991: 167, pl. 9/2).

Beads, apparently a popular tradition, were widely manufactured at Aşıklı (Fig. 19). Besides those made of stone -either semi-precious or common local varieties- there were beads of bone, deer-tooth and native copper (Figs. 19-20). The beads of native copper had generally been made by beating copper sheet in heated or cold condition and cutting it into thin strips which could be rolled or twisted into shape. Another type of copper bead had probably been made from a small nugget. It was shaped into a small biconical mass which then appears to have been pierced with a hot pointed implement. The stone and copper beads were nearly all recovered from the

graves, where they lay at the necks and wrists of the skeletons; they must have been strung as necklaces and bracelets.

Animal figurines of clay-baked, partially baked, and unbaked-give some, if little, insight into cultic imagery. One of baked clay figurine, found in Room NO formed by the enclosure wall in Grid 11 J, seems to represent a small boar or ox (Figs. 3, 21). Also recovered in the area of the enclosure wall was a small stone plaque (Fig. 22), the surfaces of which were incised with narrow lines of "V" and "O" motives. Parallels to this plaque are known from the Aceramic Neolithic A level of Jerf-el Ahmar in Syria (Stordeur *et al.* 1996). This is important as it represents something other than obsidian to testify trade with distant cultures.

Occupational and Socio-political Aspects in the Aşıklı Communities of Level 2

Most all of the small finds at Aşıklı have been recovered from the open courts, narrow alleyways and so-called dump/work-shop areas outside the houses. The frequent rebuilding of the settlement -necessitated particularly by the climatic conditions- meant that the contents of the interiors were repeatedly emptied out into these open areas in the settlement, a great disadvantage to the archeologist seeking to discover how the interior space had been used. Nevertheless, from the dumps and working areas and the pattern of the settlement we have valid clues to the general occupations and tasks of the Aşıklı population.

The most important tasks of the settlers would have been construction -the building and upkeep of the residences and other structures in the community- and subsistence: hunting, gathering and -even if not of primary consequence- farming. In addition there were the obsidian ateliers near the Göllüdağ sources, and the work back in the settlement of turning the imported blocks of obsidian into useful tools, not to mention the exchange routes to regions near and far; the obsidian exchange with Cyprus, the Levant and neighbors in the regions of northern Syria and Iraq needed to

be organized. At home there were also the skins of the wild game to be tanned, and salt to fetched to the settlement, most probably from the region of the great Salt Lake. There was mud-brick to be made for building and repairs, blocks of tuff, andesite, basalt and other rocks of the area to be quarried and transported for use in building walls and shaping grinding stones.

Until the micro-wear analyses can be performed on the obsidian tools, we can say only that some had been used in cutting wood, others in leather-working and harvesting. Certain implements such as the arrowheads, which resemble weapons, may have been employed also as sickles for harvesting and cutting wild and cultivated grasses. We must be careful not to jump to conclusions and interpret the standardized tool and weapon types too literally.

A general consideration of how busy the community of Aşıklı must have been to accomplish what they did, leads to the conclusion that the settlement needed a more complex organization than what first comes to mind. First of all, even to set up this complex organization there must have been, if not an individual, then a group with administrative, ruling power. The layout of the settlements in the building phases of Level 2 at Aşıklı indeed help explain this socio-political system.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

At present the three building phases of Level 3 at Aşıklı have been brought to light only at the northwest of the mound in the deep sounding in Grids 4 G-H (Figs. 2, 3, 7-9) at a depth of seven and a half to nine meters below the datum point at the mound (-7.50/-9.00 m). There are small residences of one or more rooms, again trapezoidal or roughly rectangular, separated by narrow courts and alleyways. Because these settlements could be exposed over only a very limited area of some 15 x 8 m², however, we still know very little about them. Nevertheless, we see that-as is true in the segment of settlement found below the mound to the south on the banks of the

Melendiz as well as in Level 3-the tradition of trapezoidal/rectangular houses adjoining one another, yet supported by their own four walls, was continued from the very beginnings of settlements at Aşıklı onwards (cf. Figs. 3, 5 and 7). Burial tradition, too, was no different from that seen in the succeeding Level 2.

Although preliminary analysis has confirmed that the animal bones recovered from Level 3 are from wild species, the bone and plant samples from Level 3 have not yet been analyzed in detail and we do not yet have the results from the ^{14}C samples. Thus we have no final data on the subsistence economy or absolute dating. In general we can say, as described above, that the cultural elements and daily tasks of the earlier settlers were not much different from those of the inhabitants of Level 2.

In Grids 4 G-H of the deep sounding a flood deposit separates Level 2 from the earlier Level 3 below, and immediately above this deposit an open dump/work-shop area covers the whole trench here. In the later phases here this open area is reduced in size, impinged upon from the north and west by new structures (Figs. 8-11). Level 2 is represented in the deep sounding by 10 building phases (Figs. 6, 8-11) that appear immediately below the topsoil and extend to a depth of about -7.50 m. Additional houses constructed here in Phases 2I and 2H may very well reflect a growth in the population living on the mound. Because each family was apportioned a restricted plot of land on which to build, an increase in the number of family members could only be accommodated by moving one or two walls outwards or inwards to adjust the size of the rooms (Figs. 8-11). Incorporating an open court or passage belonging to the family plot into the house was also possible (Figs. 8-12). This restriction on space can be best seen in the houses along the southern profile of the deep sounding; it is seen in the way they are rebuilt phase after phase within nearly the same space (Figs. 8-11). This phenomenon also indicates an organization and respect for property rights among the Aşıklı inhabitants.

