

## **Ritual symbolism in the early chalcolithic period of Central Anatolia**

**Burcin ERDOGU**

*University of Thrace, Department of Archaeology,  
22030 Edirne, TURKEY*

*E-mail: [berdogu@gmail.com](mailto:berdogu@gmail.com)*

### **Abstract**

This paper concerns a ritual change from public to domestic during the Early Chalcolithic period (ca. 6000-5500 cal. BC) as well as the pottery Neolithic (ca. MÖ 7500-6000 cal. BC) of Central Anatolia. The Aceramic Neolithic period of Central Anatolia as well as Southeastern Turkey and Levant were characterised by buildings for public ritual. No buildings for public ritual have been found in the Pottery Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic sites of Central Anatolia, but some decorated buildings should be interpreted as houses with ritual dimensions. This paper also concerns shifting symbolism and art to portable objects during the Early Chalcolithic period of Central Anatolia.

### **1. Introduction**

Recent archaeological discoveries from Southeastern Turkey and the Levant have identified large ceremonial structures that occur very early in the development of settled life. The most significant site of Göbekli Tepe has produced clear evidence for public ritual, monumental buildings and sculptures beginning in the 10<sup>th</sup> millennium BC<sup>1</sup>, as well as other sites including Çayönü, Jerf al-Ahmar, Nevali Çori and Ain Ghazal<sup>2</sup>. In Göbekli Tepe, so far, no domestic structures

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<sup>1</sup> K. Schmidt. *Sie bauten die ersten Tempel. Das rätselhafte Heiligtum der Steinzeitjäger Die archäologische Entdeckung am Göbekli Tepe*, München, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> See M. Özdoğan and A. Özdoğan. "Buildings of Cult and the Cult of Buildings". In G. Arsebük, M. Mellink and W. Schirmer (eds.), *Light on Top of the Black Hill Studies Presented to Halet Çambel*, Istanbul, 1998, pp. 581-601; D. Stordeur. "New discoveries in architecture and symbolism at Jafer-el

have been found. The early stone ritual buildings were circular in plan and have large T-shaped pillars. These huge pillars have been decorated with wild animals, and some pillars have human arms in relief. A substantial number of limestone sculptures and incised figures of human and animals were also recovered. Nevali Çori (ca. 8400-8100 cal. BC) has also produced evidence for monumental building and sculpture<sup>3</sup>. The monumental building of Nevali Çori was marked by terrazzo floors, internal benches, niches and a large anthropomorphic T-shaped pillar with human arms in relief. Limestone sculptures of humans and birds or human-bird linkages were found within the walls. Recently, a large limestone human sculpture was found at the PPNB site of Urfa-Balıklığöl<sup>4</sup>, and represented as the first human sculpture in the history (**Fig. 1**). Cauvin<sup>5</sup> suggested that the development of settled life with agriculture was marked by the increased human representations. His idea of a “révolution des symboles” signifies the emergence of ideas about the relationships between humans and wild animals and supernatural beings. Wild animals and human figures are a central theme in the art of the Levant and Southeast Anatolian Neolithic. Discoveries from Göbekli Tepe and Nevali Çori indicate that the symbolic world of animal spirits is dominated by human figures. Probably human forms take on a central role in the spirit world. In addition, there is a clear link to

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Ahmar (Syria)”, 1997-1999. *Neo-Lithics* 1/00, 2000, pp. 1-4 ; G.O. Rollefson, “Ritual and Social Structure at Neolithic Ain Ghazal”. In Kuijt (ed), *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities: Social Organization, Identity and Differentiation*, New York, 2000, pp. 163-188 ; M. Verhoeven. “Ritual and Ideology in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Levant and Southeast Anatolia”, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12(2), 2002, pp. 233-258.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hauptmann. “Nevali Çori ve Urfa Bölgesinde Neolitik Dönem”. In M. Özdoğan and N. Basgelen (eds.), *Türkiye’de Neolitik Dönem*, Istanbul, 2007, pp. 141-146.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hauptmann. “Eine Frühneolithische Kultfigur Aus Urfa”. In M. Özdoğan, H. Hauptmann and N. Basgelen (eds.), *From Villages to Towns. Studies Presented to Ufuk Esin*, Istanbul, 2003, p. 627 ; B. Çelik. “Sanlı Urfa Yeni Mahalle - Balıklığöl Höyüğü”. In M. Özdoğan and N. Basgelen (eds.), *Türkiye’de Neolitik Dönem*, Istanbul, 2007, p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> J. Cauvin. *The Bird of the Gods the Origins of Agriculture*. (Translated from the French by T. Watkins). Cambridge, 2000.

sexuality, with ithyphallic animals and humans commonly shown.

