

2. Neolithic Çatalhöyük and the outer world: the origin, rise and demise of the settlement in its regional context

Arkadiusz Marciniak

Introduction

Work carried out over the past 25 years has brought about in-depth understanding of different dimensions of the life of the inhabitants of the Neolithic settlement at Çatalhöyük (e.g., Hodder 2011). It covered major thresholds in its development as well as revealing the tempo of changes in subsequent centuries. This was also the period of new studies of the Neolithic across different parts of Anatolia (e.g., Bıçakçı et al. 2012; Gerritsen et al. 2013; Karul 2017). This work significantly contributed to a better understanding of the processes of the spread of Neolithic lifeways into previously uninhabited areas. While the research undertakings at both Çatalhöyük and contemporaneous sites have brought about numerous discoveries, very little has been done to date to examine mutual relationships among them in the seventh millennium BC in a comparative perspective. They mostly involve similarities and differences in material culture, such as ceramics and lithics, as well as changes in occupation of the region (see Baird 2012; Baird et al. 2012; Marciniak 2018; Özdöl Kutlu et al. 2015).

This chapter aims to examine the changing nature of connectedness between the inhabitants of Neolithic Çatalhöyük and contemporaneous communities in Central Anatolia and neighbouring regions throughout different stages of the settlement's occupation, stretching back from the last century of the eighth millennium BC to the very beginning of the sixth millennium BC. In particular, it will focus upon examining relations with adjacent communities and the social networks required for the acquisition of different types of resources. This will aim at understanding the development of the Çatalhöyük community through time, in which the relationships with non-local foreign groups were certainly integral to its existence. It will throw some light on the cultural continuity with the site's predecessors who practised hunting and gathering from the Konya Plain, as well as revealing parallel developments with groups inhabiting contemporaneous settlements. The chapter will focus on a number of fundamentally significant issues in relation to the very existence of the Çatalhöyük settlement, namely its origin, rise and dominance, re-

structuring and ultimate demise. It aims at recognising both causes and consequences of these changing relations of the settlement itself as well as of a wide range of communities in nearby and more distant regions.

The objectives of the chapter will be achieved by examining available evidence pertaining to these multifaceted processes, such as raw material procurement, production and technology, as well as everyday activities, lifestyles and after-life practices. This evidence will be scrutinised at two major scales of interaction, namely regional and pan-regional, and will cover the assortment of networks that transcended macro-scale interactions to include practices operating at meso- and micro-scales. However, as it is also not my intention to provide a comprehensive overview of synchronous developments in different parts of the regions, the chapter is intended to address convergent processes and activities. Considering the chapter's size and character, it will not provide in-depth theorising of the examined networks and entanglements. This task is further complicated due to differences between the excavation and publication standards adopted by teams investigating different sites examined in this chapter at different times during the past 50 years.

The developments at Çatalhöyük will be discussed in relation to four major occupation periods of the settlement: the beginning, rise, re-structuring and ultimate demise. It will be based upon the stratigraphic sequence of the South Area, which covers the entire span of occupation. It will adopt both absolute radiocarbon chronology and relative chronology in two interlinked stratigraphic sequences: Levels South G–T, covering the first, second and the third of these periods, and Levels TP N–R, covering the third and the fourth periods (see Hodder 2014d; Marciniak 2015a).

The Neolithic settlement at Çatalhöyük through time

The beginnings of the Çatalhöyük settlement

The Bayesian model indicates that the East Mound was settled in 7165–7085 cal BC (95% probability), probably in 7120–7085 cal BC (68% probability) (Bayliss et al. 2015). As revealed by the Çatalhöyük Research Project

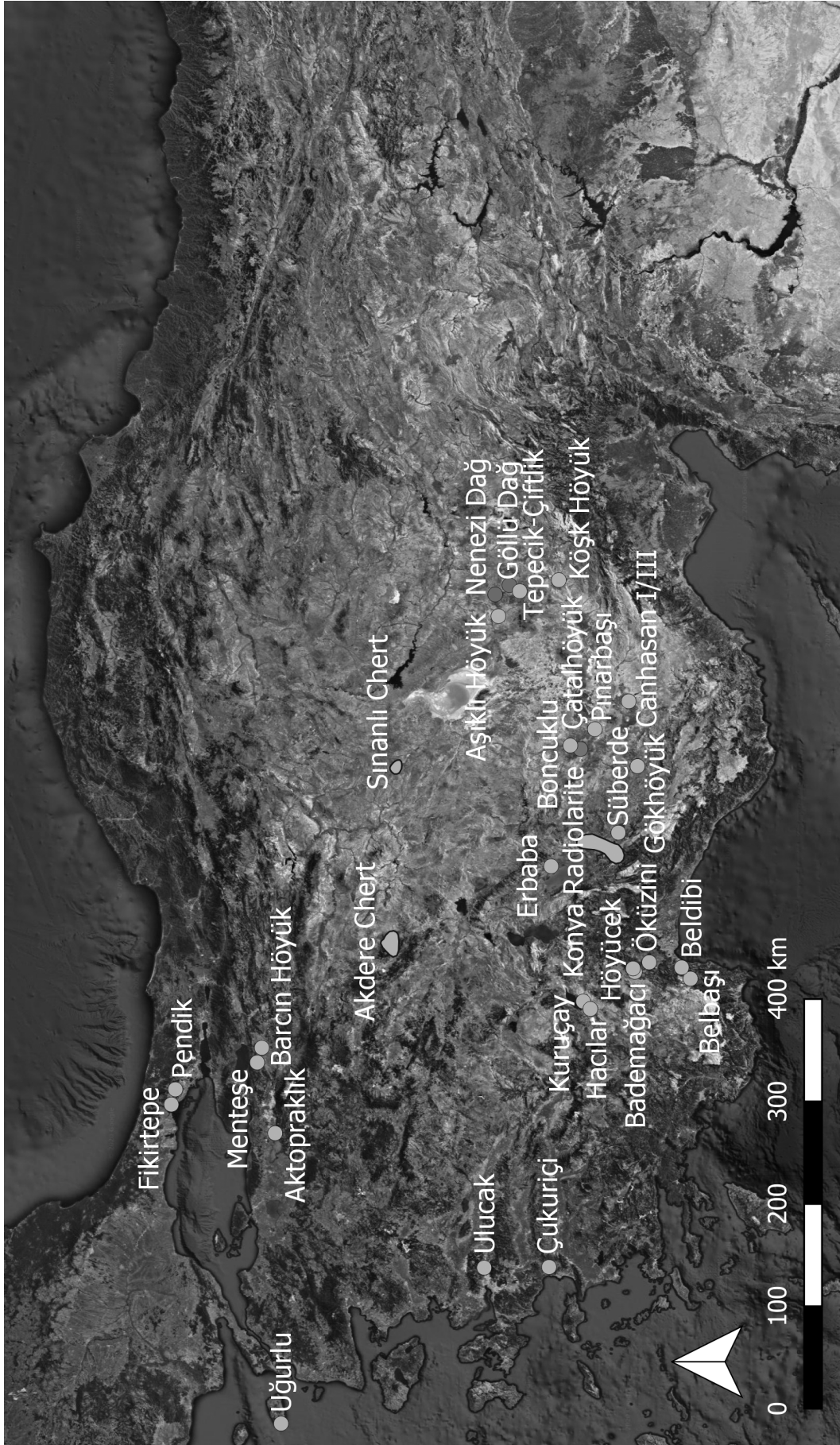


Figure 2.1. The sites and material sources connected with the occupation of Neolithic Çatalhöyük (map: Jędrzej Hordecki; map data: Google).

excavations of the bottommost part of the settlement, the start of Çatalhöyük dates close to 7100 BC, at least 300 years later than previously estimated (Cessford 2001). Most likely, it developed from one of the small settlements, such as Pınarbaşı (Baird et al. 2018), Canhasan III (French et al. 1972) or Sanak (Baird 2010b), scattered across the Çarşamba alluvial fan that extended out into the flat marl of the Konya Plain in the ninth and eighth millennia BC (Baird 2005).