Information on the layout of the settlements of Level 2, comes from the building phases excavated over a wide area on the top of the mound (Figs. 3-4). The living-quarters or "neighborhoods" of mudbrick structures to the north and east of a wide pebble paved street the homes of the Aşıklı residents (Figs. 3, 12, 15-16). The open areas between the living-quarters of houses were used as dumps/work-shop areas (Figs. 3, 12). To the southwest of this road or avenue stood a building complex made up of two buildings sacred and administrative in character and ancillary rooms; this complex must have been put at the disposal of those privileged individuals responsible for the social organization at the settlement (Figs. 3, 13-14).

It seems that these quarters for elites were later moved to the northeast portion of the mound (Figs. 3, 17-18). An enclosure wall starting from here ran southward to encircle the mound on the east. The fact that this wall has not yet appeared in excavation towards the center of the mound (although the wall appeared at -4.00/-5.00 at the south) suggests that there is still more to learn about the topography of the mound in these phases (Fig. 3).

The remnants of more than 400 structures have already been exposed at Aşıklı. In contrast, the number of burials found under the floors of the houses totals only 70. The disproportion here would suggest that only some Aşıklı residents were buried within the settlement proper. If this is true, then there was very likely a cemetery where the other deceased were buried together, and we are faced with the question whether it was intramural or extramural. It is also to mention that not a single small find with religious connotation - symbolism or imagery- was discovered in the dumps or open work-shop areas (even though the fill here was sieved).

That the intensive hunting and gathering population of Aşıklı had already started sowing and reaping is clear from the analysis of plant remains from the upper phases (van Zeist, de Roller 1995). We have yet no idea, however,

how this agricultural work -or the construction on the site, the transport of obsidian to the site, etc.- was shared between the male and female populations. Spinal deformities among the female skeletons indicate that the women had carried heavy loads (Özbek 1992, 1998). The validity of this as an argument for a division of labor between the men and the women is however questionable. The fact that the men seem to have outlived the women might also be interpreted as proof that the women were subject to more strenuous physical labor.

The inhabitants at Aşıklı certainly knew how to use the raw materials available in the surroundings, and they had discovered how to beat native copper-most probably when heated-into sheet, as the copper beads demonstrate; this illustrates how observant and ingenious they were (Fig. 20).

Obsidian was dominant in the tool/weapon industries at Aşıklı (Fig. 19). Only five tools of flint have been recovered at the site, and these, like the stone plaque characteristic of Jerf-el Ahmar, must be counted among the imports from other regions near and far (Fig. 22). The one small clay animal figurine recovered -the only representative of figurative art- hardly gives us much idea of the religious beliefs of the inhabitants (Fig. 21). From the time they first settled here at Aşıklı, their culture does not seem to have undergone much change. In this sense they would appear to have been a conservative society, but one nevertheless open to trade with the outside world. We must see them as a society working under a leader or group of rulers, a busy, cooperative, and well organized group.

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In 1995 a new project in anthropological studies, DNA analysis and ^{13}C analysis was begun by the *Prehistory Department of Istanbul University* in cooperation with the *Anthropology Department of Hacettepe University* and the *Biology Department of Barcelona University* (Spain). Research in micro-morphology, phytoliths, obsidian micro-wear, as well as trace-element analysis and geomorphological investigation is also being carried out with the assistance of other Institutes and laboratories, including the *British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara* and *CNRS* (France). Participating scholars include -among others- Dr. W. Mathews, Mme. M.C. Cauvin, P. Anderson and C. Kuzucuoğlu.

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Fig. 1. Aşıklı Höyük on the bank of Melendiz river. View from the West

