



## Excavations at Hac#lar: Third Preliminary Report, 1959

James Mellaart

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# EXCAVATIONS AT HACILAR

## THIRD PRELIMINARY REPORT, 1959

By JAMES MELLAART

A THIRD SEASON OF excavations at Hacilar, carried out under the auspices of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, lasted from 10th August to 11th September, 1959.<sup>1</sup>

The Assistant Director was in charge of the excavations, ably assisted by Mrs. Mellaart, Miss Clare Goff (surveyor), Mr. David Stronach (field assistant and photographer)<sup>2</sup> and Mr. David French (pottery expert). Mr. David French also kindly provided the transport for the expedition. The Turkish Department of Antiquities was again represented by Bay Osman Aksoy, whose efficiency relieved the Director of much administrative anxiety.

Once again we record our gratitude to Mr. Seton Lloyd for his help and advice, to the Department of Antiquities and to the local authorities in Burdur.

Among the visitors to the Hacilar excavations, we must mention Mr. and Mrs. Seton Lloyd, the Vali of Burdur and a party of local dignitaries from Burdur, Mr. Charles Burney and Miss Burney, who kindly drew our figurines, Professor Machteld Mellink, Bay Burhan Tezcan, Mrs. I. D. Stronach and Mr. and Mrs. J. Lanfear.

Three trained workmen from Beycesultan and Alaca and forty local workmen were employed under Veli Karaaslan, our foreman.

### SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE 1959 CAMPAIGN

During the initial sounding made in 1957 we had come upon a group of three potters' workshops and a large adjacent courtyard destroyed by fire and belonging to Level II. The 1958 excavations were mainly concerned with clearing a sector of the massive fortress of Level I and little additional knowledge of the Level II settlement was gained except that the presence of a thick wall raised the possibility that it also had been fortified.

Three tasks awaited us in 1959: the architectural character of the Level II settlement needed definition; the size and layout of the fortress of Level I required investigation and last but not least a great sounding in depth, producing buildings as well as a pottery sequence, was essential if we were to be enabled to study the development of the Hacilar culture. As the Level I fortress was built around but not on top of the Level II settlement, not more than 3 feet of earth covers their remains and the conflagration in which both levels had perished provided us with a wealth of pottery and objects. An earlier phase of Level II was similarly

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<sup>1</sup> For earlier reports, see *AS.* VIII, 1958, pp. 127-156, and IX, 1959, pp. 51-65.

<sup>2</sup> The fine photographs reproduced in *AS.* IX, 1959, Pls. VIII-XIII, were generously provided by Miss Josephine Powell, a professional photographer. Plate XV*a-c* in the present number are also her work. I must apologise for the omission of this acknowledgment in the previous number.

destroyed by fire and from this was obtained a new corpus of early Level II pottery. By chance the fortification wall of the Level III settlement was found, preserved to a height of nearly 2 metres, and it again showed unmistakable signs of burning. Unfortunately a sounding could not be undertaken in 1959 and at least one further season is needed to investigate the eight lower levels on a scale which does justice to their importance. There are numerous indications that their investigation will be as rewarding as that of the upper levels and the depth at which they can be reached—never exceeding 5 metres—is such as to present no difficulties.

A glance at the site plan (Fig. 1) and a comparison of the earlier plans (in *AS.* VIII, 1958, p. 131, Fig. 3, and IX, 1959, p. 55, Fig. 2) with the general plan (Fig. 3), drawn at the end of the 1959 season, will show at once to what extent excavation of these two upper levels has progressed. About one-fifth of the fortress of Level I, and about three-quarters of the Level II settlement have now been excavated. The site plan gives the impression of a very extensive investigation, but this is rather misleading, for not only is the Hacilar site larger than was originally thought, but also nowhere have we yet been able to penetrate deeper than Level IIa except in two very restricted soundings. Not a single complete house plan has been found in levels III–IX, though there is enough evidence to show that they exist.

The stratigraphical sequence obtained at Hacilar is best illustrated in tabular form (p. 86), and to this we have added, somewhat tentatively, it must be admitted, such earlier cultures as have recently been brought to light, either during our explorations<sup>3</sup> or through the excavations of our Turkish colleagues, Dr. Kılıç Kökten in the Pamphylian caves<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Enver Bostancı at Beldibi on the Mediterranean coast south of Antalya.<sup>5</sup> The sequence here suggested has not yet been stratigraphically confirmed, but it is extremely likely that this typological sequence is also a chronological one. If our thesis is correct, then there is no room for a pre-pottery neolithic in South-Western Anatolia.

The importance of Dr. Bostancı's discoveries at Beldibi is evident and the excavation of this site together with the equally important palaeolithic sequence obtained by Dr. Kökten from the Kara'in cave in Pamphylia might eventually produce a cultural sequence extending from the Lower Palaeolithic to the end of the Mesolithic period.

It is highly significant that in the topmost level at Beldibi there should appear not only miniature sickle blades with a silica sheen among the microlithic industry (which shows affinities with the Natufian of Palestine), but also primitive pottery. This is a rather coarse burnished ware, black, brown or red in colour with simple shapes, in fact very much

<sup>3</sup> The sites of the Kızılkaya culture, which I hope to publish in the next number of *AS.*

<sup>4</sup> Kara'in, *Bulleten*, XIX, 1955, p. 284 ff., Pl. III (bottom) and Pl. IV. Çark'in and Öküzlü'in, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, VIII—2, 1958, pp. 12–13, Pl. XV, centre.

<sup>5</sup> See Dr. Enver Bostancı's articles in *Cumhuriyet*, 13th June and 23rd June, 1959.

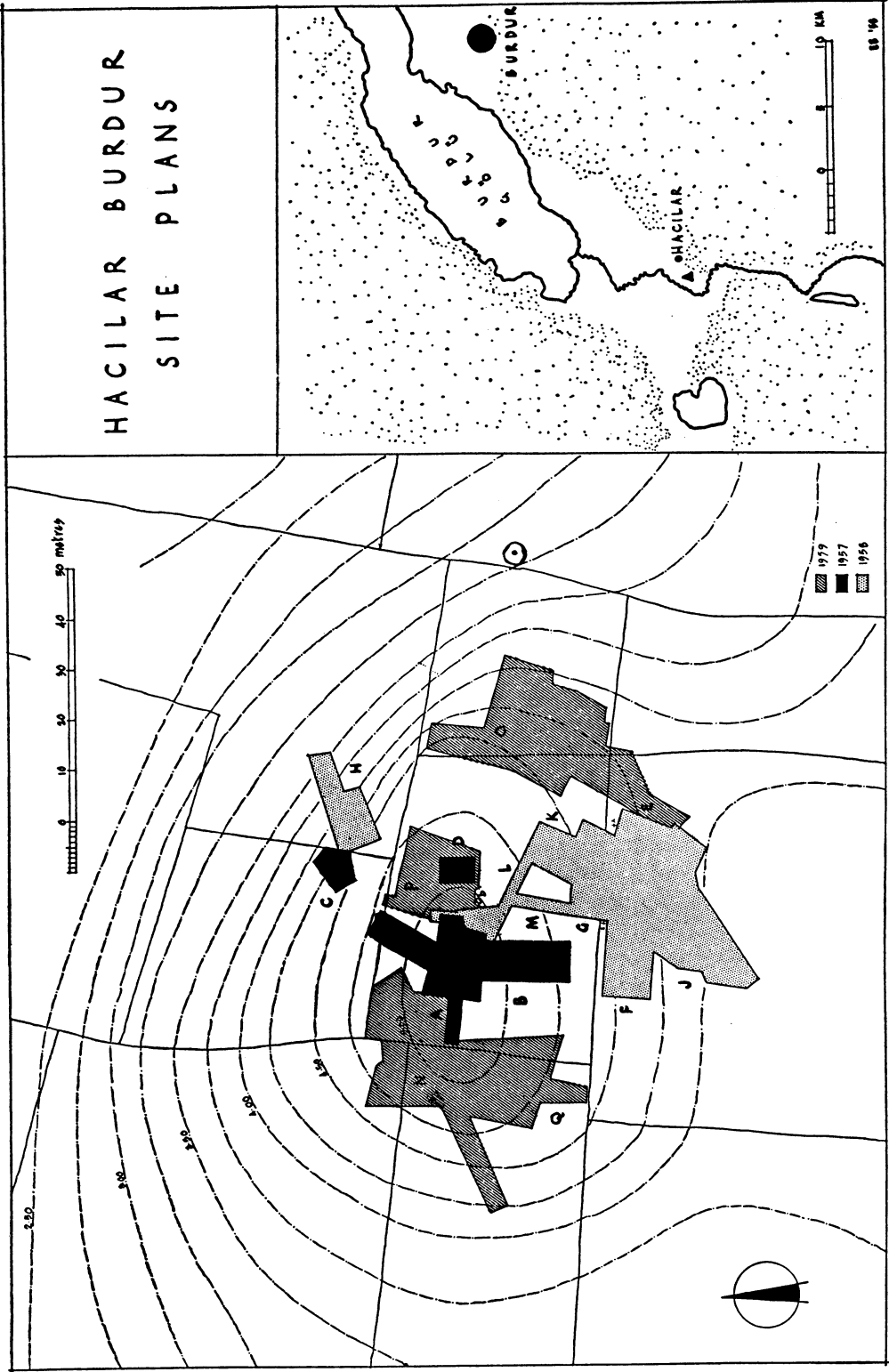


FIG. 1. Site plan of the Hacilar mound.

like what one would imagine the earliest pottery to look like. Typologically this hard-fired ware is earlier than the neolithic wares of Kızılkaya, from which we feel sure the Hacılar IX ware developed.