Ritual buildings were also recorded in Central Anatolia around 8000-7500 cal BC. A special building complex was found in the south western part of the Aceramic Neolithic site of Aşıklı Höyük. The complex consists of two main structures - **HV** and **T**. The rectangular building **T** was furnished by a large hearth, a low bench and a canal for the drainage. The lime plastered floor and interior walls of **T** were painted in red<sup>6</sup>. A small room, **AB**, lies close to the building **T**. Two graves - the skeleton from one presenting marks of trepanation - were found under the floor of this room, while its interior walls were painted in red<sup>7</sup>. The building **T** (and also building **HV**) at Aşıklı Höyük was interpreted as ritual building probably for public ceremonies. The Aceramic site of Musular is located ca. 400 m west of Aşıklı Höyük. As Göbekli Tepe, no domestic buildings were found at Musular. The main building called the building **A** can be compared with the building **T** at Aşıklı Höyük<sup>8</sup>. It is quadrangular in plan, with benches and a central hearth. It has red painted lime plastered floor. Cattle hunting was especially important for the settlement. The size and the age pattern showed that wild cattle were chosen intentionally for hunting. Use wear analysis on the large quantity of obsidian arrowheads and cutting tools support the idea of hunting and butchering<sup>9</sup>. Excavations at Musular suggest that it is a non-domestic site, related with cattle hunting (*Bos primigenius*) and it is possible to think of certain ceremonies or feast which accompany hunting activities.

The pottery Neolithic period is characterized by disappearing monumental buildings for public ceremony. No monumental buildings for public ceremony were found at the Pottery Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük (7500-6200 cal. BC).

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<sup>6</sup> U. Esin and S. Harmankaya. "Aşıklı Höyük". In M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen (eds.), *Türkiye'de Neolitik Dönem*, İstanbul, 2007, pp. 263-264.

<sup>7</sup> İbidem

<sup>8</sup> Özbasaran, M., Duru G., Kayacan N., Erdogru B. and Buitenhuis H. "Musular 1999-2004- Genel Bir Değerlendirme". In M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen (eds.), *Türkiye'de Neolitik Dönem*, İstanbul, 2007, pp. 276-278.

<sup>9</sup> G. Duru and M. Özbasaran. "A 'Non-Domestic' Site in Central Anatolia". *Anatolia Antiqua* XIII, 2005, p.23.

However, some buildings were decorated with wall paintings, figurative mouldings and inset horns<sup>10</sup>. A wide range of domestic activities have been traced in these elaborately decorated buildings, and they should be interpreted as houses with ritual dimensions<sup>11</sup>. In Çatalhöyük, domestic and ritual activities were not rigidly separated both spatially and conceptually. However there is a good portion some 20% which were identified as ritually elaborate buildings which had more cultic installations and inhumation burials. It seems that during pottery Neolithic period in Central Anatolia differences mirror a ritual change from public to domestic. Why do people move ritual into domestic houses? It is not yet clear whether ritual change was due to changes in belief system or social factors.

No human or animal representations were found in Aşıklı Höyük and Musular, but in the art of Çatalhöyük, humans are shown teasing, baiting and symbolic killing over-sized bulls and other wild animals. Lewis-Williams<sup>12</sup> who has study the paintings and sculptures at Çatalhöyük in detail suggests that they may have been produced by special people in the society (shamans or mediators) who used it to contact the other world. Bloch<sup>13</sup> argues that violence is a necessary part of the movement into another world. He has explored the role of violence in ritual across a wide range of different societies. Bloch<sup>14</sup> particularly concerned with initiation and he saw that initiation often involves a symbolic 'killing' of the initiates. So rather than birth leading to growth and further reproduction, movement to a new stage in life is achieved through death, violence and rebirth. The violence and symbolic killing take the initiate beyond process into permanent entities such as descent groups. By leaving this life, it is possible to see oneself

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<sup>10</sup> J. Mellaart. *Çatalhöyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia*, London, 1967; I. Hodder. *Çatalhöyük: The leopard's Tale: Revealing the Mysteries of Turkey's Ancient 'Town'*, London, 2006.

<sup>11</sup> *İbidem*, p. 152.