The deposits from the lowest level, South G, were unearthed only on the edge of the settlement. They contain dumps of processed waste from daily consumption. The marl beneath these waste deposits was reached in a small trench, which can hardly be said to be representative of the whole site (Cessford 2007). This makes the recognition of the very beginnings of the settlement occupation inconclusive. It cannot be ruled out that earlier occupation exists in other parts of the mound.

The rise of the Çatalhöyük settlement in the Middle period

In subsequent centuries, the settlement of Çatalhöyük was growing and the population gradually rose until Levels South M, N and O (e.g., Hodder 2014). Houses continuously increased in size and came to be subdivided into rooms. The houses were clustered together and accessed through the roof. More space for storage and productive activity was introduced. Cooking took place in hearths and ovens placed in houses and was achieved with the aid of clay balls. The use of these early ‘boilers’ gradually decreased as the use of cooking pottery increased (Hodder 2014d). Vegetable-tempered pottery was introduced in Level South I or H (Last 2005a and see Chapter 4). This differs from the mineral-tempered clays reported for the initial Pottery Neolithic in Upper Mesopotamian (Nieuwenhuys et al. 2010).

The development of the settlement was accompanied by the intensification of elaborate symbolic systems, as indicated by a steady rise in architectural reliefs and the diversity and number of objects interred in burials (Hodder 2011; 2014d; and see Volume 13, Chapter 17). They culminated in Levels South M to O. This peak of symbolic elaboration is also the time when most burials occurred beneath the floors of houses (Cessford 2005a).

The Çatalhöyük imagery in this period was concentrated around images of wild animals. The bull seems to have had a special position, as evidenced by installations and feasting deposits as well as wall paintings and figurines. Other important, frequently depicted animals were bear, leopard and vulture (Czeszewska 2014; Filipowicz 2019). An emphasis was also put on particular body parts such as navels, cranial parts, teeth, beaks, claws and paws. However, as indicated by installations and reliefs, the focus on animal heads remained of prime

importance. Another connected, underlying theme was a desire for re-fleshing (Nakamura, Meskell 2009), expressed by modelling and re-plastering skulls, reliefs and the obese shapes of figurines.

The imagery of Çatalhöyük through this period was manifested through media on which those images appear, namely wall paintings, reliefs, installations and figurines (Filipowicz 2019). Reliefs comprise representations of bodies of animals or heads of animals moulded in clay on the house walls. The term installations refers to deliberately placed architectural elements made of animal parts. The most prominent example of installations are bucrania, that is, installations of cattle horns. They took different forms such as clay heads with cattle horns, horns set into the walls, benches with multiple horns and horns on platforms (Russell, Meece 2005; Twiss et al. 2009).

The Çatalhöyük clustered community in this period was predominantly collective and egalitarian (Hodder 2014d). It was engaged in developing and enhancing networks for the pooling of resources. The subsistence basis was provided by domestic caprines and plants. The ceremonial domain of its existence was focused upon hunting, killing and feasting on wild animals (Russell et al. 2013a; 2013b).

The restructuring of the Çatalhöyük community in the Late period

The Çatalhöyük population reached its highest point in Levels South N/O around 6600–6500 BC (e.g., Hodder 2014). The subsequent developments in Levels South P through South T and TP M–N marks the settlement’s major re-structuring. It is manifested in a break in the continuity of houses and the creation of more open spaces. Some buildings became larger and had more rooms and spaces. They were an arena for increased activity and production. As buildings grew bigger and multi-roomed, they also increasingly made use of adjacent open areas. This involved increased encroachment onto adjacent midden areas and the creation of yards with ovens and hearths.

The houses still had numerous built-in structures, including platforms, benches, bins and fire installations. They were intensively used and rebuilt many times. Walls in Level TP-M were plastered and decorated with black and white geometric designs, which had the form of vertical and transverse sets of parallel lines. Such paintings finally disappeared at the end of the period, as did both reliefs and clay moulded features. These changes were accompanied by the emergence of stamp seals (Türkcan 2005). As in the preceding phases, the northern part of the house was of ceremonial character, while the southern part served more domestic purposes. Burial pits were placed in a wider range of contexts in houses (see Volume 13, Chapter 15).

The last houses of this character were built around 6300 BC. As previously, their abandonment was accompanied by filling with sand and refuse. However, instead of constructing a new house on top of these abandoned buildings, people started to re-occupy them by constructing different, irregular rooms and putting in fire installations of different character. Around 6100 BC, they made an attempt to reconstruct new houses, which differed significantly from the previous dwelling structures. These were solid, multi-roomed constructions with neither distinct floor divisions (platforms) nor burials underneath them. They were slightly bigger than the previous houses (ca 50–75m²) and were composed of two to four distinct rooms. They appear to be unfinished. They were used for around 15–20 years, encompassing no more than one generation (Marciniak, Czerniak 2012; Marciniak 2015b).

The restructuring of the Çatalhöyük community involved independent production and the build-up of surpluses by some of the houses at the expense of the previously expected investments in ritual ties within and between clustered neighbourhoods. The increasing demands on the house were relieved by some degree of specialisation and increasing social differentiation. Specialisation and differentiation increased but they made their own demands on the productive system (Hodder 2014d; Marciniak 2016).

The increased focus on domestic production led to heavier investment in sheep herding and the increased management of cattle and, ultimately, to the adoption of domestic cattle (see Volume 13, Chapters 8 and 9). The combined impact of cattle domestication and increased exploitation of sheep and goats would have transformed the lives of the inhabitants and required shifts in organisation. The demand for food at the house and community level led to greater inputs of labour. This involved greater mobility and use of the landscape for a wider range of resources. Caprine herds may have been smaller and tended by family (or smaller group) shepherds, with less separation by age and sex (Pearson 2013; Russell et al. 2013a; 2013b).

The demise of the local community and the abandonment of the settlement in the Final period of the East Mound

While Çatalhöyük inhabitants went through a time of unease, a dramatic process of global significance took place thousands of kilometres away from Anatolia. Around 8,200 years ago, a massive release of glacial fresh-water in the North Atlantic led to an abrupt climatic event that had impacts all over the world. This is known as the ‘8.2-kyBP event’ and it has been recorded in the Greenland ice cores, stalactites/stalagmites (speleothems), lake pollen or tree rings in Europe and several lakes in Anatolia (e.g., Roffet-Salque et al. 2018).

A direct climate proxy for this climate event has been reported from the site (Roffet-Salque et al. 2018); its scale and the response of the settlement’s inhabitants to it have not yet been satisfactorily determined (for an alternative view, see Chapter 1; Orton et al. 2018; Wainwright, Ayala 2019). In any instance, the hitherto-practised mode of life was significantly modified in the Final period. Level TP O marks a major discontinuity in the occupational sequence. Solid architectural structures were replaced by light shelters and open spaces. Unfinished solid buildings were re-used. Some of their parts were turned into hut-type constructions with light roofs, while others served as open areas. The latter were intensively used, as indicated by numerous fire spots. They were later turned into a continuously used kitchen midden, as demonstrated by numerous fire installations and rich occupational debris.