LATE CHALCO- LITHIC	Hacilar mound II, with Late Chalcolithic ware of Beycesultan type above Hacilar I ware. Same sequence at Dereköy, Hüyük I.	
	deserted	
↑	Hacilar Id.	miserable remains of squatter occupation. Main site probably moved to Mound II at Hacilar, 400 yards further north.
	Ic.	Stone walls of enclosures and poorly preserved floors and hearths. Site possibly removed to Mound II as in phase Id.
EARLY	destroyed in conflagration	
	Hacilar Ib.	Repairs and alterations to the Ia fortress.
CHALCO-	Ia.	Fortress surrounding the old mound. About one-fifth excavated.
	destroyed in conflagration	
	Hacilar IIb.	Fortified settlement. Eastern half remodelled after fire. About three-quarters excavated.
LITHIC		At least the eastern half destroyed by fire.
	IIa.	Fortified settlement. N.E. quarter excavated.
	traces of burning	
	Hacilar III.	Fortified. Burnt floor and postholes.
	IV.	Part of one house excavated.
	V.	only floor found in sounding.
C.14 date		
5590 B.C.	traces of burning	
	Hacilar VIb.	fragmentary walls of rectangular houses.
	VIa.	
"LATE NEOLITHIC" with first painted pottery.	VII.	fragments of walls and plaster floors.
	VIII.	stone wall and floors.
	IX.	floors only in sounding.
	VIRGIN SOIL	
	Kızılkaya (Bademağacı) Mound (unexcavated) and deposits in Pamphylian caves (Kara'in and Çark'in).	
NEOLITHIC	Typologically earlier pottery: cream and dark burnished wares, related to those of neolithic Mersin, Çatal Hüyük and Çukurkent cultures.	
	Beldibi (Antalya) rock shelter	
MESOLITHIC	Mesolithic (microlithic industry) with pottery.	
	Mesolithic (microlithic industry) without pottery.	
LATE PALAEOLITHIC	Late Palaeolithic.	

*Tentative chronological sequence for the earliest cultures in South-Western Anatolia (December 1959).*

Paintings of goats and ibexes in red ochre and manganese on the limestone walls of this rock shelter cannot be later than the Mesolithic period, though they may be earlier. What is interesting is that the use of red ochre and some of these designs should be reflected on some of the much later Hacilar pottery. Is this a further link, however remote?

The tanged points of the late palaeolithic levels at Beldibi are also of great interest, for it should be remembered that we have as yet no ancestors for the sophisticated obsidian tanged lance and arrowheads, which are such a conspicuous feature of the neolithic cultures of (middle) neolithic Mersin, Çatal Hüyük, Ilıcapınar and Çukurkent.<sup>6</sup> Could these be even remotely connected? Dr. Bostanci pointed out to me that the Late Palaeolithic burin techniques survive in Southern Anatolia through the Mesolithic into the neolithic of Cilicia and the Konya Plains.

It must be noted that the chipped stone industry of Hacilar and apparently that of, at least late, Kızılkaya also is poor, not to say decadent. Here there are no traces of the beautiful pressure-flaked lance and arrowheads that further east form such a conspicuous feature of the neolithic. In the late neolithic of Mersin, on the other hand, a decline in chipping was noticed and it may be that Hacilar IX–VI, which also on other grounds can be compared to late neolithic Mersin, shared in this decline, which one suspects is not unrelated to the invention of metallurgy.

In Mersin XXIII copper pins were found<sup>7</sup> and traces of worked copper (not ore) occur at Hacilar in levels IIa and Ia or b. In these same levels we find small beads made of lazurite, a copper ore, as well as hundreds of limestone beads, all of them provided with threading holes so small that it is just possible to put a thin needle through them. I see no way in which these could have been made other than with metal tools; a hollow tubular drill for cutting the beads and a small drill for making the holes. If we accept this, then those same metal tools would already have been in use in the previous, i.e. the neolithic period, for such lazurite beads have now been found at both Kızılkaya and Çatal Hüyük. That metallurgy actually started at this early period is not impossible and it should be noted that lumps of metal ore figure among the raw material collected on both these sites. This clearly shows that prospecting for gaily coloured or otherwise interesting stones was certainly one of man's occupations at this period, as it still is among the peasants to-day, and in a country so rich in metals as Turkey, the chances are that the use of metal may have been recognised at a much earlier date than has hitherto been suspected.

Discoveries during the last ten years in the Near East and the Balkans have played havoc with the conventional conceptions of cultural development from mesolithic to neolithic. We now have a mesolithic (Natufian) village with proper architecture and probably an early form of agriculture at Eynan in Northern Israel; protoneolithic settled occupation developing into a walled town in pre-pottery Jericho; agriculture in

<sup>6</sup> *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 8, 1958, p. 82 f. (written in 1953); *Preh. Mersin*, Figs. 5, 6.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, Fig. 50, p. 76.

pre-pottery neolithic Thessaly, a retrogressive non-pottery township at Khirokitia in Cyprus, where pottery making was early abandoned, etc.

To this we may now add a mesolithic site with pottery and possibly agriculture at Belbibi in South-Western Anatolia; a series of pottery neolithic cultures, at least contemporary with pre-pottery neolithic B of Jericho and with the non-pottery site of Khirokitia; and the possibility of metal working in the neolithic at Kızılkaya and Çatal Hüyük, a town site nearly twice the size of Jericho.

At Hacilar we have fortified settlements in levels II and III and a fortress the size of Troy II in Level I, much later than the pre-pottery towns of Jericho, but nevertheless early enough. Is it not possible that many of our "open villages" were in reality fortified, just as they appear to have been in the Early Bronze Age, at least in Anatolia? Would it not be worth while to find out if fortification was the rule at Hacilar from the very beginning, or if it were not, when this habit started and why? Jericho has just shown us what may be found in the lower levels of a mound by methodical concentration on those earliest levels and one can only regret that the massive superimposed layers of later occupation made "horizontal" exploitation impossible, a feature that does not apply to Hacilar to the same extent as it inevitably would e.g. at Çatal Hüyük.

The transition from the mesolithic to the neolithic and the development of the latter into the chalcolithic is of such absorbing interest for the study of cultural development that it is only fair to ask that, now that more and more attention is being paid to these aspects of archaeology in Palestine, Iraq, Greece and now also in the Balkans, research of this kind in Anatolia, the natural and vital link between these two areas, should be supported as a long range project by some interested institution that can provide the necessary funds. The same could be urged for Syria, Iran and Egypt, but in Anatolia we have the advantage of having already found the sites.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF THE HACILAR CULTURE AND ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The geographical distribution of the Hacilar culture, as known at present, is shown on the map (Fig. 2). It is now known to extend from the Sincanlı Ovası, south of Afyon Karahisar, to the southernmost plain on the Anatolian plateau, that of Elmalı in Central Lycia, and it has even been found in cave deposits in Pamphylia, north of Antalya. Its eastern limit is not yet known, but it does not appear to have reached the Lake of Eğirdir. Around the Lake of Beyşehir one already enters a new culture province, that of the Çatal Hüyük West culture with a different type of painted pottery, which has its centre in the Konya Plain and is so far not yet well represented in the Beyşehir-Seydişehir area.