<sup>12</sup> D. Lewis-Williams "Constructing a cosmos. Architecture, power and domestication at Çatalhöyük". *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4(1), 2004, pp. 29-31.

<sup>13</sup> M. Bloch. *Prey into Hunter: The Politics of Religious Experience*, Cambridge, 1992. p. 4-5.

<sup>14</sup> *İbidem*, pp. 8-15.

and others as part of something permanent and life-transcending. The violence and symbolic killing were the dominant representations for the art of Çatalhöyük. Complex scenes consist of symbolic killing or teasing wild animals and the removal of flesh from headless corpses by vultures (**Fig. 2**). Hodder<sup>15</sup> suggest that there is a whole array of wild animals and human figures from Göbekli Tepe that parallel those from Çatalhöyük. Religious ideas, a cosmology and representations developed rapidly in the Neolithic Near East and spread contagiously<sup>16</sup>. The scene of headless corpse and a vulture similar to that at Çatalhöyük was also found in Göbekli Tepe. But no portrayals of phallic imagery or of explicitly sexual acts have been recovered at Çatalhöyük. Hodder<sup>17</sup> also notes that dangerous wild animals and human figures were expressed in public space at Göbekli Tepe and Nevali Çori, but at Çatalhöyük they were brought into the houses.

## **2. The Early Chalcolithic Period of Central Anatolia**

Central Anatolia is roughly divided into two distinct geographical regions: The Konya Plain and the Cappadocian highlands. High Cappadocian plateau broken by mountain ranges, some being volcanoes such as the Mount Hasan. It was an attractive region for past communities with its plentiful sources, mainly of obsidian and salt<sup>18</sup>. The Konya Plain is a flat plain consists mainly of steppes, seasonal lakes and periodically flooded low alluvial areas. Çatalhöyük West and Canhasan are the main Early Chalcolithic (ca. 6000-5500 cal.

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<sup>15</sup> I. Hodder. "The spatio-temporal organization of the early 'town' at Çatalhöyük". In D. Bailey, A. Whittle and V. Cummings (eds.), *(Un)settling the Neolithic*, London, 2005, p. 133.

<sup>16</sup> See T. Watkins "Memes, Memeplexes and the emergence of religion in the Neolithic". In H.G.K Gebel, B.D. Hermansen and C.H. Jansen (eds.), *Magic Practices and Ritual in the Near Eastern Neolithic* (Berlin), 2002, pp. 41-47.

<sup>17</sup> Hodder 2006, pp. 195-206

<sup>18</sup> N. Balkan-Atli, D. Binder and M-C. Cauvin. "Obsidian: Sources, Workshops and Trade in Central Anatolia". In M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen (eds.), *Neolithic in Turkey*, Istanbul, 1999, pp. 133-145 ; B. Erdogru and M. Özbasaran. "Salt in Prehistoric Central Anatolia". In O. Weller, A. Dufraisse, P. Petrequin (eds.), *Sel, eau et forêt. Hier et aujourd'hui*, Besancon, 2008, pp.163-174.

BC) sites in the Konya Plain, while Köşk Höyük and Tepecik/Çiftlik in the Cappadocian region (**Fig. 3**).

Excavations suggest that major changes occurred in Central Anatolia around 6000 cal. BC. There are a number of changes in material culture between the Chalcolithic and Neolithic Central Anatolia. Major change is noted in the pottery. The Early Chalcolithic pottery differs from that of the Neolithic period in almost every respect. Besides the appearance of rich decoration and an order-of-magnitude increase in the quantities in use, the range of vessel forms and sizes is also vastly greater<sup>19</sup>.

The Early Chalcolithic sites in the Konya Plain are characterised by painted pottery. The majority comprises red or brown painted straight-line geometric motifs, applied over a cream or yellowish-buff slip, which is subsequently burnished. On the other hand, the Early Chalcolithic sites in the Cappadocian region are characterised by relief decorated pottery. Complex scenes were applied mainly on red slipped burnished pottery.

Another major change is noted in domestic architecture. Canhasan and Çatalhöyük West excavations show that houses are different from the Neolithic Çatalhöyük East. In both sites, mud-brick buildings were densely packed, and have two storeys, internal buttresses and central hearth<sup>20</sup>. The Early Chalcolithic architecture of the Cappadocia region is different from the Konya Plain. Köşk Höyük and Tepecik-Çiftlik encompass clustered multi roomed buildings with stone walls<sup>21</sup>. The buildings of Köşk Höyük, as the Neolithic Çatalhöyük East, contained hearths, ovens, raised platforms and storage bins.