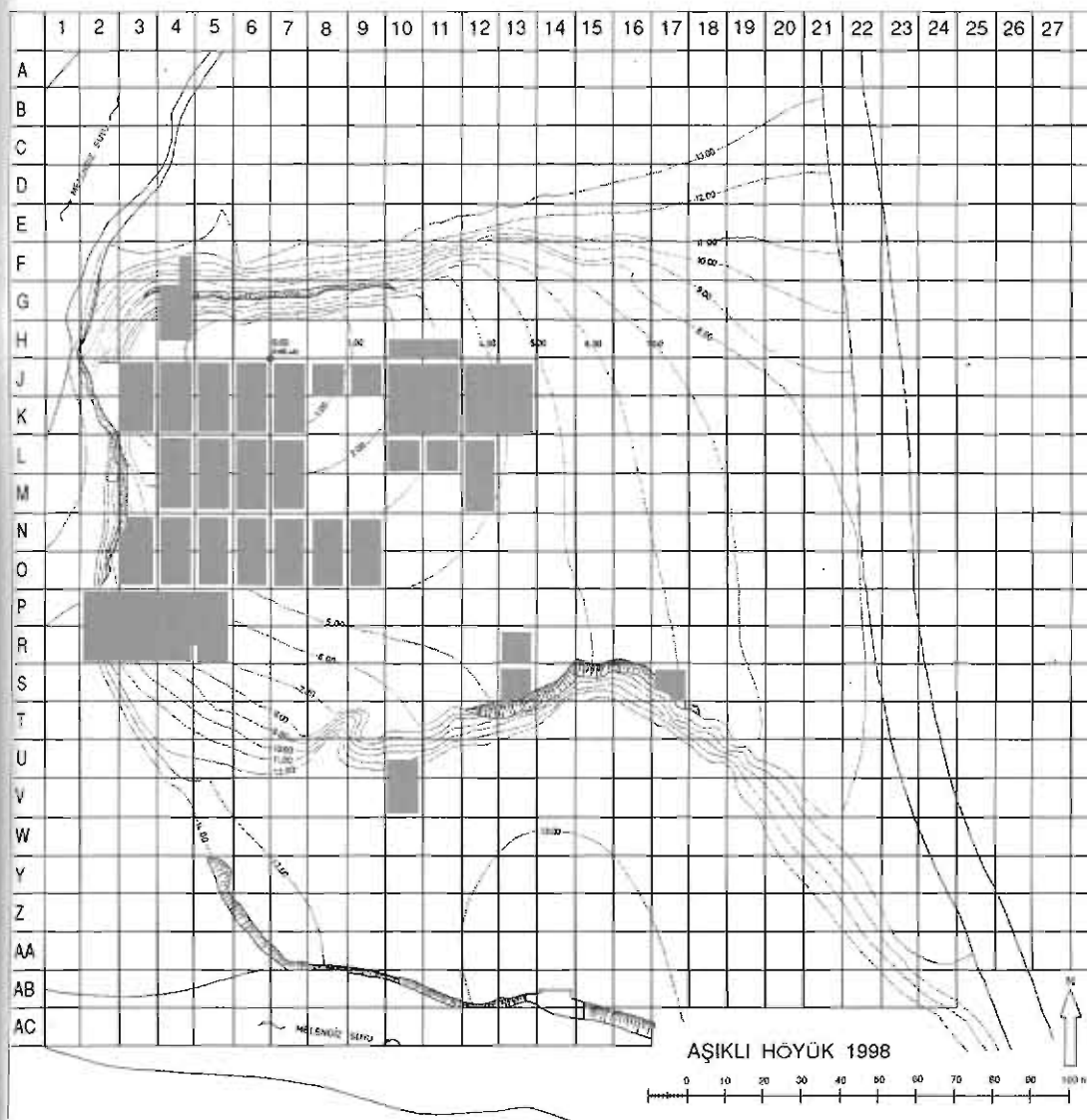


Fig. 2. Aşıklı Höyük. Trench location plan

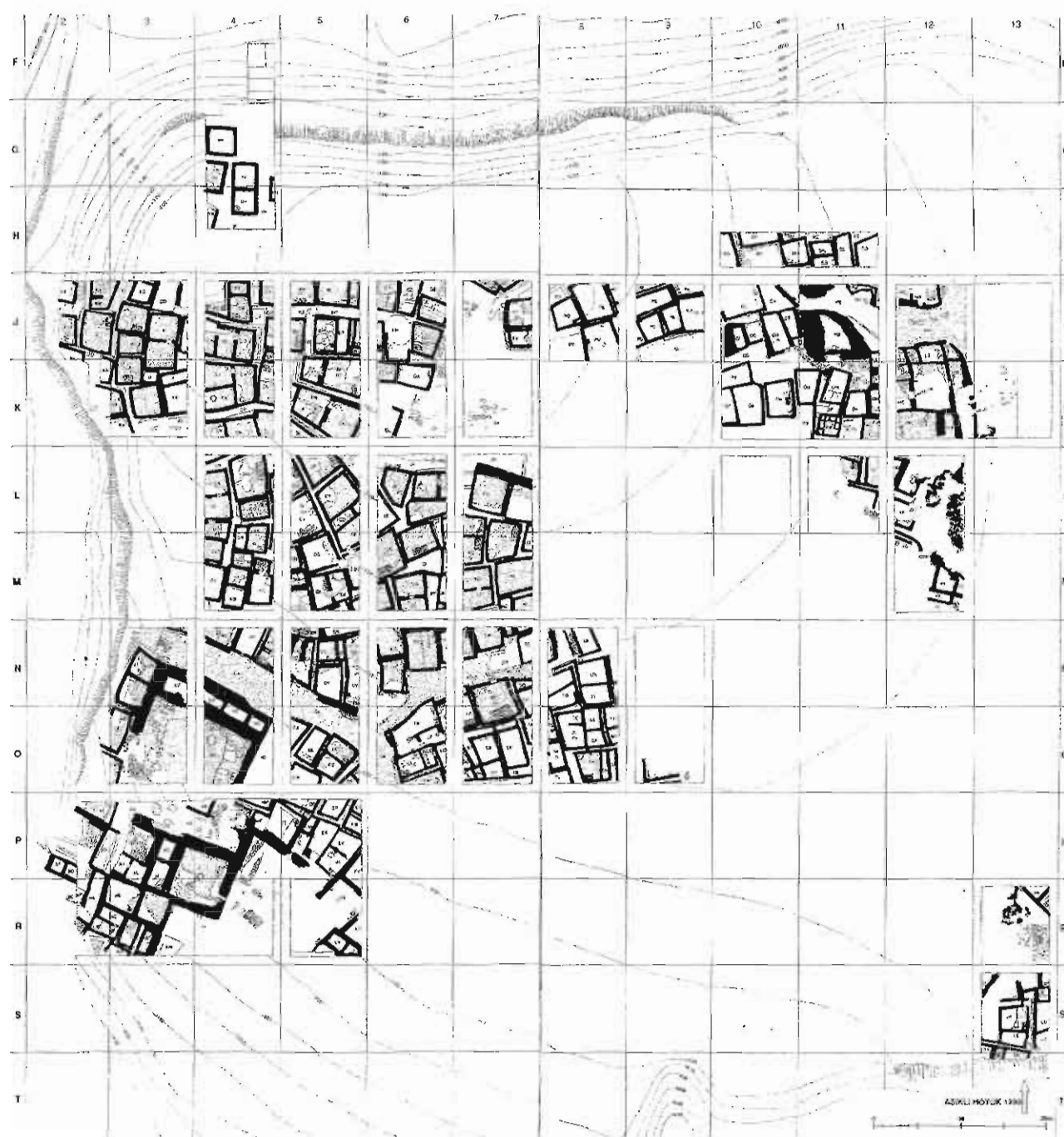


Fig. 3. Aşıklı Höyük. Schematic plan



Fig. 4. Aşıklı Höyük. Air view from the West



Fig. 5. A part of the earliest settlement of Aşıklı on the shore of the Melendiz river. View from the Northeast



Fig. 6. The step-trenches 4 F-H at the Northwest of Aşıklı. The building phases of Level 2 seen from the South