It seems likely that when survey work progresses we shall find that the Hacilar culture occupied most of the alluvial plains on the South-Western Anatolian plateau and there is already evidence to suggest that it, or closely related painted pottery cultures, are still more widespread in Western Anatolia. I want to draw attention to one sherd from Çukurhisar,

west of Eskişehir, found by K. Bittel, which could well be related to Hacilar I.<sup>8</sup> One single sherd, one might argue, is poor evidence, but it should be remembered that until the discovery of Hacilar in 1956, our evidence for that rich culture was based on exactly ten painted sherds

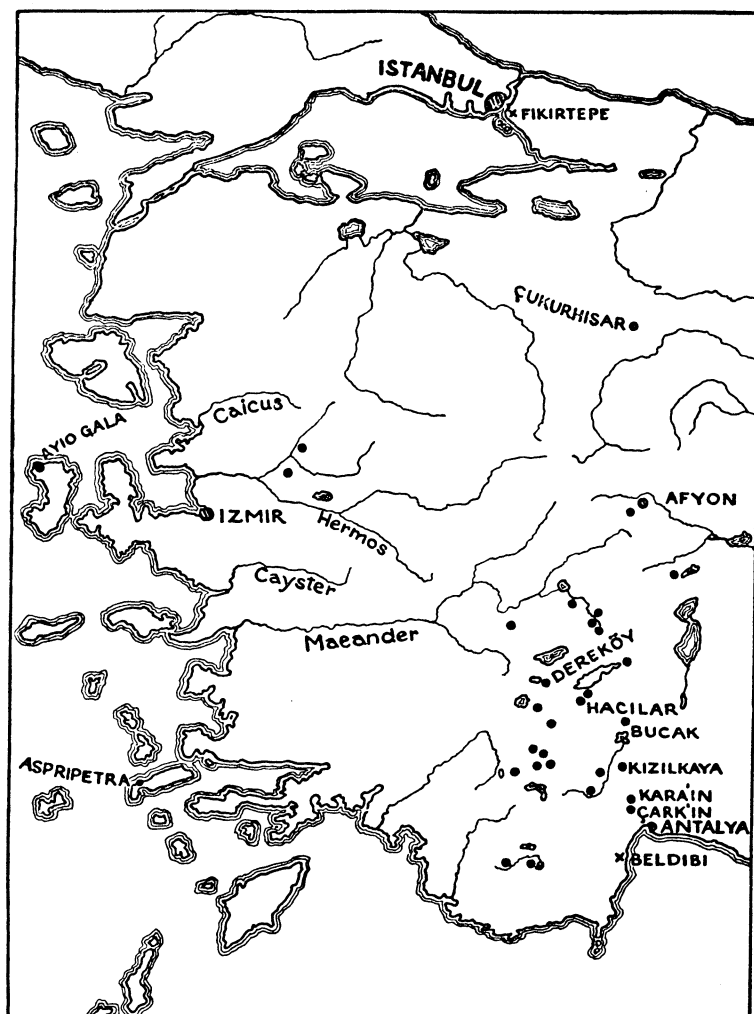


FIG. 2. Distribution map of the Hacilar culture.

from seven different sites I found during the 1951–52 survey.<sup>9</sup> One or two painted sherds were found long ago in the Aspripetra cave in Cos and another at Ayio Gala in Chios, together with heads of figurines and much monochrome ware.<sup>10</sup> The latter finds can certainly be correlated with the Hacilar culture and the former may possibly belong to the same complex. These two sites may seem to be somewhat on the periphery of

<sup>8</sup> *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 6, 1955, p. 75 and Fig. 96 (on p. 72).

<sup>9</sup> *AS*. IV, 1954, pp. 182–4, Figs. 43–5, 51–6, 59, 60.

<sup>10</sup> *PPS*. XXII, 1956, p. 193 (Aspripetra); p. 197; Fig. 13, 3 (Ayio Gala).



our culture, but the gap is rapidly being closed by Mr. David French's archaeological surveys in western Anatolia. In the Akhisar-Manisa region he has now found traces of several settlements with painted and monochrome pottery of Hacilar type.<sup>11</sup> It is too early to say whether we are dealing with a western form of the Hacilar culture or with a closely related one. Finally Theochares' discovery of pottery resembling that of the earliest levels at Hacilar (IX-VI) on a site on the east coast of Skyros, halfway between Chios and Thessaly, should be mentioned.<sup>12</sup>

It would therefore cause little surprise to find eventually that as during the Late Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age, the Greek islands off the Anatolian coast were already drawn within the West Anatolian orbit, during this early period. That they should present local peculiarities and variations on a common scheme, is inevitable, just as it is far from certain that all Hacilar sites made use of the same repertoire of patterns or shapes.

#### EXTERNAL RELATIONS

In our "First Preliminary Report" (*AS.* VIII, 1958, pp. 153-6) we stressed, if not over-stressed, the links between the Hacilar and the Sesklo cultures. In the light of subsequent discoveries, some modifications are required, even within the compass of this preliminary report. A visit to the Larisa and Athens museums has shown that, though techniques and wares are virtually the same, shapes and common motifs are not, each culture having its own particular set. The so-called flame pattern, so common in Thessaly, is quite unknown in the Hacilar culture, and not a single one of the more typical geometric or curvilinear patterns, including spirals, at Hacilar is matched in Thessaly. Evidently both cultures had their own repertoire of patterns, as well as of shapes. Ovals, if existing at all in Thessaly, are not conspicuous, as they are at Hacilar, and to a certain extent also in the Çatal Hüyük West culture of the Konya plain and in Cilicia. On the other hand, most Sesklo shapes are unusual at Hacilar or further east.

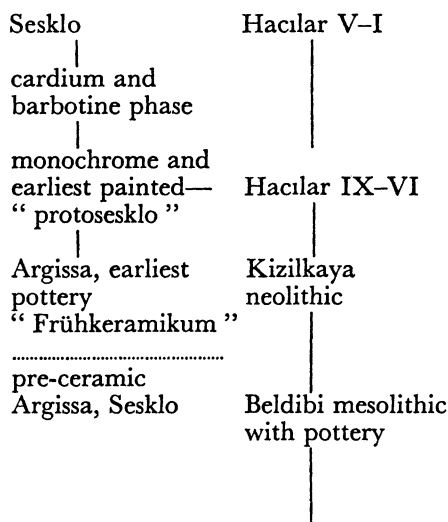
It now looks as if the undeniable resemblances between these two cultures are probably best explained by a common ancestry, followed by divergence. For this we shall have to probe back into an earlier phase and for what it is worth one might mention that one cannot help being struck by the resemblance the so-called protosesklo painted pottery<sup>13</sup> bears to the earliest painted wares of Hacilar IX-VII, or by the familiar look and (possibly) shapes of the earliest pottery from Thessaly, the "Frühkeramikum" from Argissa in the Larisa Museum, which strongly resembles the Kızılkaya and Çatal Hüyük neolithic wares. If this is the earliest pottery in Greece, one can only say that it is extremely unlikely that it was not made by immigrants from Anatolia. The relations between

<sup>11</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. David French; sherds in BIAA.

<sup>12</sup> *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, Vol. 6, 1959, pp. 321-2, Figs. 33-7.

<sup>13</sup> *AA.* 1955, p. 162, Fig. 3, i, 3, and *AA.* 1956, p. 162, Fig. 6.

Sesklo and Hacilar might perhaps be expressed in the following scheme, which, it should be noted, remains to be confirmed by future excavations.



Now it is not only to the Sesklo culture of Thessaly, the obvious centre of "Neolithic" Greece, that Hacilar shows certain resemblances. The Starčevo culture of the Balkans has usually been treated as an offshoot from Thessaly. In broad lines this may be true and obviously a whole series of Seskloid elements can be found in this culture. However, the emergence of painted pottery cultures in Western Anatolia and the comparatively recent discovery of the wide spread of this Starčevo culture (or perhaps better, culture complex) into such regions as eastern Bulgaria (Karanovo), Rumania and, most recent of all, in Greek Thrace along the northern shore of the Aegean, brings it theoretically at least within the range of Anatolian influences. If such can be detected westward across the Aegean, which I think nobody doubts, then we might expect the same northwards, if not by sea, then by land. For such a land route there is in this period, at least, not yet any evidence and such contact as there was may have been by sea, as with Thessaly. That this is not a mere academic consideration we shall now attempt to suggest by a few facts. A good stratigraphic sequence of the Starčevo culture(s), such as probably exists at Vršnik in Yugoslav Macedonia<sup>14</sup> and in Karanovo,<sup>15</sup> has not yet been published and any comparisons are therefore less specific than one might wish them to be.

Bone spatulae, such as occur on virtually every Starčevo site, are typical for levels I and II at Hacilar and so are the adzes and chisels set in antler sleeves. Hacilar, on the other hand, also uses axes, like Sesklo. Sickles consisting of flint, or at Hacilar obsidian blades, set end to end in grooved polished bone handles, were used at Karanovo I *a* and in Hacilar II possibly to reap the native *einkorn* wheat (as in Thessaly) and

<sup>14</sup> M. Garašin in *39 Ber. RGK.* 1958, p. 109, note 570. Carbon date for Vršnik III, 4915 B.C.  $\pm$  150.