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<sup>19</sup> U.D. Schoop *Das Anatolische Calkolithikum*. Urgeschichtliche Studien I. Remshalden, 2005.

<sup>20</sup> D. French *Canhasan Sites I. Canhasan 1: Stratigraphy and Structures*. BIAA Mono. 23, London, 1998 ; C. Gibson and J. Last "An Early Chalcolithic Building on the West Mound at Çatalhöyük", *Anatolian Archaeology* 9, 2003, pp.12-13.

<sup>21</sup> A. Öztan "Köşk Höyük". In M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen (eds.), *Türkiye'de Neolitik Dönem*, Istanbul, 2007, pp. 223-235 ; E. Bıçakçı, Ç. Altınbilek Algül, S. Balcı and M. Godon "Tepecik-Çiftlik". In M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen (eds.), *Türkiye'de Neolitik Dönem*, Istanbul, 2007, pp. 237-253.

In Çatalhöyük East mound, many houses contain the burials of ranges of individuals. No burials have been as yet found in the Chalcolithic Çatalhöyük West. However, contemporary sites of Köşk Höyük and Canhasan show that the children are still buried beneath houses. No pottery was found in Neolithic burials as grave goods, but Chalcolithic burials contain pottery. Another change is about the disappearance of wild cattle from the faunal assemblage in the Chalcolithic period.

### **3. The Development of Ritual and Symbolism in Central Anatolian Chalcolithic**

During the Chalcolithic period of Central Anatolia the main focus of symbolism and decoration had shifted to portable objects, mainly pottery<sup>22</sup>. Shifting the symbolism and decoration to portable objects may be explained by the change of social or belief system in the society. Portable objects had a significance, which is functional, and a meaning, containing ideas and symbols. It is possible that decorated pottery provided a durable symbolic medium for creating and maintaining social ties and dependencies through ritual and everyday activities.

J. Last<sup>23</sup> who investigated the Chalcolithic Çatalhöyük West pottery in detail suggests that pottery designs from Çatalhöyük West is similar to that found on geometric wall paintings of the Neolithic East Mound. In addition, human figures on relief decorated pottery of Köşk Höyük and Tepecik/Çiftlik, as well as a painted sherd from Çatalhöyük West show remarkable similarities to human figures on wall paintings from the Neolithic Çatalhöyük East (**Fig. 4-6**). Similarities occurred mainly in scenes and costumes. In both representations human figures wear similar garments (**Fig. 7**). Some of scenes such as hunting scenes are similar. Wild animals still exist in scenes of the early Chalcolithic pottery. In addition, a high important change has occurred in the art of Chalcolithic. At the first time domestic plants and animals

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<sup>22</sup> C. Last. "A Design for Life. Interpreting the Art of Çatalhöyük", *Journal of Material Culture* 3 (3), 1998, pp. 372-375 ; Hodder 2006, p.251.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem

appear in scenes. On Köşk Höyük pottery, **scenes** of daily activities such as cow milking and agricultural work **like harvesting crops** have appeared (**Fig. 8**).

In the Neolithic Çatalhöyük East, there was a link between paintings and burials. Probably the function of paintings was to protect those still living from the spirits of the dead<sup>24</sup>. The shaman or ritual leader played an important role in dealing with dead, and he/she probably controlled art and symbolism. Perhaps during the Chalcolithic period, art and symbolism may have been controlled no longer by shamans, and now most people have and use decorated pottery. Some pots with complex scenes (the whole or fragment) could be passed from hand to hand as objects of considerable symbolic importance, and as Garfinkel<sup>25</sup> suggested they were possibly used on special occasions associated with religious ceremonies.

Buildings at Çatalhöyük West and Canhasan have no internal symbolic features such as wall paintings and figurative mouldings. Recently, a wall painting similar with East Çatalhöyük's symbolic killing/dancing scene was found in Köşk Höyük<sup>26</sup>. This suggests that walls were still being decorated in the Early Chalcolithic period around 6000 cal. BC. Painting was found on the wall of the main room in a multi roomed house, close to a raised platform.