Around 6100 BC those inhabitants of Çatalhöyük who still lived at the settlement started to develop a new strategy of existence, which differed significantly from earlier periods. Levels TP Q and TP R are characterised by distinct, large multi-roomed dwelling structures, built directly on top of the open area (middens and infill layers) from the preceding level. The new houses were composed of a series of small, cell-like spaces surrounding a larger central ‘living room’ and lacking symbolic elaboration. The main room had a central hearth and hardly any other built-in structures. The houses had neither platforms nor intramural burials. A new form of funerary practice involved the construction of burial chambers inserted into the house interior following its abandonment (Marciniak, Czerniak 2007).

Çatalhöyük in the world – localness, connectedness and dependencies

The outer world and the beginnings of the Çatalhöyük settlement

The character of the Çatalhöyük occupation derives from its beginnings and origins in the region. The settlement is located in the southern part of the Konya Plain, in a region that had been occupied by Epipaleolithic and Aceramic communities for significantly longer than 1,000 years. This long period is represented by three sites, extensively excavated over the past three decades: Pınarbaşı, Boncuklu and Canhasan III. The founders of Çatalhöyük are believed to have been the cultural descendants of these local groups, belonging to a distinctive regional form of the Neolithic (Baird 2012).

However, the groups inhabiting Pınarbaşı and Boncuklu belonged to two distinct communities (Baird et al. 2018). They occupied largely similar environments and most likely interacted with each other but were characterised by different economies, cultural

characteristics and material culture. The site of Pınarbaşı is located in the Karaman Province, ca 30km southeast of Çatalhöyük. It was occupied between ca 9800/9400 cal BC and ca 7800 cal BC. The community was based on the hunting of wild mammals and the exploitation of wetlands, and had a significant focus on nut exploitation. There was neither crop cultivation nor animal husbandry. Pınarbaşı houses had wattle and daub superstructures and were not internally divided into any distinct areas. Burials were most likely placed outside buildings, possibly in small cemetery areas. There is no evidence that ritual and symbolic practices took place in the buildings (Baird et al. 2018).

The settlement at Boncuklu is located 10km northeast of Çatalhöyük. It was occupied between 8300 and 7800 BC (Baird et al. 2012). However, the presence of chipped stone points in the latest levels – similar to Musular, Canhasan III and early Çatalhöyük, where they are dated to the second half of the eighth millennium BC – suggests a significantly longer occupation (Baird et al. 2018: 3078). The economy of the Boncuklu communities was characterised by low-level crop cultivation and developed animal management. Rudimentary herding was adopted by local foragers from approximately 8300 cal BC. This is believed to have been a local development rather than a result of introduction by farming groups from the Fertile Crescent. Cultivation appeared through adoption by indigenous foragers in the mid-ninth millennium cal BC, and it was accompanied by experimentation with sheep/goat herding. The buildings in Boncuklu have distinctive internal arrangements, with clean southeast floor areas with burials and dirty northwest kitchen areas around the main hearth. The walls were constructed of mudbrick. The clean areas were often decorated with paint and incorporated animal bones, mainly in the form of wild aurochs horns and skulls attached to the walls and floors (Baird 2010a; Baird et al. 2018).

Both communities co-existed in the period of approximately 8300–7800 cal BC. Despite their participation in shared exchange practices, most likely related to procurement of obsidian and exporting marine shells, they maintained their economic and cultural distinctiveness throughout this period. Both sites were at least partially contemporary with Levels 4 and 3 at Aşıklı Höyük in Cappadocia, and Pınarbaşı is probably earlier than and contemporary with Aşıklı Level 5 (Baird et al. 2018: 3079). The settlement at Aşıklı Höyük, 150km to the east in western Cappadocia, appears to be significantly different, with its more substantial mixed farming economy, including a wide range of crops and significant investment in herding (van Zeist 2003; Stiner et al. 2014).

The distinct ritual and symbolic practices at Boncuklu, manifested in particular in structured and repetitive use of domestic space, is believed to prefigure practices at Çatalhöyük, with its north/south division between clean and dirty areas in houses. This may imply that the community at Boncuklu was a direct antecedent to that at Neolithic Çatalhöyük (Baird 2012). The supposed embeddedness of the early Çatalhöyük milieu in the local Central Anatolia tradition can only be proved indirectly, considering the lack of temporal overlap between the occupation of both settlements. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that Çatalhöyük was in fact inhabited earlier than the recognised and dated sequence (see Bayliss et al. 2015) and/or Boncuklu was occupied longer than the preserved sequence.

The demise of the Boncuklu settlement was certainly not accompanied by an abandonment of the Konya Plain. A number of Late Aceramic sites from the second half of the eighth millennium BC are reported from across the region (Baird 2005: 65). Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish their precise chronological position due to a dearth of radiocarbon dates. One such site was Sancak, known from its characteristic lithic material (Baird 2010b).

The only known and excavated settlement from the second half of the eighth millennium BC is Canhasan III. It is located in Karaman Province, close to the foothills of the Taurus and ca 30km away from Çatalhöyük. The settlement was ca 1ha in size and composed of rectangular buildings with one or two rooms. The walls were made of mudbrick. Subsequent houses were built one on top of the other, creating a stack of buildings ca 4m high (French et al. 1972). The settlement's chronology is highly disputed. It was originally dated back to the period between ca 7600 and 6500 BC. Hence, the onset of activity at Canhasan III coincided with the transformations of material culture visible in the mid to late eighth millennium cal BC at other sites on the Konya Plain (Baird 2010a). However, its persistence into the seventh millennium BC is not corroborated by available evidence, in particular the presence of pottery. Moreover, Byblos points and Canhasan/Musular points found at Canhasan III are only known from the very first levels at Çatalhöyük East and disappeared after 7000 cal BC (Carter et al. 2005a). The Canhasan III houses were much smaller than those at Çatalhöyük in the first half of the seventh millennium BC. Since the duration of the occupation of Canhasan III has not been satisfactorily recognised, it remains possible that the settlement was in use during the foundation of Çatalhöyük. Nonetheless, Canhasan III, with its structured occupation and distinctive architecture, was certainly embedded in the Central Anatolia tradition developed earlier at Boncuklu, and it anticipated later developments at Çatalhöyük.

The embeddedness of early Çatalhöyük in the Central Anatolia Aceramic Neolithic tradition is further corroborated by the character of its lithics assemblage. The assemblage from the lowest level, South G, is characterised by the presence of a highly distinctive prismatic microblade tradition with obliquely truncated and backed asymmetric triangular microliths (scalenes), which are reported from the Cappadocian Aceramic Neolithic site at Acıyer as well as from Canhasan III (Carter et al. 2005a). They belong to a long regional tradition, as they have also been found at the Epipalaeolithic site of Pınarbaşı (Baird 2012). Comparable items have come from the Epipalaeolithic cave sites of Öküzini, Belbaşı and Beldibi on the Mediterranean coast near Antalya (Carter et al. 2005a). The embeddedness of early inhabitants of the Çatalhöyük settlement in the Konya Plain network, probably stretching back to the Epipaleolithic, is further corroborated by the continued exploitation and use of chert resources, mainly from the local Konya radiolarite and Sinanlı sources (see Nazaroff et al. 2013). The archaeological evidence has recently been confirmed by new genome-wide data from Pınarbaşı and Boncuklu indicating that these populations derived a large fraction of their ancestry from the Epipaleolithic Anatolian population, implying that farming was adopted locally by the hunter-gatherers of Central Anatolia. This in turn is indicative of the formation of the distinct Anatolian early farming population (Kılınç et al. 2016; Feldman et al. 2019).