<sup>15</sup> *Archaeology*, XII, 2, 1959, p. 88 f.; *Soviet Archaeology*, 1958, No. 1, p. 47 ff.

the foreign *emmer*<sup>16</sup> (Banjata and Hacilar II). How did this north Mesopotamian and Syrian variety of wheat, cultivated at Hacilar, reach the Maritsa valley, if not by way of Anatolia? Bread was baked in low clay ovens at Karanovo and in high domed ones in Hacilar II and I. Slings were used but not arrowheads. Clay stamp seals, decorated with maeander patterns (among others) occur commonly in Hacilar II and in Starčevo sites north of the Balkans (as well as in Thessaly), where spirals not yet found on stamp seals at Hacilar, were also used.<sup>17</sup>

White-on-red painted pottery occurs in the earliest level at Vršnik (I), whereas black on red becomes common only later. White-on-red is also common in Bulgaria and at Hacilar appears apparently not until Hacilar I. Some typical patterns of this white-on-red ware, such as loops hanging from the rim and the twig-like patterns on a Starčevo goblet from Serbia,<sup>18</sup> are remarkably like Hacilar I patterns, but the bulk of them is different.

Far more striking is the use of oval vessels at Galepsos,<sup>19</sup> the widespread occurrence of bowls on four low ridge-like feet,<sup>20</sup> and that of the lentoid flask with four lugs,<sup>21</sup> all features common in Level II at Hacilar. Pedestalled bowls with rather low pedestals, sometimes provided with triangular or round "windows" are a shape not found until last year at Hacilar (Level II), but familiar in Starčevo (Bulgaria), Serbia and the Körös culture.<sup>22</sup>

Few as these parallels may be, they are worth quoting, for it is not impossible that Anatolian influence also had some part in shaping the Starčevo culture complex, as M. Garašinin recently hinted. It should be noted, however, that all our parallels comes from the latest two levels at Hacilar, and unless further excavations should show the contrary, the possible relations between these two cultures would seem to be confined to the end of the Hacilar period, which is in keeping with the somewhat later dating of this culture *vis-à-vis* the Sesklo (and the Hacilar) cultures.

#### THE LEVEL I FORTRESS (Figs. 3 and 4)

The fortress of Level I, which succeeded the burnt settlement of Level IIb, consisted of a great ring of buildings, surrounding the old mound, on which, however, no new structures were erected.

This open centre of the fortress—one might call it a central courtyard—measured some 100 metres from east to west and certainly as much from

<sup>16</sup> 39 *Ber. RGK.* 1958, note 57.

<sup>17</sup> Childe, *Dawn*, 6th ed., 1957, p. 85 ff.

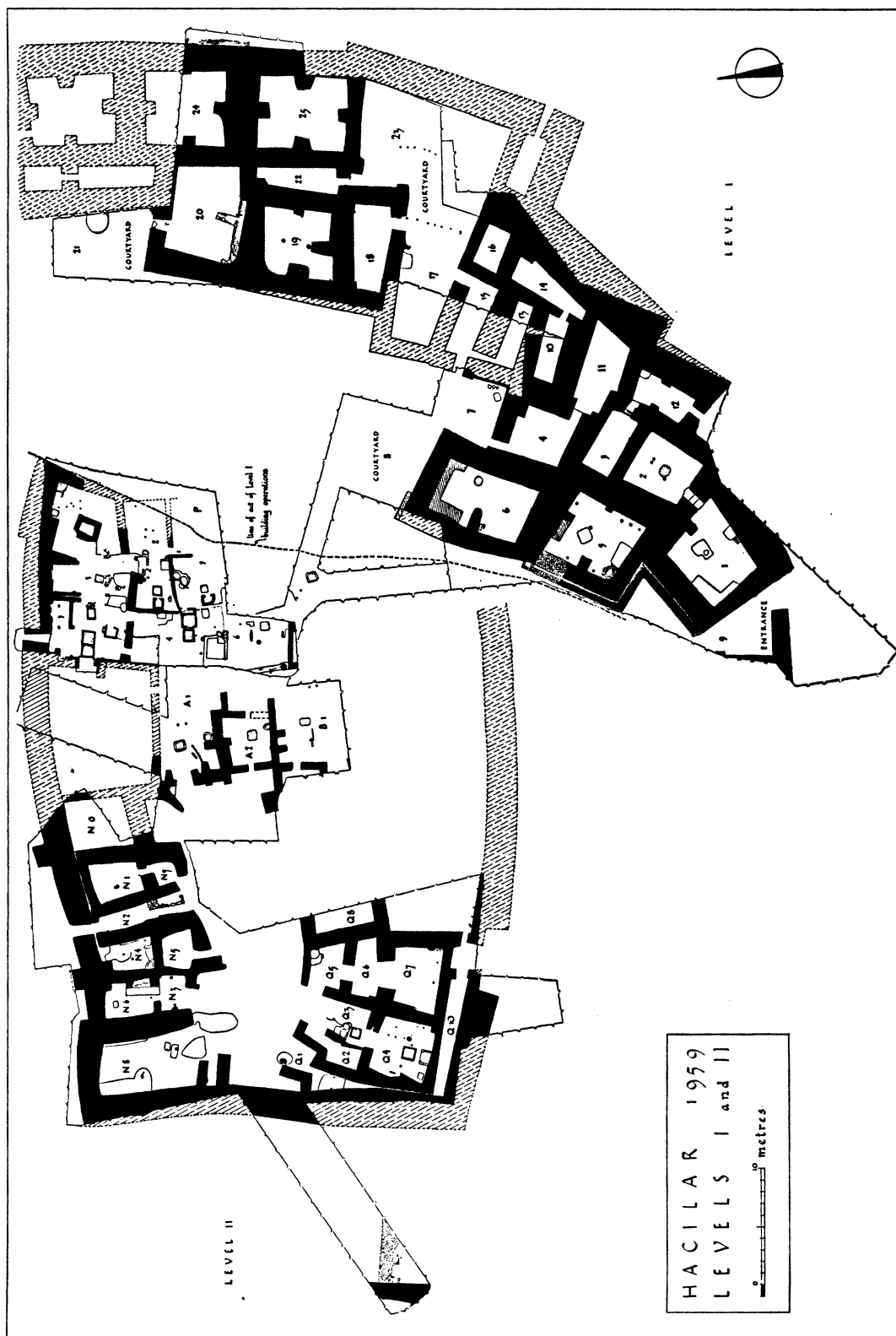
<sup>18</sup> D. Arandjelović Garašinin, *Starčevačka Kultura*, Ljubljana 1954, Pl. XII.

<sup>19</sup> F. Schachermeyr, *Die Ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands*, p. 108 f., Fig. 23.

<sup>20</sup> e.g. Gaul, *The neolithic period in Bulgaria*, Pl. III, 3 (white-on-red from Kremikovci; II, 6; XVI, 13; Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>21</sup> *AS.* VIII, 1958, p. 145, Fig. 8, 17 (Level III); Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 90; *Starčevačka Kultura*, Pl. X, 33; *Materiale și Țercetari Archeologice*, III, p. 74, Fig. 7, No. 1, oval aberrant form, from Perieni.

<sup>22</sup> *Starčevačka Kultura*, Pl. X, 33, XII; *Archaeology*, XII, 2, 1959, p. 93; *Ștudi și Țercetari Istorie Vecche*, I, 1951, p. 57, Fig. 9 (Valea Lupului).



north to south. The buildings along the inside of the enclosure wall formed a thickness of some 20 to 25 metres, so that the exterior diameter of the fortress was about 150 metres, i.e. a little larger than the stronghold of Troy II.

As no excavations have been carried out outside the fortress we do not know whether it stood by itself or formed the nucleus or citadel of a township.

Within the circuit of the walls there were no free standing houses. Instead rooms of various sizes were grouped in blocks of irregular shape and provided with a common outer wall of considerable thickness. These blocks were separated from each other by open courtyards, containing domed ovens, rubbish pits, postholes for fences, lean-to sheds or porticoes, and they were also walled in. Through the courtyards the fortress was entered and doorways led from the courtyard into the blocks of rooms. Only in the case of what are obviously guardrooms did a narrow doorway lead straight into the building, but at ground level at least there was no way of communication between guardroom and the rest of the block.