No monumental buildings for public ceremony were found at the Early Chalcolithic settlements of Central Anatolia. However, as the Neolithic Çatalhöyük East, some buildings should be interpreted as houses with ritual dimensions. Öztan<sup>27</sup> outlined that a wide range of domestic activities occurred inside the building of wall painting in Köşk Höyük. In Köşk Höyük, some buildings have also plastered human skulls. A total of 16 plastered skulls were found either on the platforms or beneath the platforms of selected buildings<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> I. Hodder "Çatalhöyük: Yeni Çalışmalar". In M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen (eds.), *Türkiye'de Neolitik Dönem*, Istanbul, 2007, p.322.

<sup>25</sup> Y. Garfinkel. *Dancing at the Dawn of Agriculture*, Austin, 2003, p. 92.

<sup>26</sup> Öztan 2007, p.225.

<sup>27</sup> ibidem

<sup>28</sup> M. Bonogofsky "Neolithic plastered skulls and railroading epistemologies". *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 331, 2003, pp.1-10 ; Öztan 2007, p.226.



Plastered skulls have been found at a number of sites in the Levant during the Aceramic period<sup>29</sup>. A sample was also found in the Neolithic Çatalhöyük East<sup>30</sup>. The plastered skulls found in Köşk Höyük indicate that ancestors were important at the house level.

New excavations at Çatalhöyük West revealed a special building with red coloured plastered walls and floors. It was two storey building with 3 internal buttresses. Floors of the first and the second storey as well as plastered walls of the second storey were painted in red<sup>31</sup>. A similar building with a red painted plastered wall and floor was also found in a contemporary site of Canhasan<sup>32</sup>. Arguments about the significance of colour in archaeology has increased recently<sup>33</sup>, and it is often argued that use of different colours in architecture have a symbolic rather than an aesthetic role. Due to the universality of colour symbolism, red used to be the significant colour for the prehistoric people from Paleolithic times onwards. In different societies red has become the symbol of danger. It is also associated with violence and tension<sup>34</sup>. Ethnographic evidence indicates different kinds of ceremonies associated with blood<sup>35</sup>, where red was always the basic and the essential colour.

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<sup>29</sup> *ibidem*

<sup>30</sup> Hodder 2006, p. 148.

<sup>31</sup> B. Erdogu "West Mound: Trench 8", *Catalhoyuk 2008 Archive Report*, 2008, p. 105-109.

<sup>32</sup> D. French "Excavation at Canhasan 1966". *Anatolian Studies* XVII, 1967, p.172.

<sup>33</sup> e.g. A. Jones and R. Bradley. "The Significance of Colour in European Archaeology. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9 (1), 1999, pp. 112-114 ; A. Jones and G. MacGregor (eds.). *Colouring the Past: The Significant of Colour in Archaeological Research*, Oxford and New York, 2002 ; L. Cleland, K. Stears and G. Davies (eds.). *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. BAR Int. Ser. 1267, Oxford, 2004.

<sup>34</sup> D. Trevarthen "Illuminating the Monuments: Observation and Speculation on the Structure and Function of the Cairns at Balnuaran of Clave". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10 (2), 2000, table.4.

<sup>35</sup> E.E. Wreschner "Red Ochre and Human Evolution: A Case for Discussion". *Current Anthropology* 21 (5), 1980, p. 631-644 ; C. Knight, C. Power and I. Watts. "The human symbolic revolution: a Darwinian account". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5 (1), 1995, pp. 75-114 ; J. Gage "Did

Use of red colour in the Neolithic ritual buildings of Central Anatolia has long been recognised. As I mentioned above, the building **T** at Aşıklı Höyük and the building **A** at Musular have red painted plastered floors. Red paint was found almost in all buildings at Neolithic Çatalhöyük East. It generally present on graves and figurative mouldings. Some platforms, walls and thresholds between rooms were also painted in red<sup>36</sup>. According to Mellaart<sup>37</sup> red symbolises blood and life and it has a protective function in Çatalhöyük. Finds from the red painted building at Çatalhöyük West indicate that it is a house probably with ritual dimensions.

#### **4. Conclusion**

To conclude, I would like to draw attention to some points. The first point concerns a ritual change from public to domestic during the pottery Neolithic and the Early Chalcolithic period of Central Anatolia. The Aceramic Neolithic period of Central Anatolia as well as south eastern Turkey and Levant were characterised by buildings for public ritual. Especially Göbekli Tepe and Musular are non-domestic sites with ritual buildings where ceremonies and celebrations took place. On the other hand, in the pottery Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük, domestic and ritual activities were not rigidly separated both spatially and conceptually. No buildings for public ritual have been found at Çatalhöyük, but elaborately decorated buildings with wall paintings and figurative mouldings should be interpreted as houses with ritual dimensions. These buildings contain more platforms, bins, pillars and burials. They also tended to have more objects such as figurines, pottery and obsidian tools. During the Early Chalcolithic period of Central Anatolia, some buildings were decorated with red paint (Çatalhöyük West and Canhasan) or wall paintings (Köşk Höyük) could also be interpreted as houses with ritual dimensions.