The origin of Çatalhöyük within the Central Anatolian Neolithic does not exclude its belonging to the Near Eastern Neolithic koiné. This is clearly manifested in the presence of domestic sheep from the lowest levels, which stands in stark contrast to Boncuklu. Domestic sheep and goats were present in Central Anatolia from the mid eighth millennium cal BC and spread into Cappadocia and the Konya basin (Düring 2010; Arbuckle et al. 2014). The introduction of sheep appears to have been sudden, and they may have originated from unspecified areas in the Fertile Crescent (Baird 2012: 440). It has to be mentioned that sheep were managed at Aşıklı Höyük but were not fully domesticated (Buitenhuis 1997). It cannot be ruled out, however, that domesticated sheep were present at Canhasan III (French et al. 1972).

The rise of the Çatalhöyük settlement and its relations with the outer world

The first half of the seventh millennium BC brought about an unprecedented development and growth of the Çatalhöyük settlement. It developed from a small site into a large mega-site, arguably occupied by thousands of inhabitants (see Cessford 2001). These arrangements, in what is often labelled as its classic phase, are often presented as representative for the character of this world-renowned site.

The direct relations of Çatalhöyük in the period of its dynamic growth with contemporaneous communities in the region are not known. Except for Canhasan III, the settlement appeared to be the only site in the Konya Plain (Baird 2005: 66). Its attractiveness seemed to draw neighbouring groups from the area into it, resulting in significant regional depopulation. The relationships of the settlement's occupants with the world, however, can be recognised by examining the modes of acquisition of innovative technologies and the procurement of strategic resources.

One of the major developments in this period was the emergence of pottery. The take-up in its use was a long process, as indicated by a slow increase in the numbers of sherds (Last 2005a; Nieuwenhuyse et al. 2010; Yalman et al. 2013; Tarkan, this volume, Chapter 4). However, the idea may have spread very quickly shortly after the settlement was founded and the adoption took place within a context of widespread dissemination of myths and ideas about symbolism (Hodder, Meskell 2011), as well as the circulation of obsidian and the spread of caprines. The earliest pottery at Çatalhöyük made use of local clays (Doherty, Tarkan 2013).

Radiolarian cherts remained major components of the Neolithic non-obsidian chipped stone assemblage at Çatalhöyük (Carter et al. 2005a; Bezić 2007). They were procured from multiple sources across Central Anatolia throughout the entire span of the settlement's existence. In the first half of the seventh millennium BC, in Levels South G–P, the assemblage was dominated by the Akdere chert (Nazaroff et al. 2013). Its source is located 250km northwest of the Konya Basin. This was accompanied by the Konya radiolarite, the source of which occurs on the southwest fringe of the Konya Plain. Its frequency was significantly higher at the beginning of the settlement occupation, and it steadily declined from its highest concentration in Level South G to an insignificant percentage by Level South P (Bezić 2007). The third source was the Sinanlı chert, located 90km south of Ankara. The majority of this material comes from the earliest Neolithic occupation – Level South G, while only a minimal amount is present in later levels. It was used to produce ordinary objects used in the daily lives of the inhabitants (Nazaroff et al. 2015).

The Konya radiolarite is located close to the sources of several other materials procured by the inhabitants of Çatalhöyük, such as clay, ground stone and timber (Baysal 1998; Asouti 2005; Doherty 2008). A limited range of locally available raw materials was also used for stone beads in Levels South G to M (Bains et al. 2013). The steady decline of the exploitation of the Konya radiolarite chert may have been linked with changes in the procurement regimens. The rise in the

exploitation and use of Akdere chert in later levels was arguably triggered by the increase of interregional contacts, in particular emerging contacts with northwest Anatolia.

The dominant domestic species were sheep and goats, present at Çatalhöyük from the lowest level, South G (Russell et al. 2013a). The cattle in this period were morphologically wild and were hunted throughout the occupation of the site with increasing degrees of management (see Volume 13, Chapter 8) until the appearance of fully domesticated cattle in the Final levels. Most likely, the emergence of domestic cattle at Çatalhöyük was part of a larger process of the abrupt appearance of cattle in Central Anatolia after the middle of the seventh millennium BC (Arbuckle, Makarewicz 2009). Similar to caprines some thousand years earlier, they originated from areas outside the region.

The belonging of Çatalhöyük to the broader Near Eastern Neolithic is clearly manifested by the character of the imagery deployed at Çatalhöyük. Recently, Hodder and Meskell (2011) pointed out that the major themes are violence and masculinity, as the emphasis is often put on the dangerous parts of animals such as teeth, beaks or claws, which is best evidenced at Göbekli Tepe. The abundance of imagery at Çatalhöyük is in stark contrast with earlier sites in the region (Filipowicz 2019). At Aşıklı Höyük, figurines and other symbolic objects were rare and restricted to animal figurines, most likely boar or ox. Other finds included shaft straighteners with incised motifs (Özbaşaran 2012: fig. 18). At Boncuklu, imagery of Near Eastern origin is hardly present and was restricted to red-painted floors, a wall painting depicting probably a part of a wild animal, and a considerable number of stones with incised geometric decorations (Baird et al. 2012). Interestingly, such items were also found at the site of Pınarbaşı, which is otherwise very different to Boncuklu (Baird 2012). However, there is direct evidence for detachment and circulation of human crania at Boncuklu. In addition, two cattle skulls placed into the wall have been found.

The connectedness of Çatalhöyük inhabitants with the outer world has recently been explored by the analysis of ancient DNA. The newly generated mitochondrial genomes of a group of individuals from Level South O revealed that while falling within the genomic diversity of Near Eastern Neolithic populations, the Çatalhöyük population is set apart from the groups from the Fertile Crescent (Chyleński et al. 2019). A close affinity of the studied individuals with genome data from Boncuklu seems to corroborate the Central Anatolian origin of Çatalhöyük inhabitants. The role of Central Anatolia in this process was also supported by whole genome data from several individuals from Boncuklu as well as from Late Neolithic Tepecik-Çiftlik (Kılınç et al. 2016).

Relations with the outer world at the beginning of the settlement's disintegration

Two centuries after the peak of the Çatalhöyük settlement there were significant changes. The restructuring of the Çatalhöyük community is manifested in the material from levels South Q–T and TP M–N, that is, towards the end of the Late period. This period is marked by the habitation of previously unoccupied zones in the central, western, southwestern and northwestern parts of Anatolia, as seen in the emergence of numerous settlements. The Çatalhöyük inhabitants must have started building up relations with these emerging and rapidly growing communities. The increased productive capacity of individual houses was intimately linked to the extension of domestic production into the landscape (Hodder 2014d).