Fig. 7. The deep sounding in step-trenches 4 G-H. Mud-brick buildings of Level 3. View from the South



Fig. 8. The south profile of the deep sounding in the trenches 4 G-H. Building -phases of level 2 and 3. View from the North

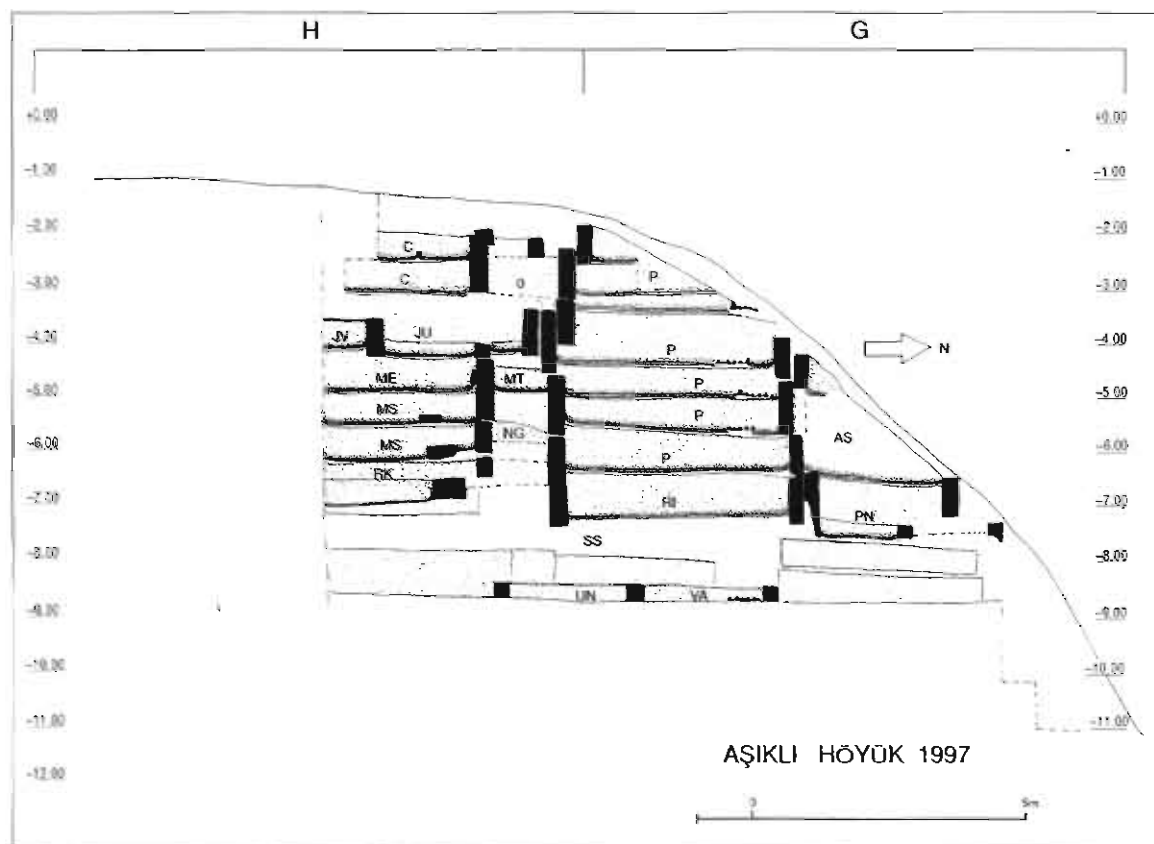


Fig. 9. A schematic section of the deep sounding in the trenches 4 G-H. Building -phases of Levels 2 and 3