The plan of this fortress in so far as it has been excavated presents some puzzling features and that for more than one reason. In the first place the plan is that of the ground floor of a building, which we know had an upper storey (or even storeys, for there is no limit to what can be built on walls as thick as this in light materials, mainly wood and plaster). From the contents of the upper storey which collapsed during the conflagration in which the fortress perished and from the corresponding scarcity of finds in the ground floor or basement rooms, we know that the principal apartments were on the upper floor. The absence of doorways in the greater number of rooms is thus explained and these must have been entered from above, either by means of a wooden staircase or a ladder. That these lower rooms were used is proved by the presence of hearths, benches, post- and potholes, ochre querns and a number of pots and sherds found *in situ* on the floors which are invariably covered with a thick layer of decayed rushes. In one or two rooms we found the impressions of mats. Only a few passages south of the courtyard were empty and devoid of any vestiges of occupation (Rooms 10, 13-16).

Then it is impossible to recognise any units which can be interpreted as private houses, such as we find in the settlement of Level II or in the fortress of Mersin XVI.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, nowhere have we been able to distinguish between parts that were built earlier and others that were built later (except for some obvious later alterations of phase Ib, clearly distinguished by the use of different bricks and higher floor levels). As far as one can see the whole fortress was laid out and constructed in a single building operation and this is fully supported by the extensive levelling operations undertaken on the lower slopes of the mound preparatory to the actual building process.

These levelling operations show a remarkable degree of efficiency for

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<sup>23</sup> *Preh. Mersin*, Figs. 79 and 80a.

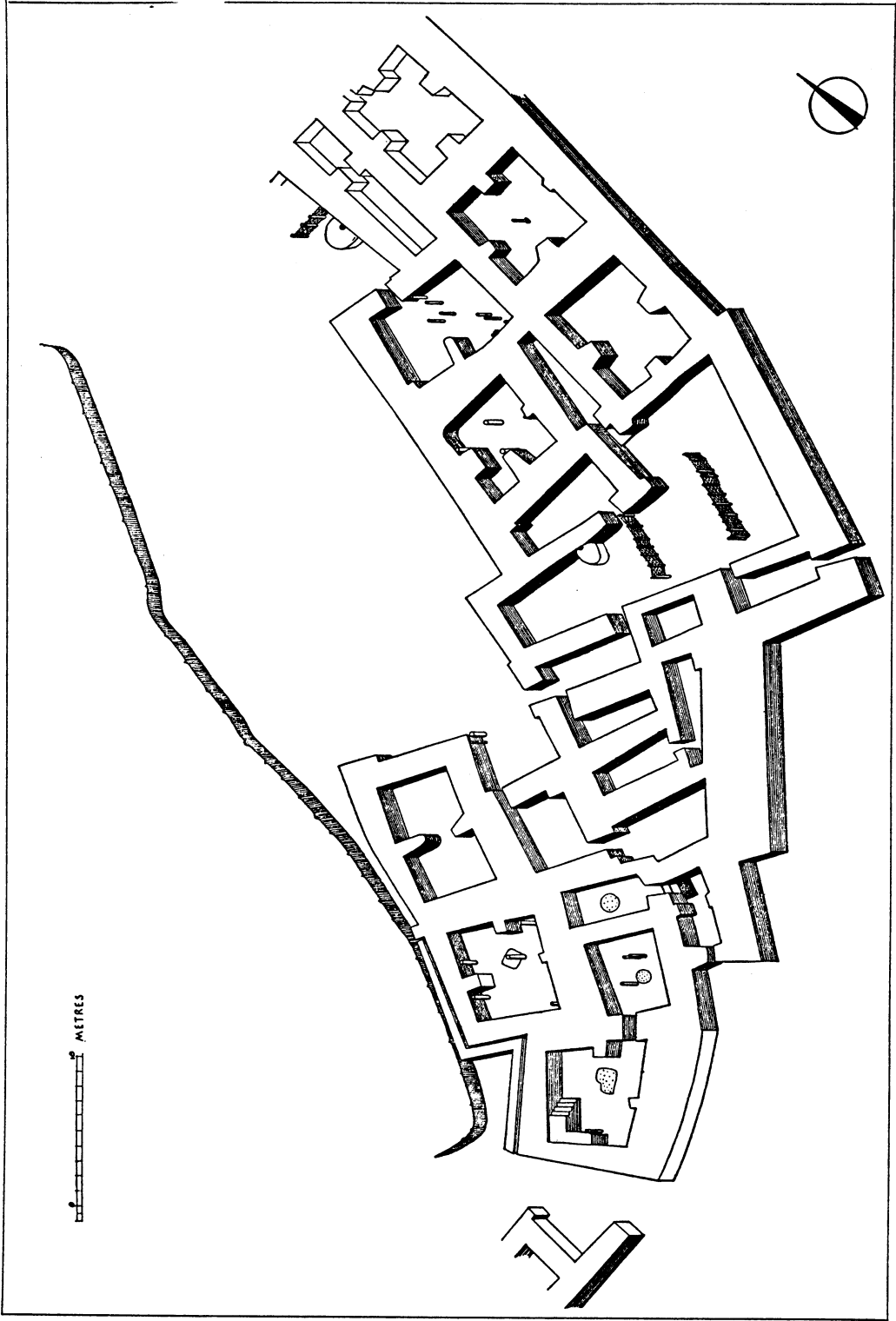


FIG. 4. Isometric plan of the Level I Fortress.

over the distance of about 70 metres the difference in actual level amounted to a mere 15 cm. A large part of the east side of the mound was cut away and where necessary, as behind Rooms 5 and 6 and perhaps Room 1 also, a retaining wall was built. The line of the cutting is marked by a dotted line on the plan and on the western side of the mound, between the Level II settlement and the fortress, a similar cutting was found.

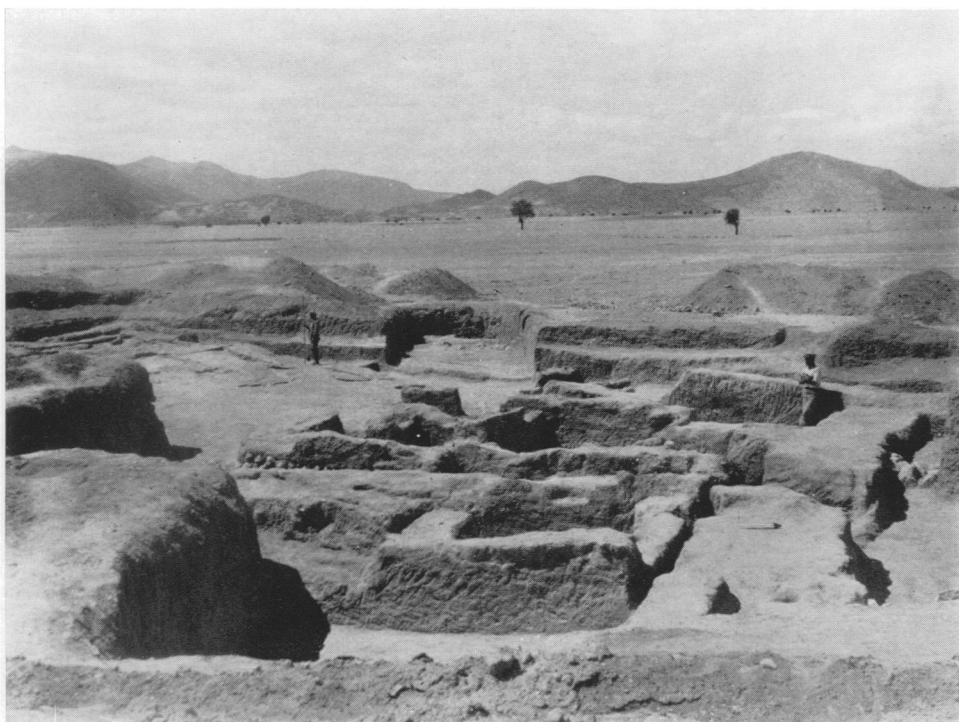
On this prepared platform the fortress was built. No foundations were sunk but they were laid out on the level floor (which thus runs underneath them!) and on this stone footing the mudbrick was laid, with little or no bonding. Once or twice twigs were laid in the mudbrick, but there was no question of a framework of wooden beams, either verticals or uprights, such as we find in the Bronze Age. Judging by the remains the upper floor (or floors) were lightly built, probably of wood and plaster with some brick, and the whole upper storey must have resembled the airy rooms, porticoes, verandas and loggias which are still such a feature of the Anatolian villages in wooded areas or of the great wooden houses of the rich in the days of the Ottoman Empire. Here also, it should be noted, civilised life goes on on the upper floor and the ground floor is used as living quarters only in winter, or normally for storage and stabling. Only poor peasants live in one-storeyed houses.