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colours signify? Symbolism in the red". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9 (1),1999, pp. 110-112.

<sup>36</sup> Hodder 2007, p.321.

<sup>37</sup> Mellaart 1967, pp. 149-150.

The second point concerns the main focus of symbolism and decoration had shifted to portable objects during the Early Chalcolithic period of Central Anatolia. The art was expressed in the Neolithic houses, but in the Early Chalcolithic period, the art was brought mainly onto pottery. The art at the Neolithic Çatalhöyük probably allowed communication with, or contained the living spirits of the ancestors. In the Early Chalcolithic period, there was no direct evidence between art and the dead. Probably its function also changed. Pottery was not decorated in the Neolithic, but the Chalcolithic period is marked by the appearance in large quantities of well-made painted pottery. We do not have a full answer to questions regarding significance of pottery decoration and its active role in the Chalcolithic society. Pottery may be convenient vehicles for display, and they may communicate cultural affiliation or even the status of the individual within his or her society<sup>38</sup>. At least some designs/scenes on pottery had meanings and associated stories. Special potteries could be used for different ceremonies or/and passed from hand to hand as objects of considerable symbolic importance.

Human figures and scenes on the Chalcolithic pottery show similarities to human figures and scenes on wall paintings from the Neolithic Çatalhöyük East. Scenes consist of symbolic killing, teasing, hunting wild animals have been found on the walls of the Neolithic Çatalhöyük houses. Besides wild animals, at the first time, domestic plants and animals appear in scenes of the Chalcolithic pottery. As Hodder<sup>39</sup> outlined daily life at Neolithic Çatalhöyük was surrounded by symbols referring to death and violence. Changing symbolism around 6000 cal. BC was a greater social transformation in Central Anatolia.

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<sup>38</sup> A. Gibson and A. Woods. *Prehistoric Pottery for the Archaeologist*, London, 1997, p.6.

<sup>39</sup> Hodder 2006, pp. 29-31.

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## **Capture for Figures**

**Fig. 1** - The T-shaped pillar from Nevali Çori and a large human sculpture from Urfa-Balıklı Göl (After Watkins 2000 and Hauptmann 2003).

**Fig. 2** - One of the symbolic killing or teasing scene from Çatalhöyük East (After Mellaart 1967).

**Fig. 3** - Location map of the Early Chalcolithic sites in Central Anatolia.

**Fig. 4** - A relief decorated pottery with hunting scene from Kösk Höyük (After Öztan 2007).

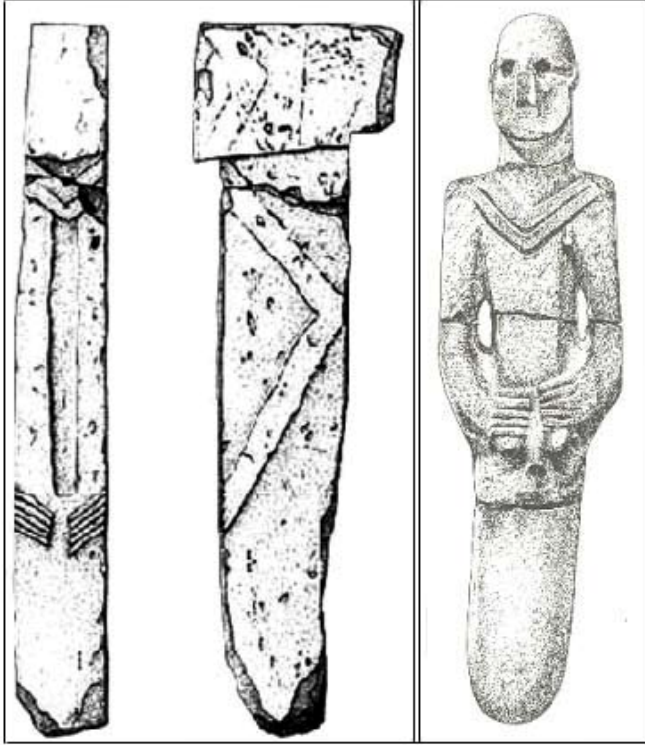
**Fig. 5** - A relief decorated sherd from Tepecik / Çiftlik (After Bıçakçı et al. 2007).