Around 6600/6500 cal BC, the site of Gökhöyük in Seydeşehir (Gündüz 2016) was founded. At roughly the same time, a few sites emerged in the Beyşehir-Suğla basin, directly west of Çatalhöyük, including Süberde and Erbaba (Bordaz, 1973; Bordaz, Bordaz 1976; 1982; Özdöl 2012). The Neolithic was also well established shortly before 6500 cal BC in the Lake District in southwest Anatolia (Duru 2012), where it is represented by four excavated settlements: Bademağacı EN I (7–5)–II, Höyücek ESP–ShP, Hacılar IX–VI, and Kuruçay Levels 13–11 (see E. Özdoğan 2015: fig. 6). In western Anatolia, fully developed farming groups arrived around 6700 cal BC from upper Mesopotamia and/or the southern Levant, as indicated by the materials from Çukuriçi XIII and Ulucak VI (Horejs et al. 2015). A similar situation has been revealed in northwest Anatolia, where the beginnings of the Neolithic are dated back to 6600 cal BC (Gerritsen et al. 2013), as seen at Uğurlu V, Pendik, Archaic Fikirtepe, Aktopraklık C, Menteşe (Basal, Middle) and Barcın Höyük (VI–c) (Roodenberg et al. 2003; Özdoğan 2012; Erdoğan 2013; Gerritsen et al. 2013; Karul, Avcı 2013). Western Cappadocia is represented by two Late Neolithic settlements: Tepecik-Çiftlik Levels 9–4 and Köşk Höyük Levels V–III (Bıçakçı et al. 2012; Öztan 2012).

The Gökhöyük settlement is located ca 80km southwest of Çatalhöyük in a strategic location at the gateway to the Beyşehir-Suğla basin. Four Neolithic levels were unearthed during the excavation campaign in the 2000s. Houses were built of mudbrick and some of them were constructed on stone foundations. The internal layouts were very similar to Çatalhöyük, with clean and dirty areas. The houses were placed in small clusters (Gündüz 2016).

The other nearby contemporaries of Çatalhöyük are Süberde and Erbaba from the Suğla and Beyşehir basins. They reveal striking similarities to the Çatalhöyük architecture in its classic phase. Süberde is located 11km

southeast of Seydeşehir in the Taurus Mountains, in proximity to Lake Suğla (Bordaz 1965: 31). The second and third layers, identified by the excavator as Neolithic, contained remains of mudbrick houses with plastered floors and clay bins (Bordaz 1966: 32). Er Baba is located 10km northwest of the town of Beyşehir and 1.5km east of Lake Beyşehir on a natural hill. The site contained three levels, all belonging to the Neolithic period. They contained a sequence of clustered houses, which were square to rectangular in plan, with thick foundations and entrance provided through the roofs (Bordaz 1982: 87).

The relations with the Lake District are complex. The area is located further away from Çatalhöyük, in a region that is difficult to reach due to the high ridge of the Taurus Mountains. The Neolithic Levels IX–VI at Hacilar are dated to the second half of the seventh millennium BC (Thissen 2010: 273). Due to the small number of radiocarbon dates, it is impossible to reliably recognise changes through time. The first well-preserved phase is the burnt settlement designated Hacilar VI (Mellaart 1970: 10–22). It is composed of a number of L-shaped structures consisting of two houses each. No sub-floor burials existed, which recalls the practice known from the latest 300 years of the Çatalhöyük occupation. Three isolated burials were found in Hacilar Level VI (Mellaart 1961: 40).

The site of Kuruçay is located northeast of Hacilar. Levels 13–12 are attributed to the Early Neolithic, Level 11 to the Late Neolithic and Level 10 to the Early Chalcolithic (Duru 1987). However, Thiessen (2010: 273) argues that Levels 12–8 are related to one another and can be treated as a single building unit. Due to a dearth of radiocarbon dates, the absolute chronology of the settlement occupation remains largely unknown. The best recognised remains come from Level 11. They are represented by the 26m-long and 1.1m-thick stone wall situated on the east–west axis (Duru 2008). Altogether, seven intramural burials were found at the site. Four of them were related to Level 11 and two of those were children (Duru 1994: 101).

Three major Neolithic phases were distinguished in Höyücek. The Early Settlement Phase was assigned to Early Neolithic I, the Shrine Phase to Early Neolithic II and the Sanctuaries Phase to the Late Neolithic. While the Early Settlement Phase does not contain any architectural remains, the following Shrine Phase is represented by five mudbrick structures attached to each other. The interior dimensions of these buildings are 7.20 x 4.50m (Duru, Umurtak 2005). The structures are known to have contained a wide range of different items, such as deer antlers, mandibles of large animals, astragali, a marble bowl containing a terracotta bowl and stone chisel, and a boot-shaped vessel. One newborn was interred outside

the wall of one of the buildings from this phase. Of significance are special ceramic forms such as kidney-shaped, boot-shaped and bird-shaped vessels, and small jars with flat ledge-rims on the interior (Duru, Umurtak 2005: pls 33–43; Duru 2012).

The site of Bademağacı is represented by nine Neolithic horizons. According to Duru (2012: 14), Levels 9–5 are dated back to Early Neolithic I and the following Levels 4–3 to Early Neolithic II, while Levels 2–1 belong to the Late Neolithic. As only eight radiocarbon dates originated from the deposits, the absolute chronology of the Neolithic sequence is only tentative. The Early Neolithic, according to Duru (2007: 349), took place in the second half of the seventh millennium BC, corresponding mostly to the Late and Final levels at Çatalhöyük. No dates from the Late Neolithic strata are available. Early Neolithic Levels 9–5 have revealed no trace of architectural elements, except for a floor made of solid limestone (terrazzo) with traces of red and black paint encountered in Level 8. Mudbrick houses appeared in Level 4 and were in use until the end of the Neolithic. These were rectangular, single-roomed houses constructed of regular or plano-convex bricks, without stone foundations. The entrance was at the floor level in the centre of the longer wall. The ovens were usually placed opposite the door (Duru 2008: fig. 42). Buildings from Level 3 were free-standing constructions. The layout of the settlement, however, remains unknown (Duru 2012: 5). The houses were accompanied by individual storage silos constructed outside or between them (Duru 2012). Altogether, 27 burials were found in Early Neolithic strata. These were mostly infant burials, while adult burials were decidedly rare. The skeletons were placed in a pit in crouched position, lying on the side. One headless skeleton has been found (Duru 2008: 151).

For the Lake District, aside from single and doubtful radiocarbon dates from Hacilar and Bademağacı, we do not have any reliable evidence for the Neolithic before 6500 BC. Hence, we can reliably assume that the beginning of the Neolithic occupation in this area started around that time. The roots of the Lake District Neolithic have been sought either in the Beyşehir-Suğla basin or in the Antalya region, not in the Konya Plain. However, there are many indications, especially in the light of recent research at Çatalhöyük, that the Neolithic of the Lake District might have been somehow related to that of Central Anatolia.

The links and dependencies have recently been revisited through in-depth comparative analysis of the imagery (Filipowicz 2017; 2019). Buildings from the Lake District had no wall paintings, reliefs or in-house installations. Instead, a large number of diverse mobile decorated objects were present. In the following Early

Chalcolithic period, this was enhanced by the sudden introduction and subsequent rapid increase of ceramics painted with geometric motifs. The images employed often resemble those known from Çatalhöyük wall paintings. They include zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and geometric motifs present across different media, either on painted or relief pottery. This is indicative of an inheritance of the Çatalhöyük tradition by the Lake District communities. This could either have been caused by some kind of unspecified influx of settlers originating from Çatalhöyük into the Lake District or, most likely, by intense contacts and relations between these communities.