However, the main reason for the lack of doorways on the ground floor of the fortress was evidently defence, and raising the main floor about 3 metres above ground level not only gave the defenders extra height, but also a better view over the surrounding countryside. Even if the enemy managed to penetrate into the courtyards he would still be confronted by a baffling lack of doorways and the one or two that did present themselves could easily be barred. Each block could have been defended as a single unit, and as in the case of Norman keeps, their peculiar method of construction turned them into death-traps for the defenders. Charred human bones, mainly of children, were found in Rooms 5 and 6, among masses of greasy black material, burnt brick, charcoal, pots and objects, all collapsed from the upper storey into the rooms below.

The complexity of the plan, the massive walls, the tortuous entrance passage (15) connecting courtyard 23 with the central courtyard (8), the semi-concealed corridors 13 and 22 which probably carried wooden staircases leading to the main floors, and the huge size of certain rooms (e.g. 20, measuring 5.5 by 8.5 metres) show clearly that this building was probably the fortress of the ruler of Hacilar I and not just a series of private houses sheltering behind a common enclosure wall. We are still not absolutely certain that the outer wall has actually been reached and the entrance into courtyard 23 has still eluded us (the reconstruction on plan and isometric drawing is purely hypothetical). On the western side of the mound we again reached the fortress, but the greater part of the area found in the trench was occupied by a courtyard. It would be extremely interesting to see whether buildings like those on the eastern side of the mound existed all around the circuit of the wall or whether those excavated formed the ruler's residence. With a burnt building of



(a) Fortress, Level I. General view of 1959 excavations, looking north. The workman is seated in courtyard (17).

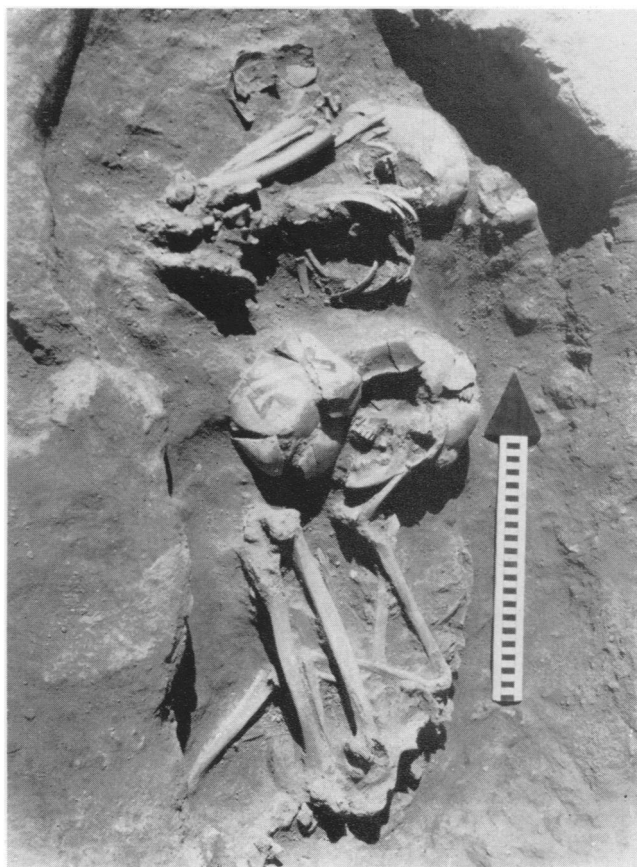


(b) Level II Settlement. General view of west half, looking south-west. At end of long trench, part of western circuit of Level I fortress.





(a) Level II settlement, early phase. Domestic courtyards with bread-ovens and hearths, looking south-east



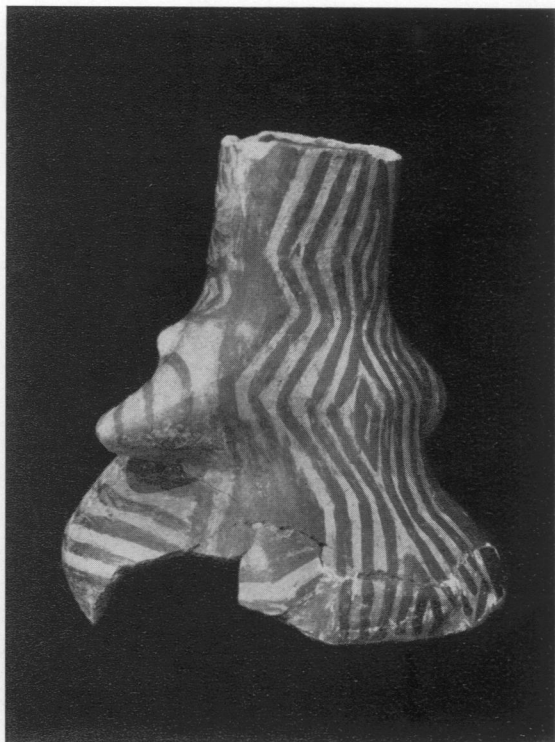
(b) Level IIa ; central burial in " Shrine ".



(a)



(b)



(c)

(a-c) Anthropomorphic vessel from Level I, Room 6 (?). Hüseyin Kocabaş Collection, Istanbul  
(reproduced by courtesy of the owner).

[Photographs, J. Powell]

this size and age—and we should not forget that it belongs to the end of the 6th millennium!—so near the surface and so full of painted pottery and objects, one feels that for once complete excavation, as at Dimini, is highly desirable (Pl. XIIIa).

#### THE LEVEL II SETTLEMENT (Figs. 3 and 5)

Three-quarters of the Level II settlement have now been excavated revealing for the first time the lay-out of an Early Chalcolithic settlement in the second half of the 6th millennium B.C. An area of about 57 by 36 metres on top of the mound was surrounded by a mud-brick wall without stone foundations, 1.5 to 3 metres thick and provided with small towers (on stone foundations) and salients at the corners. Two of those towers, somewhat irregularly placed, flanked a narrow doorway that gave access to an entrance passage leading to the west court in the north-west quarter of the settlement (Pl. XIIIb). Two others may have flanked the narrow doorway leading into a building in the north-east corner. The outer face of the enclosure wall has not been excavated here, but if there had been a tower west of that doorway it would have been in the area originally reached in our A trench of 1957. Here modern disturbances (stone robbing) as well as earlier (Hellenistic) ones had left only masses of burnt bricks, all that remained of the former enclosure wall. Its presence was therefore not recognised in 1957. Similarly on the western side of the settlement the wall was badly denuded, having fallen outwards during the destruction of the settlement. No traces of a doorway were found in the west wall, but in the south wall another doorway led through an antechamber into a long corridor on the left and into the south court on the right. Most of this court remains unexcavated. Finally the greater part of the east wall of the settlement had been removed during the levelling operations undertaken before the construction of the later fortress. The line of the south wall can be determined from the cutting west of Room 6 of Level I, where it shows in the section.

The entrance passage (N2) in the north-west sector of the village could be closed by means of a sliding door operated from Room N4, which had no doorway and could only be entered from above, as well as by a second door further south. Built up against it on a platform of boulders was a ruined mud-brick structure which may have been a flight of steps leading to an upper storey, such as appears to have existed over the entrance passage and the houses on either side (N1-7; N4-5; N6-3). Not only are these houses extremely solidly built, like those of the Level I fortress, but two distinct levels of pottery and objects were found in them; one *in situ* on the floor, the other at least 1 metre higher up in the destruction debris. I imagine that a sort of gatehouse tower extended over these structures, commanding a wide view over the fields and orchards which undoubtedly surrounded the settlement. It is interesting to see that most private houses appear to have consisted of a main room (with hearth) and an anteroom, the “but and ben” or “megaron” type. Room N6 had a bench along the east wall on which rested three unbaked clay storage

bins. Another similar house (No) was found east of house N1-7, thus balancing the architectural composition of two houses on either side of the entrance passage. The area between this block and the west wall appears to have been occupied by a granary with a rectangular bin built up against the west wall and several irregular bins with sloping floors and brick or mud kerbs arranged in the available floorspace. A shallow ledge



FIG. 5. Isometric plan of the Level II Settlement.

was built against the east wall of the granary. In the final phase of the settlement a poorly preserved structure overlaid the granary, in which a complete figurine was found (Fig. 7). In the courtyard immediately south of this building there were found the remains of two long elongated oval ovens, the eastern one screened from the porch in front of House N6-3 by a low wall.