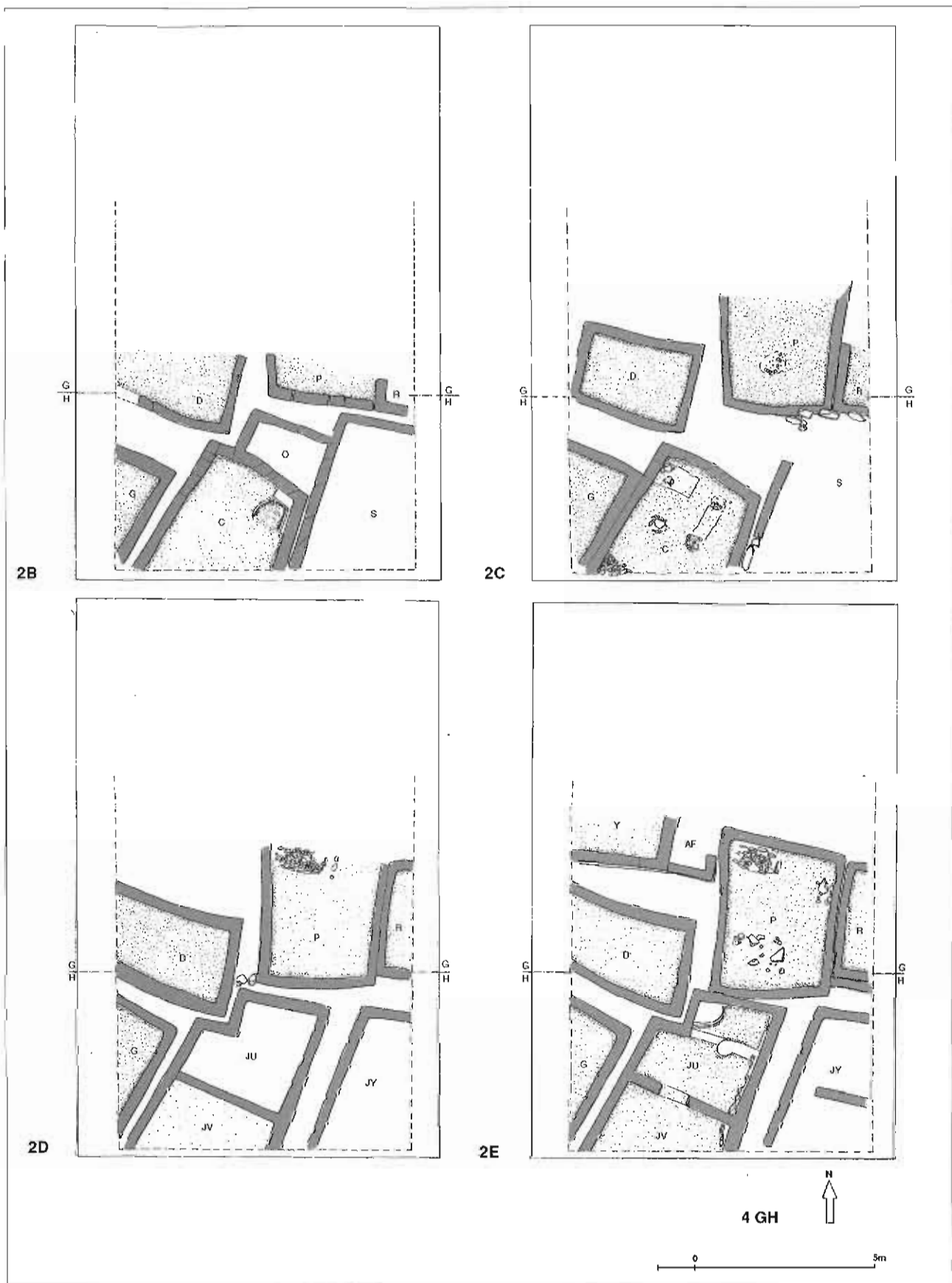


Fig. 10. Schematic plans of building-phases 2B-2E of Level 2 in the deep-sounding of trenches 4 G-H.