**Fig. 6** - A painted sherd with a human figure from Çatalhöyük West.

**Fig.7** - Detail of a human from a wall painting of Çatalhöyük East (After Mellaart 1967).

**Fig.8** - A relief decorated pottery with harvesting crop scene from Kösk Höyük (After Öztan 2007).

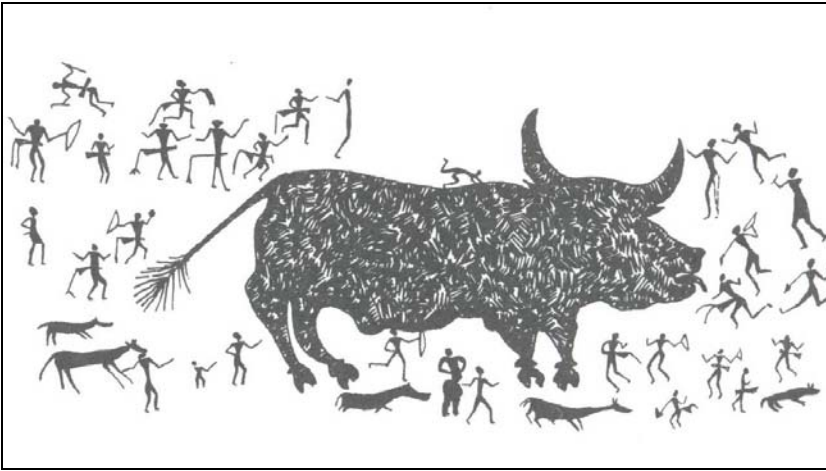
Fig. 1



The T-shaped pillar from Nevalı Çori and a large human sculpture from Urfa-Balıklı Göl (After Watkins 2000 and Hauptmann 2003).