The south-west corner of the settlement was occupied by two larger and more elaborately furnished houses, which were unfortunately found in a much denuded state (Pl. XIII*b*). Like the houses just described, they faced on to the west court. One of these (Q5-7) consisted of a small

court with bread-oven in the corner, an anteroom with ash-pit and hearth and a main room, on the second (and later) floor of which was found a large rectangular hearth with raised kerb. The other house (Q<sub>2-4</sub>) is more interesting in that it preserves the emplacement for a sliding door or screen between the main room (Q<sub>2</sub>) and an anteroom (Q<sub>3</sub>) provided with bread-oven and hearth. West of the hearth a low screen wall divided it from a further compartment (Q<sub>2</sub>) which again had direct access to the west court. Beyond it (Q<sub>1</sub>) there was perhaps another grain bin and directly west of room Q<sub>2</sub> an area paved with pebbles and covered with a roof supported by two posts, which may have served for ablutions. In the main room (Q<sub>4</sub>) there was an oven, possibly flat-topped, with a raised rectangular hearth in front of it, a row of posts along the east side and an irregular recess in the west wall. Two larger posts may have supported the roof over the hearth and oven. In this house (Room Q<sub>4</sub>) there were found some fragments of painted plaster (red-on-white). This house has a number of features in common with the somewhat earlier building in the north-east corner of the settlement which we have reason to believe may have been a shrine.

The centre of the settlement was occupied by three potters workshops excavated in 1957 and fully described in *AS. VIII*, 1958, p. 131 ff. The two northernmost of these houses (A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>) communicated with the west court and all three had access to a series of domestic courtyards on the east. North of the potters' workshops lay a large open court extending up to the enclosure wall. The south-east quarter of the settlement has not yet been excavated, but in the eastern half of the settlement we have evidence for two phases (IIa the original and IIb the later), with a complete rebuilding after a disastrous fire which laid this part of the village in ashes. To the later phase belongs the large wall found in 1958, shown on the plan in *AS. IX*, 1959, Fig. 2, and the rebuilding of House A<sub>1</sub>. The eastern part in this phase consisted of an open area between this wall and the outer wall of the settlement with some subsidiary structures in the north-east corner near the well. All these are badly denuded, as well as disturbed by the activities of the villagers.

The buildings of the earlier phase (IIa), on the other hand, are of absorbing interest (Fig. 6). Here we found south of the north-east building or shrine, to be described presently, two rows of rectangular domestic courtyards, divided from each other by narrow mud-brick partitions or fences of wattle covered with mud. Each of these contained a domed bread-oven with a rectangular built-up hearth with raised kerb in front of it, numerous querns and grinding stones for grinding corn (and not ochre !), pounders, stone vessels and numerous pots, both monochrome and painted. Unbaked clay receptacles, or bins, rectangular box-like receptacles with traces of a wooden floor as in one of the recesses in House B<sub>1</sub> and any number of postholes, single or grouped in pairs, fours or sixes show that at least parts of these courtyards were provided with roofs (Pl. XIVa). The area is not yet fully excavated and the junction of these courtyards with the B<sub>1</sub> house still lacks definition.

## THE "SHRINE" (Figs. 5 and 6)

By far the most interesting building in the Level II settlement lay in the north-east corner. Not less than five doorways led into this building; three from the adjacent courtyards to the south, one from the north court and another through the enclosure wall from the open country. The latter doorway was found closed by a wattle fence, and that leading into the north court was blocked, at least in its lower part, by a large flat-topped oven constructed in front of it and so impeding any means of communication. This, we therefore surmised, was probably a secondary arrangement, but upon removal of the oven it became clear that it was not and this doorway (which incidentally was not blocked or filled up) could therefore never have been used for going in or out of the building.

The main room of the building was large by Hacilar II standards and measured approximately 8 by 6 metres, and contained an almost continuous colonnade of posts, either freestanding, as on its southern and eastern side or engaged against the ends of partition walls. Engaged posts were also found against the west wall and once a pair of posts was found. All engaged posts as well as the walls and floors are carefully plastered. The presence of such a colonnade strongly suggests that the centre of the hall may have been open to the sky and the numerous hearths and ovens in the building may well have necessitated such an arrangement. This hall could be divided into two halves by means of a sliding door or screen, the carefully constructed and plastered partition wall for which was found well preserved. The door or screen when drawn out could be fastened between the two posts of the colonnade on the other side of the hall.

The eastern half of the hall was provided with a deep alcove with a raised floor, in front of which was found a small rectangular hearth of normal type. In the back of the alcove was a broad but shallow recess, unfortunately found empty. The western half was furnished with a flat-topped oven, still standing nearly a metre high, a large raised hearth in front of it and, still in line, a rectangular clay receptacle or bin. Under the portico on the south side there were still other traces of ovens, hearths and bins, though badly ruined.

Parallel to the great alcove in the eastern half of the room was a second but smaller recess in the north wall, in which was found a smooth slab of stone in an upright position. In front of it were two large oval postholes and the recess was screened from the hearth by a low wall of mud-brick, plastered and ending in an engaged post.

North of the oven and built into the west wall was a small fireplace, only differing from modern ones in that it did not have a flue.

Eastward the colonnade opened on to a small court with a stone-lined well, found full of carbonised wheat, barley and almonds or plumstones. Several postholes near it suggest that it was provided with a *shaduf* for drawing water. Along the north wall of this small court there was another hearth and clay bin.

On the floor of this building were found numerous pots, both painted and monochrome, grouped in particular in front of the recess with the

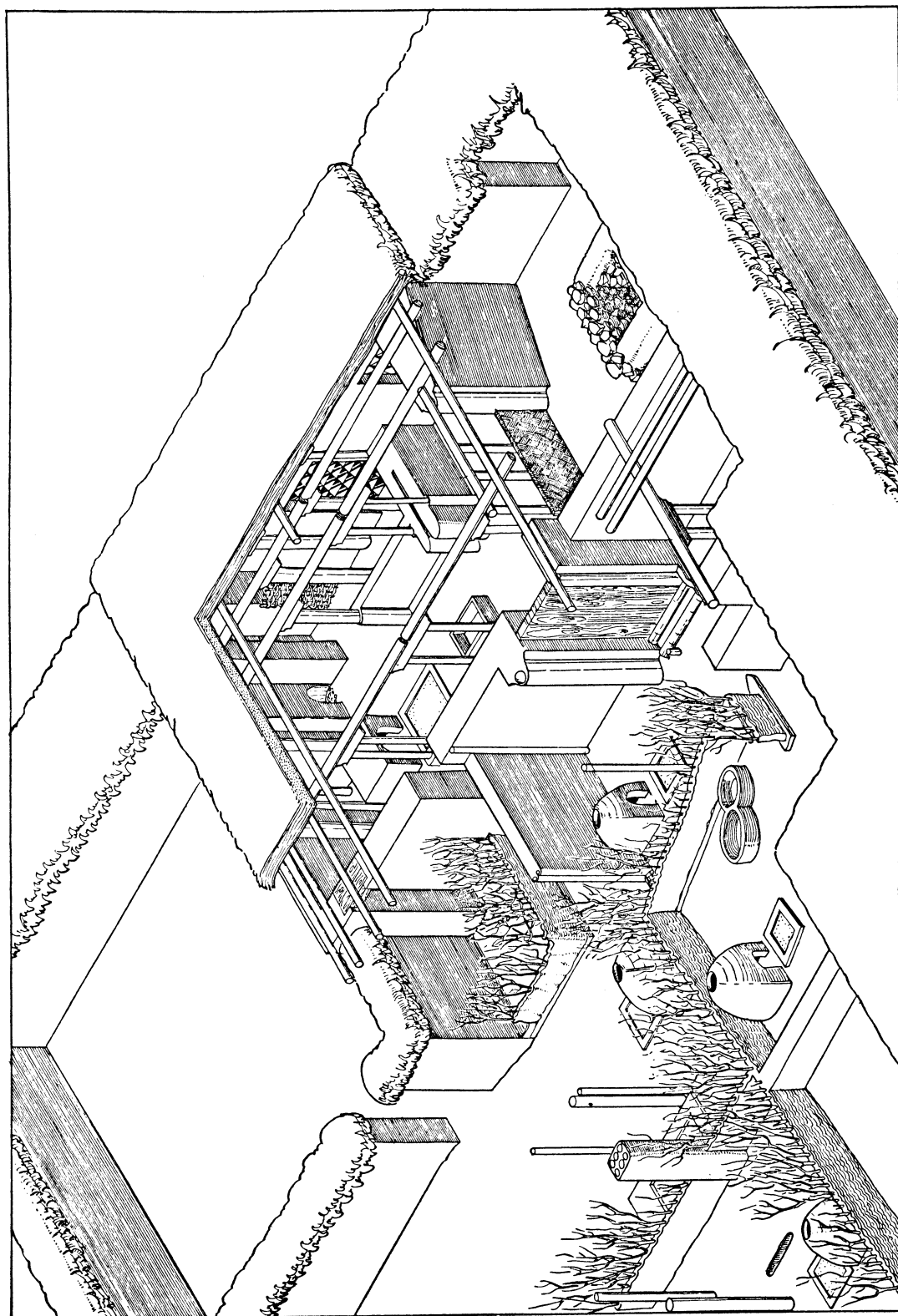


FIG. 6. Reconstruction of the "Shrine" of Level IIa and adjacent domestic courtyards.

standing stone (including a bowl with spout, possibly of ritual use), all around the hearth and around, inside and on top of the oven. Lying next to the hearth was the crouched skeleton of a person, of advanced age judging by the absence of any teeth. The position suggested that this was a victim of the fire.