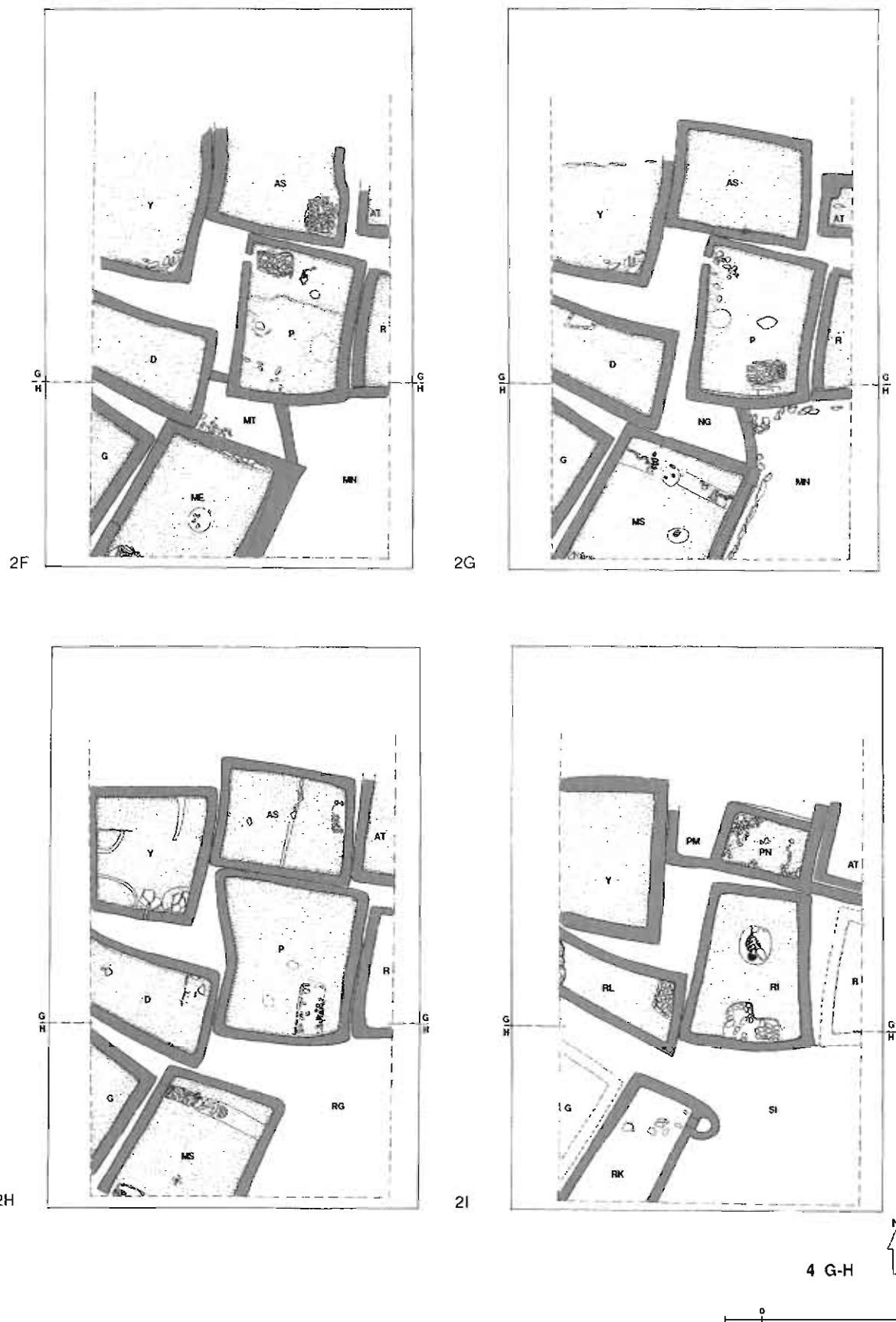


Fig. 11. Schematic plans of building-phases 2F-2I of Level 2 in the deep-sounding of trenches 4 G-H.