More direct proof of contacts between these two regions stems from the lithic production. The reported similarities are attested primarily through the common reliance on pressure blade industries. It is most likely that this mode of tool production was introduced to Lake District populations from Central Anatolia, potentially via Çatalhöyük itself (Balkan-Atlı 2005: 136). This was a part of the western expansion of pressure blade technologies. Molluscs *Borlumastus yildirimi* found in the TP Area are endemic to the Lake region around Isparta of Turkey, and they live in limestone rocks and debris, on calcareous soil (Kurzawska et al. in press).

The first farmers in northwest Anatolia inhabited two different environments, the coasts and the plains (Karul 2019). In the first part of the second half of the seventh millennium cal BC, a wide range of settlements were present. These comprise Uğurlu V, Pendik, Archaic Fikirtepe, Aktopraklık C, Menteşe (Basal, Middle) and Barcın Höyük (VIId–c) (see detailed discussion of this evidence in Marciniak 2018). Different elements of the classic Çatalhöyük tradition appeared in this period at northwest Anatolian sites. These comprise in particular (a) ceremonial consumption of cattle and deer, revealed at Aktopraklık C, (b) burials underneath the floor at Aktopraklık C (burials with grave goods) and Basal Menteşe (female skeleton under the house floor) and (c) a slightly modified tradition of burying the dead in courtyards at Basal Menteşe and Barcın VIId from the final phase of the Late Neolithic (Karul 2019; Özbal, Gerritsen 2019).

The relations between central and northwest Anatolia have been most often discussed in terms of connection between the core and periphery, where the latter region was arguably colonised by groups from the former via terrestrial routes. These relations got shaped in the context of a complex web of interactions between the Neolithic groups across different areas of the Near East. Different explanations of the arguably complicated mechanisms of this process have been offered, including leapfrogging movement, acculturation, infiltration etc. (e.g., Özdoğan 2010; Thiessen 2010; Düring 2013).

It has been argued that a major impulse involved the movement of groups from central to northwest Anatolia around the middle of the seventh millennium BC. This was indicated by dark-coloured and burnished ware from Fikirtepe culture, which ‘strongly resembles the dark burnished wares of Central Anatolia, suggesting a transfer of technology from this region’ (Brami, Heyd 2011: 178). The relations between both regions were further corroborated by a shared absence of domestic pigs (Arbuckle et al. 2014: 8). These similarities implied the spread of farming groups with a distinctive cultural tradition and the movement of an animal economy characterised by domestic caprines and cattle.

The dominant form of architecture in both southwest and northwest Anatolia reveals striking similarities. It comprised rectangular free-standing buildings with floor-level entrances, which are made of wattle and daub. These multi-roomed houses were composed of a series of small, cell-like spaces surrounding a larger central ‘living room’ with street-level exterior entrances and lacking symbolic elaboration. Some houses had horned benches and installations. They were most often associated with different forms of empty spaces such as courtyards, storage areas or alleyways. They were linked by external yards, ovens and hearths where activities took place. The houses in the majority of instances lacked intramural burials (E. Özdoğan 2015: 43). They were revealed at Aktopraklık C, Ilipinar X, Menteşe – Basal Menteşe and Barcın VIId–b (e.g., Roodenberg et al. 2003; Erdoğan 2013; Gerritsen et al. 2013; Karul, Avcı 2013).

The relationships between central and northwest Anatolia have recently been examined by the new whole genome data as well as mitochondrial genomes. They seem to favour the idea that the Neolithic in the latter region emerged as a result of expansion, potentially originating in Çatalhöyük (Kılınç et al. 2016; Chyleński et al. 2019).

The Neolithic site at Tepecik-Çiftlik in western Cappadocia was recognised in Levels 9–4. The final Neolithic level, Level 4, is dated back to the period between 6400/6300 and 6000 cal. BC (Bıçakçı et al. 2012: 90). As the lowest levels were only recognised in a small sondage, details of the character of the settlement and its reliable chronological position are unavailable. A large rectangular structure comes from Level 5, which contained as many as 60 burials. Adjacent to this structure was an open space. The preserved structures from Level 4 comprise a multi-roomed building complex of ca 100m². Its walls were made of large and flat stones. The occupation area had numerous ovens and kilns. The dominant form of burial practice involved inhumation, both inside buildings and in open courtyards, as well as pot-graves (ibid. 93–95).

The neighbouring settlement at Köşk Höyük has three Neolithic levels, V–III. Its beginnings are set to around 6300 BC, while the end of the following Early Chalcolithic Level II is dated back to 5600 BC (Öztañ 2012: 42). The houses were made of limestone, or less commonly of mudbrick. They were composed of two to four rectangular or square rooms. The built-in structures comprised benches and stone platforms as well as hearths, ovens and box-like installations of clay. The houses in later periods were significantly reconstructed by putting in partition walls, adding annexes, altering the door location and placing hearths or ovens outside. The walls in one of the houses from Level III were painted, depicting 20 figures dancing or hunting around a deer. This recalls paintings from Çatalhöyük. Burials were only recognised in Levels III and II. The funerary practice was dominated by inhumation and pot-graves. Some of the interred individuals had plastered skulls (ibid. 32–37).

The origin of western Cappadocian sites at Köşk Höyük and Tepecik-Çiftlik appears to be different from that of Canhasan I and Pınarbaşı. This is implied by a significantly different lithic technology. While at Çatalhöyük the pressure-blade traditions dominated, the Cappadocian sites were characterised by flake and percussion blade industries (Bıçakçı et al. 2012: 98–101; Öztañ 2012: 42–44). This is further characterised by the production of large spearheads, most likely indicative of hunting in the region, in stark contrast to what we see in the Late levels at Çatalhöyük.

The external contacts of the Çatalhöyük community in the period included the procurement of raw materials, where direct contacts with local communities did not necessarily take place. The period between Levels M and P marked the gradual shift from East Göllü Dağ to Nenezi Dağ obsidian (Carter, Milić 2013a). The material from these two sources was delivered to the site from the distance of ca 130km either by direct access or through exchange links. From Level South P onwards, the range of raw materials used for stone beads increased and some of them originated from greater distances. Shell beads may show a related pattern, with a greater diversity of shell materials being brought into the settlement from a wider range of locations (Bains et al. 2013). Greater human mobility, most likely both local and pan-regional, from South P onwards is also indicated by a femoral midshaft index (Larsen et al. 2013). As compared with the preceding period, the pattern of chert procurement changed as well. The Akdere source maintained a steady rate of consumption throughout the Neolithic (cf. Bezić 2007), which is indicative of a growing significance of networks and connectivity with communities northwest of Çatalhöyük. At the same time, the significance of the

Konya radiolarite and Sınanlı chert, which were acquired directly from their primary deposits (Nazaroff et al. 2013: 357), declined. Pottery from South M marked a major switch from local to predominantly non-local clays, probably obtained from volcanic regions to the west (Özdöl-Kutlu et al. 2015).

The demise of the Neolithic community and the East Mound settlement abandonment

The final 300 years of occupation (6250–5950 BC) of Neolithic Çatalhöyük (the Final levels), were accompanied by dynamically accelerating developments in other regions, near and far. This is manifested by numerous settlements from this time. Southwest Anatolia is represented by Bademağacı EN II–LN?, Hacılar V–III, Höyücek SP and Kuruçay 9 (see E. Özdoğan 2015: fig. 6). A number of settlements from the previous period in northwest Anatolia show uninterrupted occupation, including Classic Fikirtepe, Pendik, Yenikapı, Aktopraklık B, Ilıpınar X–IX, Menteşe (Upper) and Barcın Höyük (VIb–a) (Roodenberg et al. 2003; Erdoğan 2013; Gerritsen et al. 2013; Karul, Avcı 2013; Özdoğan 2013). The Cappadocian settlements at Tepecik-Çiftlik and Köşk Höyük were also uninterruptedly occupied.