On cleaning the floor, we found to our surprise one single and two double burials, the first ever found at Hacilar, where judging by our previous experience, extramural burial had seemed to be the rule. The bodies were deposited in tightly contracted position without fixed orientation in irregular hollows made in the floor. The double burials in each case consisted of an adult, presumably a female, and a child. Funerary gifts were sparse, not more than two painted pots were buried with each, and sometimes less. It is interesting that these pots were all cups or bowls, a big one accompanying the adult, a small one the child (Pl. XIV*b*). With this child was also found a strange baked clay object with pointillé designs. The skeletal material is being examined in Ankara by Professor Dr. Muzaffer Şenyürek, but it can already be stated that some of the skulls are dolichocephalic.

The interpretation of this building as a house presents great difficulties; the half-blocked doorway from the court and the masses of pots around it provides a striking parallel for a similar arrangement in the easternmost room of the Middle Bronze Age temple of Beycesultan Level V.<sup>24</sup> The double niches immediately remind one of the small shrine in pre-pottery neolithic B Jericho, where again a smooth slab of stone was found in association with the niche.<sup>25</sup> It is tempting to regard the small niche with standing stone as the male shrine and the larger and more elaborate one with that of the female deity. Is this the ancestor for the twin shrines of E.B.A. Beycesultan? and was there once a larger shrine next to the small one at Jericho? Is the well next to the shrine, or the bodies below the floor just mere coincidence? It would be difficult to believe that. And what would be more likely than that an agricultural community, such as that of Hacilar definitely was, should construct a shrine for their goddess and her husband in the form of an elaborate house, fully equipped with all such paraphernalia as a fertility goddess might require. Here is the water supply placed in the protection of the shrine, the ovens for baking bread, the daily food of the community and the burials of mother and child, buried in holy ground. Even the small door, closed by a fence, and leading to the open fields beyond, or the court possibly open to the sky, could be associated with religious beliefs. Through the half-open doorway the priest (or priestess?) could receive the offerings for the deity from the populace, who were not allowed to enter the sacred precincts. And who was the solitary old person that perished in the shrine if not the servant of their deity?

One must not let one's fancy carry one away, but it would be difficult

<sup>24</sup> *AS.* IX, 1959, p. 35, Fig. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *P.E.Q.*, 1953, Pl. XIX, i, p. 72.



to find a more reasonable explanation for this curious building and it is hard to believe that such a settlement as Hacilar had no sacred building. It only remains to point out that the house Q<sub>1-4</sub> presents many similarities, and as it belongs to the later phase (II*b*), during which there was no shrine in the north-east corner, it is not altogether impossible that this building served as the later shrine. This possibility must certainly be considered, for in a badly destroyed niche in the west wall of room Q<sub>4</sub> there lay a flat stone and the whole building contained many objects, including stone bowls, beads, a stamp seal and half a dozen fragments of figurines.

#### POTTERY AND SMALL FINDS

Although the greater part of this report is devoted to the architecture of Levels I and II, this does not mean that the finds of the 1959 season were less important than those made in the two previous years. On the contrary, Hacilar was as prolific as ever. Not less than seventy complete or restored pots were sent to the Ankara Museum and about 250 were recorded. From the burnt shrine and the courtyards we collected a corpus of early Level II pottery numbering about a hundred pots. These are extremely interesting in that in shape and decoration they are on the whole more closely related to the pottery of levels III-V, with geometric ornament in two registers predominating.<sup>26</sup> Ovals of course occur, but whereas some are decorated in the curvilinear "fantastic" style,<sup>27</sup> most bear geometric ornaments. Lentoid bottles and bowls on four feet are new additions to the repertoire. In the later Level II stratum (II*b*) a comparatively large number of stone vessels were found, as well as the first stratified stamp seals. Many more painted pots were discovered in the newly excavated quarters of the fortress, including ovoid jars with spirali-form decoration, and a large painted jar standing not less than 0.70 metres high. Traces of copper were found in both levels II*a* and in I*a* or *b*, which corroborates our theory that the limestone and lazurite beads found in both levels were made with metal tools. Figurines were again common in both levels and one complete (or nearly complete) specimen was found, unfortunately not of the best workmanship (Fig. 7). It is clad in a dress, plain on one side, decorated with circles on the other, such as can still be seen on peasant women to-day.

Far more spectacular is the emergence in Level I of a class of hollow effigies or anthropomorphic vessels in the form of a seated goddess, the largest of which were about a foot high (Pl. XV*a-s*). These were made in red-on-cream painted ware and the eyes, and sometimes the ears, brow, nose and chin were inlaid in obsidian.<sup>28</sup> Nose, ears, eyebrows and chin are carefully modelled and fully plastic arms support tiny breasts. The sagging abdomen, the knees and the steatopygous rump are nearly

<sup>26</sup> *AS. VIII*, 1958, p. 140, cf. Fig. 6, 14-17, 21, 24.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, Fig. 5, "fantastic style."

<sup>28</sup> In 1958 a figurine was found in Level I with an inlaid obsidian navel.

always indicated. These effigies are far from rare, but they are nearly always extremely fragmentary. A number of painted hollow feet suggests the presence of a standing type also.

It is worth noting that not two of them are alike and considerable variations may be expected in matters of dress. Not a single example of the nude goddess (well represented among the figurines) has yet been found. The only almost complete specimen from Hacilar was found by Şefket Ağa, our rival, and is now in the collection of Bay Hüseyin Kocabaş,

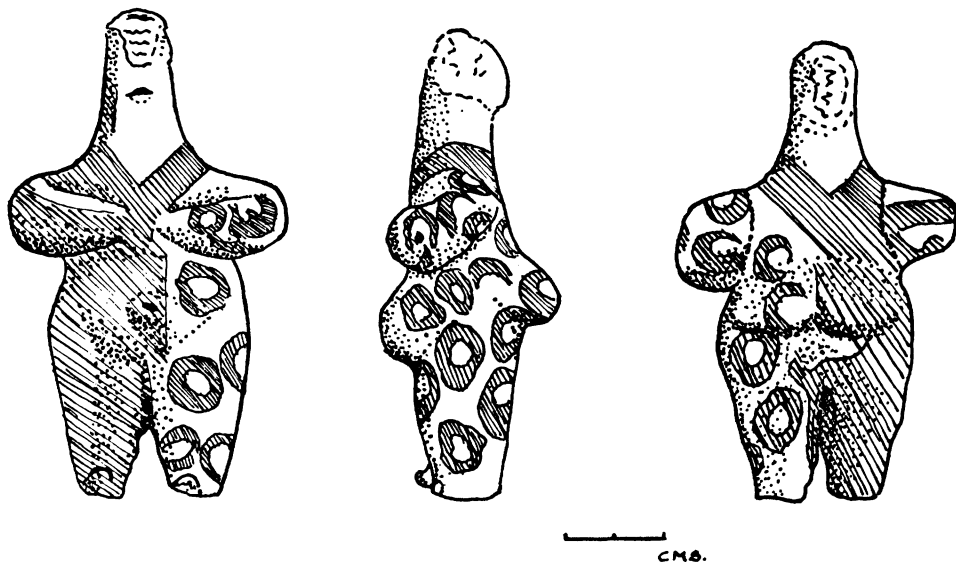


FIG. 7. Baked clay figurine from Level IIb (Room N8), painted in orange-brown on yellow-cream slip.

to whom I am much indebted for permission to photograph and publish this effigy. Some pieces are wrongly restored and a few sherds of earlier date have inadvertently been stuck on to the figure (Pl. XVb, c). It probably came from Room 6, into which a fresh pit had been dug before the 1958 season and at the bottom of which we found what was probably its base. The only contemporary parallel for what may have been such an effigy was found by Seton Lloyd in Samarran pottery in Level V at Hassuna, dated by C14 to *c.* 5100 B.C.  $\pm$  200,<sup>29</sup> but attention should also be drawn to the fine clay statuette from the Cretan neolithic site of Kato Ieropetra,<sup>30</sup> which though different in the rendering of the legs, and almost certainly later in date, bears a strong resemblance to the Hacilar effigies.

<sup>29</sup> *JNES*. IV, 1945, p. 281, Fig. 1, 2, Pl. XVII, 2.

<sup>30</sup> *AJA*. 1951, p. 121, No. 1; Pl. I, A.