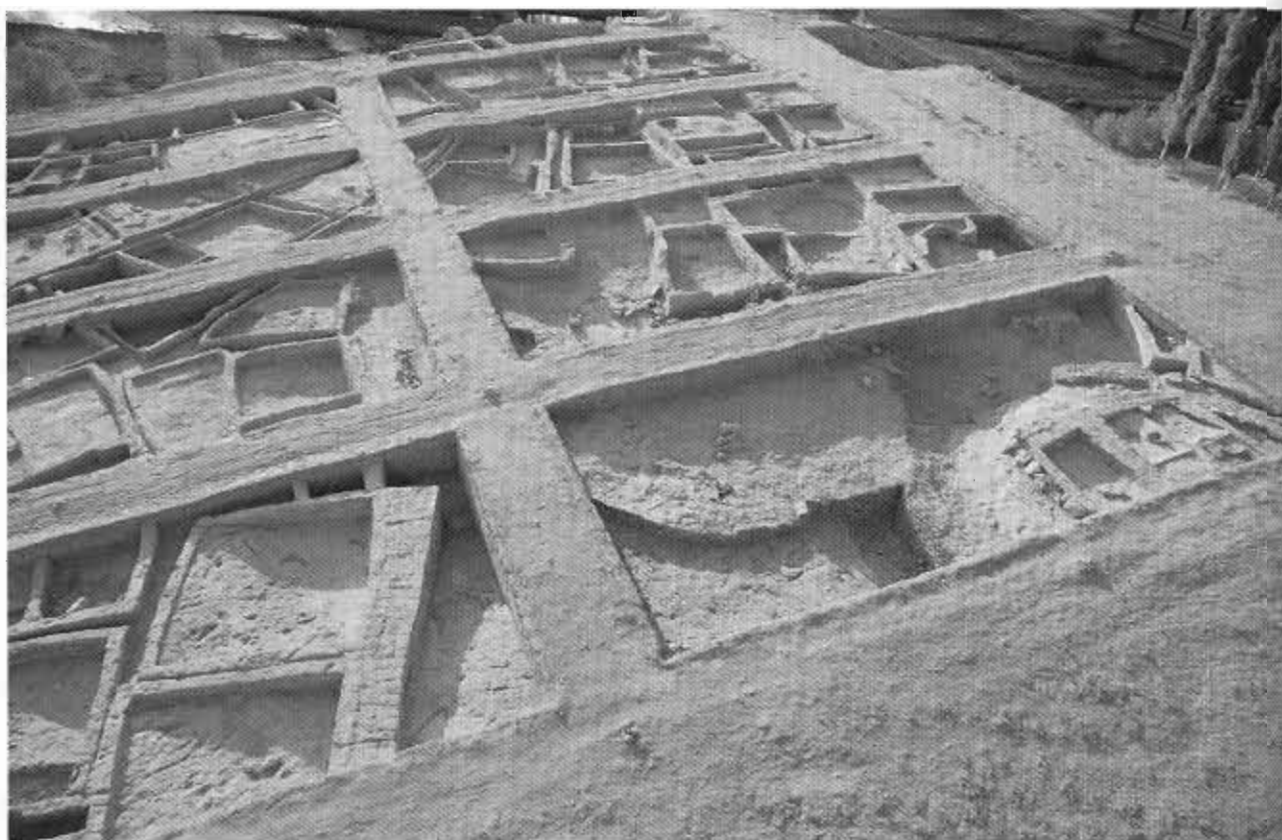


Fig. 12. Aşıklı. Building-phase 2B of Level 2. The workshop and the dumping area "JA" between mudbrick living-quarters in trenches 7 J-L. View from the Southeast

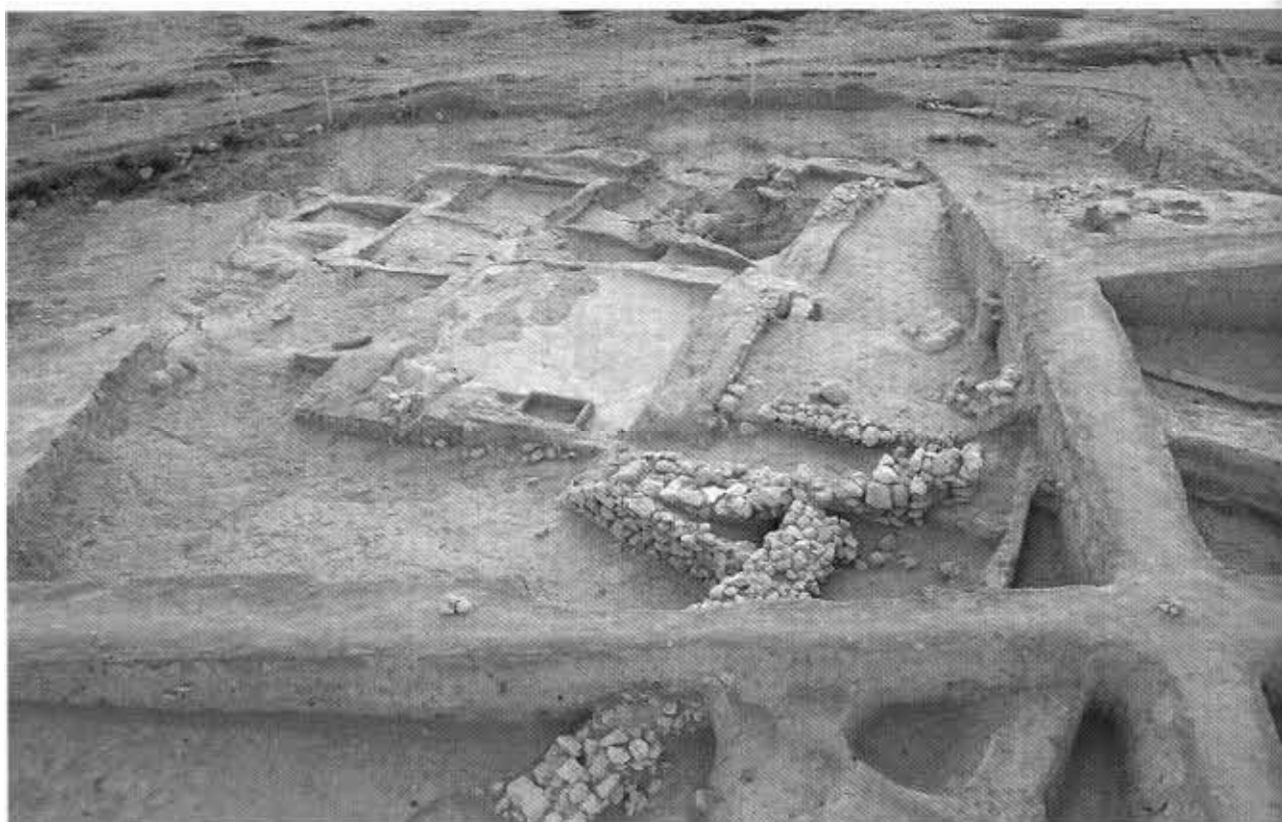


Fig.13. Aşıklı. The temple-building T with its complex on the eroded Southwest slope of the mound in trenches 3-4 O-R. View from the Southeast