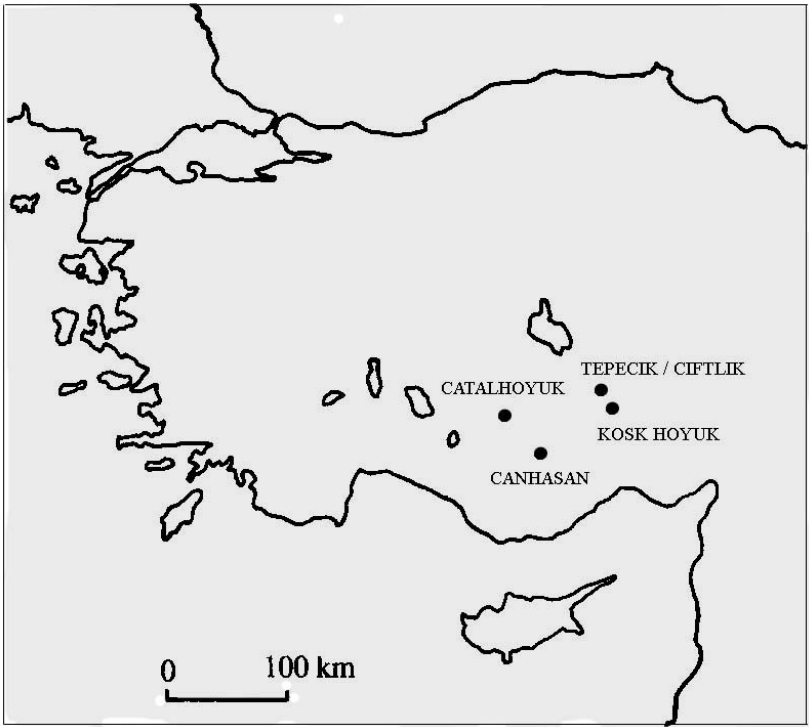


Fig. 2



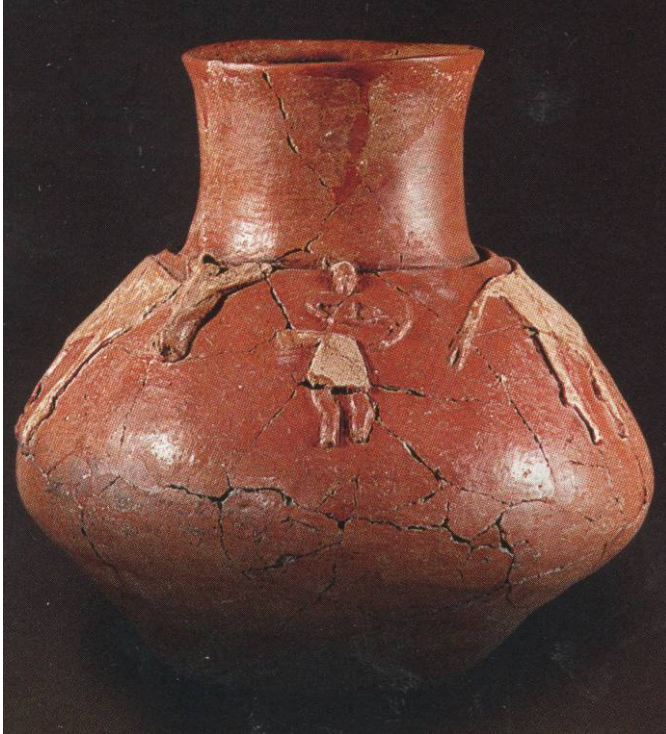
One of the symbolic killing or teasing scene from Çatalhöyük East (After Mellaart 1967).

Fig. 3



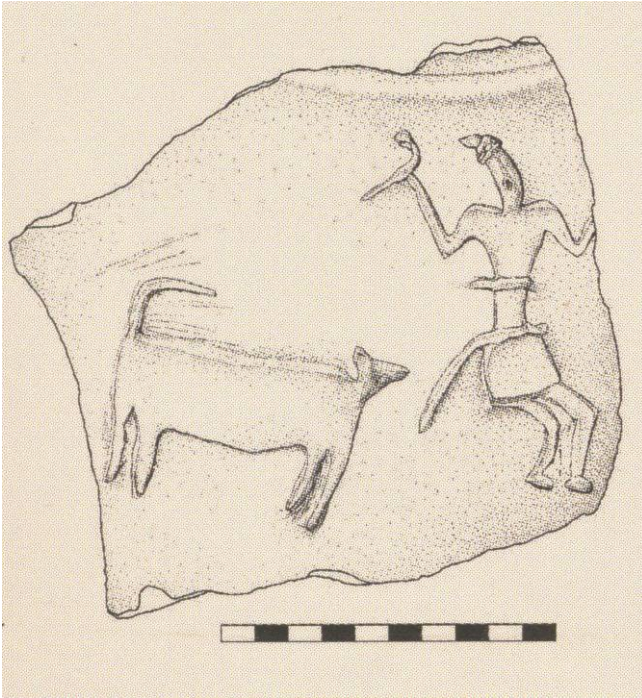
Location map of the Early Chalcolithic sites in Central Anatolia.

Fig. 4



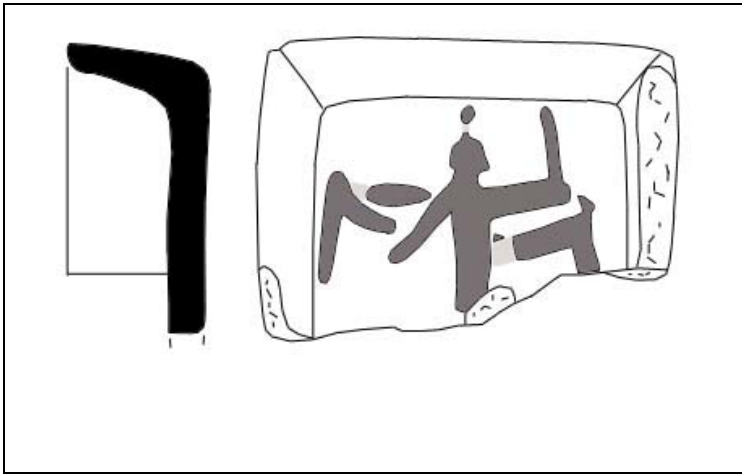
A relief decorated pottery with hunting scene from Kösk  
Höyük (After Öztan 2007).

Fig. 5



A relief decorated sherd from Tepecik / Çiftlik (After Bicakci et al. 2007).

Fig. 6



A painted sherd with a human figure from Çatalhöyük West.

Fig. 7



Detail of a human from a wall painting of Çatalhöyük East  
(After Mellaart 1967).

Fig. 8



A relief decorated pottery with harvesting crop scene from  
Kösk Höyük (After Öztan 2007).