The end of occupation of the Neolithic settlement on the Çatalhöyük East Mound is accompanied by the emergence of the West Mound settlement on the other side of the Çarşamba River (e.g., Biehl et al. 2012). As its lowermost strata have not been excavated, the early development of this settlement and its relations with the existing Çatalhöyük East Mound settlement remain largely unknown. New dating for the excavated deposits on the West Mound (Orton et al. 2018) clearly shows that there was contemporary occupation on the two mounds. As the latest excavated house on the East Mound is very probably later than the earliest excavated house on the West Mound, the presence of ca 5m of anthropogenic deposits below this West Mound building strongly suggests that the two mounds overlapped for a significantly long period (see also Bayliss et al. in press), probably around 200 years.

The closest known contemporary of Çatalhöyük at this time is Canhasan I. It is located in Karaman Province, in proximity to Aceramic Canhasan III (see above). There was certainly no continuation between these two sites, and Canhasan I appears to be a resettlement. Altogether, four levels, 7–4, were dated to the Late Neolithic. Level 3 is dated to the Early Chalcolithic. The rectangular and square mudbrick houses from Levels 7–4 were accessed from the roof. Their internal surfaces were plastered over and often painted (French 1998: 20). The dwelling structures from Levels 5–4 were occupied

significantly longer, and their internal arrangements got more complex. One of the buildings was composed of three rooms, and it was enlarged by adding rooms during its life. These free-standing houses were arranged in structured complexes (ibid. 24–25).

Level 5 dates provide convincing absolute evidence that it was contemporary with the early occupation at Çatalhöyük West between ca 6000 and 5900 BC (Orton et al. 2018: 629–30). The onset of activity at Level 5 also precedes the terminal phases of occupation at Çatalhöyük East, which are modelled to 5975–5865 cal BC (95.4% probability; Marciniak et al. 2015a). The strata beneath Level 5 remain undated. The pressure blades common in Canhasan I Levels 7–4 (Ataman 1988: 242) only become common at Çatalhöyük East after ca 6400 cal BC (Carter and Milić 2013), and the carinated and S-profiled jars and bowls common in Canhasan Levels 7–4 (French 2005: 118–29) comprise 18–25% of the assemblage in Çatalhöyük East's final occupation levels (Özdöl-Kutlu et al. 2015). Hence, it is possible that Canhasan I was founded somewhere in the 63rd century BC. The close cultural and architectural affinities between both settlements point to strong ties between them, with the most likely possibility being that Canhasan's resettlement was by people from Çatalhöyük.

At the same time, a seasonal satellite camp at Pınarbaşı, close to the foot of Karadağ, was settled (Baird et al. 2011). It is located 30km from Çatalhöyük, in proximity to Epipaleolithic Pınarbaşı (see above). It was probably frequented by task groups, possibly sheep herders, from Çatalhöyük during the last 200 years of its occupation (Baird 2007b). The chipped stone assemblage, in particular tool types and reduction strategies, is over 90% obsidian, like contemporary Çatalhöyük (Conolly 1999: 18). These close ties are further corroborated by the fauna implying it was a seasonal hunter-herder campsite. The emergence of this site and contacts with the Çatalhöyük community indicate increasingly intensive and extensive use of the landscape.

The well-established relations with the Lake District in the preceding period continued in the last centuries of the seventh millennium BC. Due to a dearth of reliable radiocarbon dates, the corresponding developments at these sites cannot be reliably specified (hence see the section on the Lake District above). However, according to Alex Bayliss (personal communication July 2017), most C14 determinations from these four sites overlap with the later parts of the Çatalhöyük sequence or postdate it (Filipowicz 2019).

The relations between Çatalhöyük and settlements from northwest Anatolia remained intense, albeit less pronounced and more idiosyncratic. The reported similarities are in ceramic production and styles. These

comprise, in particular, dark-slipped pottery, mainly hole-mouth vessels and S-shaped jars and bowls (Brami, Heyd 2011; Özdöl 2012: 92). As at Final period Çatalhöyük, there were no burials underneath the floors, and funerary practices transitioned from house interment to extramural cemeteries and burials in courtyards. At the same time, the number of differences increased. The ceramics from northwest Anatolia were dominated by neckless jars with straight or inturned rim and a deep globular body with vertically perforated lug, while at Çatalhöyük the assemblage was dominated by a relatively small percentage of S-profiled vessels, very little carination, but lots of rounded profiles, an absence of tubular and vertical strap handles and consistent eschewal of decoration (see Pyzel in press and Tarkan, this volume, Chapter 4). Changes in spatial arrangements led to the emergence of well-organised villages constructed in a circular plan and with public areas. New forms of dwelling structures, unknown in Central Anatolia, include round wattle and daub huts with semi-subterranean floors (see Marciniak 2018). The presence of obsidian of Cappadocian origin provides firm evidence of contacts with the Konya Plain (Milić 2014). Hence, the most conceivable scenario is a migration from Çatalhöyük, as discussed above. Barcın Höyük, however, is a site with possible impact from the Lake Region (Özbal, Gerritsen 2019).

Unfolding Çatalhöyük in the changing Neolithic world

The available evidence indicates that local groups founded the Çatalhöyük settlement at the very end of the eighth millennium BC. Most likely, the founding was achieved by one of the communities that inhabited the Konya Plain in the second half of the eighth millennium BC. A solid economic footing and access to fundamental raw materials provided necessary sustainability and prosperity. The groups were well familiarised with Central Anatolia, as indicated by effective exploitation and procurement of strategic resources. From the early years of the settlement's existence, its inhabitants, similarly to their predecessors, continuously exploited and procured raw materials, including obsidian from the Cappadocian sources, the Konya radiolarite and the Sinanlı chert, and the Akdere chert from the northwestern part of the region (see Carter et al. 2005a; Nazaroff et al. 2013; 2015). In particular, the exploitation of the Akdere chert, which is located between the Konya Plain and northwest Anatolia, from the very beginning of the seventh millennium BC is indicative of a relatively good recognition of the zone west and northwest of the settlement, much earlier than the establishment of the early farming occupation zone in northwest Anatolia around 6600 BC (Marciniak 2018; 2019).

The settlement from its very beginning certainly remained in close contact with the inhabitants of the Canhasan III settlement in neighbouring Karaman Province. One cannot rule out the possibility that it may have served as an ancestral place for the new Çatalhöyük settlers. A deep embeddedness in local traditions, as indicated by convincingly proven parallels with much earlier Boncuklu, was further strengthened by sheep husbandry, which is proven from the very beginning of Çatalhöyük (Russell et al. 2013a). Sheep provided a solid economic footing for the emerging community, while imagery made it possible to embed the site's inhabitants within the Neolithic cultural world. The economic and socio-cultural footing was further consolidated by pottery, which was introduced around 100 years after the foundation of the settlement (Last 2005a).

An impulse appears to have been given by ongoing contacts with the Fertile Crescent. The Çatalhöyük settlers maintained these relations, which stretched back to the previous millennium. However, links appear to have been intensified following the demise of the large centres of the PPNB and the ultimate reconfiguration of the Neolithic mode of life at the turn of the eighth millennium BC. The most important of them was arguably the arrival of an imagery (Hodder, Meskell 2011), implying that local communities were exposed to powerful modes of ritual and ceremony from the Fertile Crescent. However, the nature of these relations remains unclear. One needs to exclude an influx of immigrants from the Fertile Crescent, as recently corroborated by genetics (e.g., Özdoğan 2010; Chyleński et al. 2019). The shift involved the spread of ideas rather than specific techniques and functions (Bayliss et al. 2015).