Fig.14. Aşıklı. The red painted floor of the Temple building T. View from the Southeast



Fig.15. The mudbrick house TM with a small court-yard to the East in trench 8 O. A cylindrical earthen silo on the North, dug in the floor and to the Southwest corner of the house a hearth paved with big pebble-stones. View from the South



Fig.16. Aşıklı. A window-opening left in a mudbrick wall in trenches 5 L-M. View from the Northwest



Fig.17. Aşıklı. The enclosure wall running from the Northeast to the Southeast. View from the Southeast



Fig.18. Aşıklı. Curves of the enclosure wall in trenches 10-13 H-K. The space between the curves are paved with small pebble-stones. View from the East

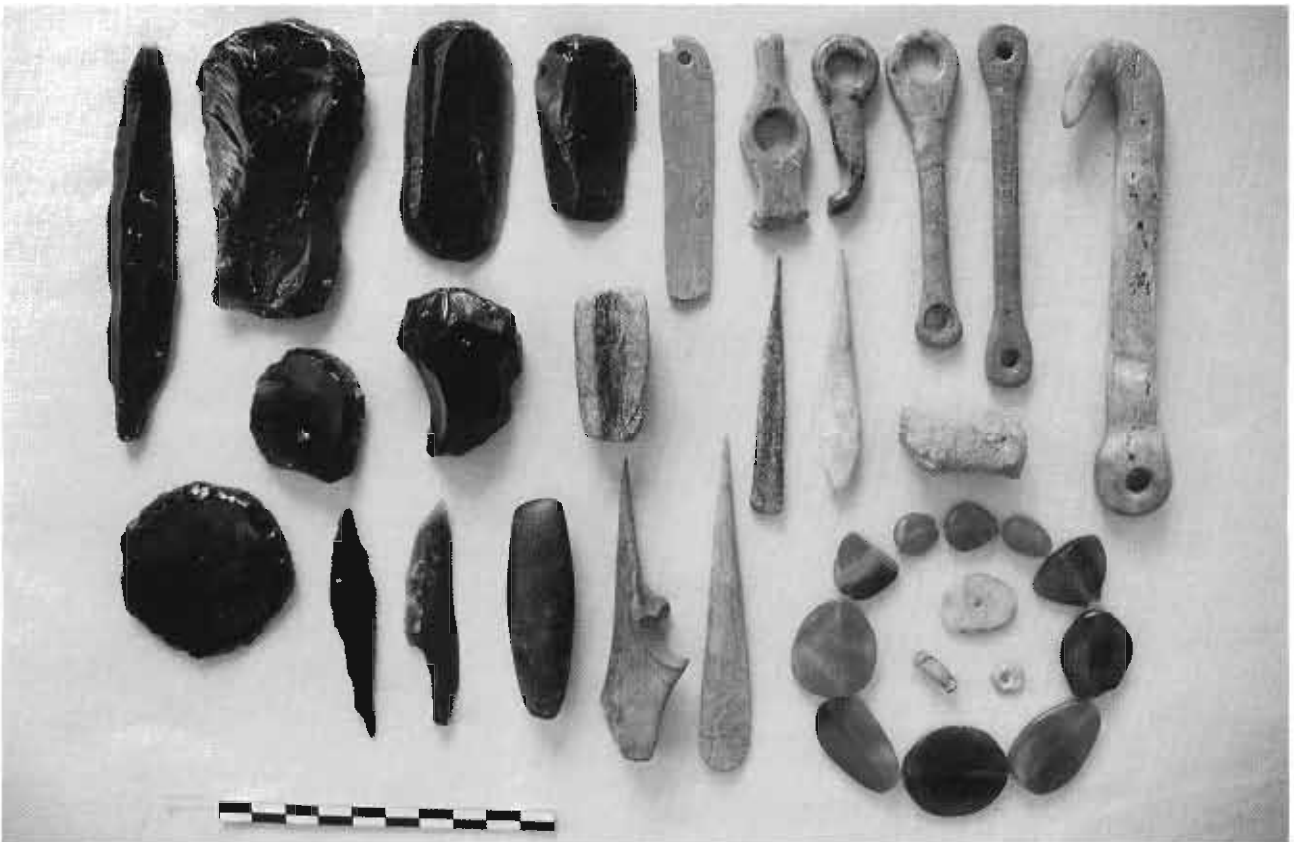


Fig.19. Aşıklı. Small finds from Aşıklı. Obsidian artefacts, bone tools and hooks, an arrow sharpener and a celt of polished stone, beads of agate and simple stones; an animal figürine made of half-baked clay



Fig.20. Aşıklı. Beads from heat treated (hot-worked) and rolled, native copper sheet (AH. 95-161 a-d)



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Fig. 21. Aşıklı. An animal figurine of baked-clay

Fig. 22. Aşıklı. A small polished stone plaque decorated with incised "V" and "O" motives in tiny, incised, parallel rows