The systematic provision of important raw materials, a thorough recognition and effective exploitation of the vastness of Central Anatolia, the sheep-based economy, the embeddedness in secure and sustainable local traditions, further enhanced by impulses from the Fertile Crescent, in addition to favourable conditions on the Çarşamba fan, all contributed to the success of the newly founded settlement. Parallel developments, albeit not without important differences, took place to the east and southeast in the upper Euphrates, as marked by the emergence of powerful pottery cultures that eventually led to the emergence of a large Halaf centre (e.g., Campbell 2007).

The exploitation of locally available resources known by the settlers from the very beginning, in particular the Konya radiolarite and Sınanlı chert, defined the character of lifeways of this community and its mode of interaction with the surrounding landscape in the first centuries of its existence. It provided access to a range of new resources, resulting in unprecedented

growth of the settlement and the number of its inhabitants. As argued by Bezić (2007), the use of chert, unlike obsidian and other chipped stone materials, was intimately entwined in a range of other practices. The acquisition of Konya radiolarite was interlinked with the procurement of other nearby woodland resources (Nazaroff et al. 2013), which witness a shift in exploitation through time, from local catchments to zones further away in the region (Asouti 2005).

This locally based procurement model proved to provide satisfactorily sustainable foundations for the growth of the site and its inhabitants. But both chert and obsidian were also procured from areas outside the immediate zone exploited by the Çatalhöyük community. Interestingly, maintaining permanent contacts with these areas did not result at this time in the emergence of local farming communities in Cappadocia, the Beyşehir area or the Marmara region.

Around 6600–6500 BC, Çatalhöyük was established as a demographically large and culturally prolific community of unprecedented scale and regional position. It was certainly a major trigger of regional developments. The relations with the outer world were significantly reshaped. The procurement of raw materials, mainly clay and chert, saw a significant shift towards the external areas west of the site at the expense of the hitherto dominant contacts with different parts of the Konya Plain. This involved exporting clay from the Beyşehir area at the expense of previously dominant local resources (Özdöl Kutlu et al. 2015). The Akdere chert was now decidedly dominant, while the significance of locally procured Konya radiolarite and Sınanlı chert ceased. Obsidian was continuously supplied from the Cappadocian sources but involved a shift from the previously dominant Gölü Dağ to Nenezi Dağ sources. The procurement zone was further expanded by targeting lithic sources from the Lake Van area, 650–800km to the east of the site (Carter et al. 2008).

A number of sites nearby to Çatalhöyük were founded, including Gökhöyük (see above). The regions of Cappadocia, Beyşehir and Marmara, well known from at least 400 years of exploitation of obsidian and chert, were eventually chosen for settlement, perhaps by a portion of the Çatalhöyük community. Numerous settlements emerged in the area south of the Marmara Sea, in particular around Iznik Lake. The process also involved contacts with indigenous foragers, both in this area and in the Eskişehir region. An outcome of the intertwined processes is the emergence of a very powerful version of the Neolithic in northwest Anatolia, which means that previous long-lasting relations with foragers in relation to chert and obsidian exploitation paid off. This process can justifiably be described as the

spread of the Çatalhöyük farmers out of the Konya Plain towards Beyşehir-Suğla and then northwest Anatolia (e.g., Marciniak 2018). Spreading out around Levels South M/N/O was possible thanks not only to the considerable demographic potential of the Çatalhöyük community but mainly to the newly emerged social arrangements based upon households facilitating independent production and the build-up of their own surpluses (Marciniak 2015b).

The Lake District communities emerged around this time and established contacts with the Çatalhöyük community. The Beyşehir-Suğla Basin could be considered an intermediate region between these two settlement zones (Duru 2012; Özdöl 2012). Contact may have been further enhanced by the exploitation of the Akdere chert. In particular, the Lake District communities introduced imagery (Filipowicz 2019) that not only shaped their original character but made them the part of the Çatalhöyük cultural realm. Direct contacts are also documented by the exports of some shells into Çatalhöyük (Kurzawska et al. in press).

Around the same time, two distinct settlements at Tepecik-Çiftlik and Köşk Höyük were established on the western fringe of Cappadocia. They most likely resulted from a local trajectory of development in relation to the procurement and distribution of obsidian resources, but they were significantly shaped by the Çatalhöyük world, as indicated by similar modes of ceremonial life and distinct imagery directly resembling that of Çatalhöyük. The settlement remained a continuous point of reference for the migrating groups. Many symbolic elements originating from it appeared in the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic ceramics of these Niğde-Aksaray settlements (Bıçakçı et al. 2012; Öztan 2012). This is manifested in the placing of motifs such as bulls, upraised splayed figures, spiral motifs etc. on movable objects such as pots. These can be viewed as a range of signifiers mobilised out of the Çatalhöyük repertoire and believed to be good markers of supra-individual identities (Meskell 2007: 25).

Hence, it is justifiable to argue that both the Lake District and western Cappadocia were significantly shaped by and remained under the influence of the Çatalhöyük cultural realm. They epitomise the powerful character of the cultural dominion developed at Çatalhöyük. These complex relations between inhabitants of Çatalhöyük and neighbouring regions from the beginnings of the second half of the seventh millennium BC onwards are part of a wider phenomenon of dispersal of

Neolithic groups from the hitherto exploited centres into new ecological zones, which ultimately led to building up a complicated network of relations between them (Özdoğan 2010).

The relations of the Çatalhöyük community shifted again in the 63rd century BC. The central role of the settlement towards the end of the Late Neolithic was retained, but it became less pronounced and significant. Individual groups were increasingly differentiated, and different local traditions were more visible. The relations with the Beyşehir-Suğla Basin and northwest Anatolia were maintained. But these local groups were becoming increasingly more independent and detached from the arrangements inherited from ancestral settlers. The same process took place in the Lake District and Cappadocia. While these groups remained enmeshed in the cultural realm of Çatalhöyük, they developed into strong and dynamic local entities.

The turmoil triggered by deteriorating climatic conditions may have forced some portions of the Çatalhöyük population to exploit non-farming resources, as seen at nearby site of Pınarbaşı, and return to the arguably ancestral place at Canhasan I. If David French (1998) is right in arguing that Canhasan III may have been continuously visited until around 6500 BC, it is likely that its significance was not forgotten and may have been re-established around 6300–6200 BC. In the period that brought about an acceleration of developments in different parts of the region, the Çatalhöyük groups inhabiting the East Mound became stuck between the need to catch up with the dynamically changing outer world and the need to abide by the traditions of bygone ancestors. While communities in western, southwestern and northwestern Anatolia were booming and their dynamism accelerated, the inhabitants of Çatalhöyük East remained embedded in their own traditions. They avoided stone architecture, painted pottery and new forms of vessels, and they continued to exploit wild cattle in ceremonial settings. When coupled with decreasing demographic potential, there was no way to move forward. The part of the local community that remained eventually moved to the neighbouring West Mound and the East Mound settlement collapsed. However, despite these difficulties, until its final years, the Neolithic settlement at Çatalhöyük remained above all a product of the developments taking place in its localised historical, social, environmental and economic setting. And it continued to respond to emerging challenges posed by the dynamically changing outer world in its own specific way.