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19 • Digging a Site, Nation beside Nation. The Case of Çatalhöyük, Anatolia, Turkey

ARKADIUSZ MARCINIAK

Introduction

Because of its size and complexity, at an early date, the site of Çatalhöyük became of international importance, in particular because it lay outside the Fertile Crescent. It was first excavated between 1961 and 1965 by the British archaeologist James Mellaart. From 1993 onwards, archaeologists from a variety of countries investigated the site as a part of the large project directed by Ian Hodder. The core of the project is a Cambridge-Stanford-based team that excavated and continues to excavate a number of areas on the mound. In subsequent years other excavation teams, mostly national, joined the project and started excavating a number of areas of the mound and on the adjacent chalcolithic mound, Çatalhöyük West. The teams came from the US, Poland, Turkey, Greece, and Germany.

Central questions of the project concern the origins of the site and its early development, social and economic organisation and variation within the community, the reasons for the adoption and intensification of agriculture, the social context for the early use of pottery, temporal trends in the life of the community, and trade and relations with communities that existed on other sites in the region.

This paper discusses how similar theoretical frameworks, shared by the project partners, accommodate heterogeneity of excavation and laboratory practices. Furthermore, this paper examines the relationship between practical strategies implemented by particular teams and their embeddedness in different national traditions of doing fieldwork, as well as personal experience of the project directors. It discusses the idiosyncrasies of co-operation between individual national teams that work within the project, taking into account the requirements of the recording system implemented by the project on the one hand, and the introduction of elements

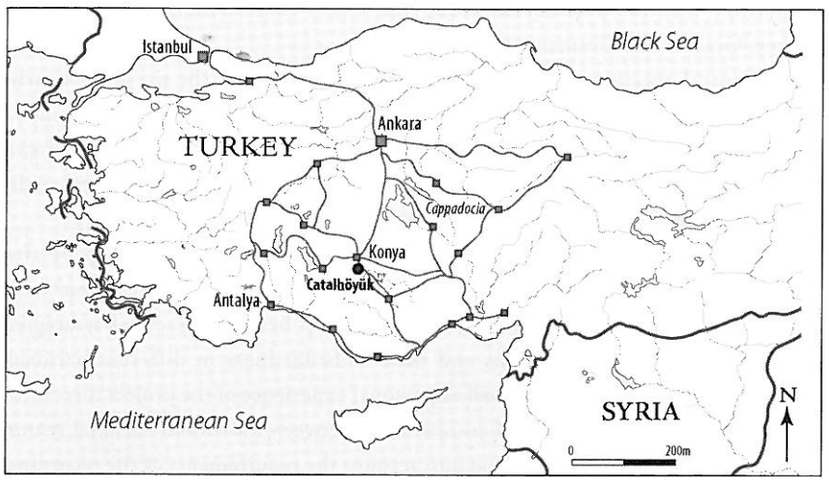
of various national traditions of doing fieldwork on the other. In other words, this paper shows the way in which national traditions become adjusted to advocated methodology and main project objectives. Additionally, this chapter addresses the relationships between individual national teams and the centrally organised teams of specialists comprising a largely independent segment of the project.

A Mound of Çatalhöyük

The site of Çatalhöyük is located in the Konya Plain, southeast of the present-day city of Konya, Turkey (Figure 1). The eastern settlement forms a mound which would have risen about 20 metres above the plain (Figure 2). There is also a smaller settlement mound to the west which is chalcolithic in date. The mounds were placed along the former course of the Çarsamba River. To date, 13 horizons have been excavated at Çatalhöyük, labelled XII to 0. The sequence as a whole can be dated to approximately 7400-6000 cal BC (Cessford 2001; Cessford 2005; Czerniak and Marciniak 2007).

In the early levels XII - VI at Çatalhöyük the domestic structures were built of loam and clustered in streetless neighbourhoods, which were separated from each other by alleys and courtyards. Each neighbourhood cluster consisted of about 30 buildings, which were accessed from the roof level. Buildings have a great degree of continuity, being rebuilt on the same location, with the same proportions and interior arrangements for up to six building levels over several hundreds of years (*eg* Düring 2005; Farid 2005; Hodder 2006).

At Çatalhöyük there is a common category of rooms that can be positively identified as living rooms, containing a range of more or less standard features.



1 The site of Çatalhöyük in Anatolia

2 Aerial photo of Çatalhöyük East and West

In the southern part of these rooms there are often fire installations, consisting of square, free-standing hearths and domed ovens built adjacent to the walls. The ladder entrance is generally located in the same area, and it seems plausible that the ladder access also acted as a chimney (Hodder and Cessford 2004: pp26-28). The platforms located in the north-east of the living rooms were much cleaner and seem to have been plastered more frequently. This cleaner area is also where the intramural sub-floor burials, as well as elaborated paintings and mouldings, are most often found (Figure 3).

A major shift seems to have occurred at Çatalhöyük in the transition from level VI to V at the site. The start of this new phase is marked by the abandonment of the pronounced building continuity, the appearance of exterior doorways and the emergence of some kind of courts and streets, which made the houses more accessible than previously. These radical changes were well attested in structures dated to phases 0, I, and II (Czerniak *et al* 2001; Czerniak *et al* 2002; Czerniak and Marciniak 2005). The space division is no longer strict, and particular features are located in various parts of the buildings, which stand in marked contrast to the classical phase. The rooms and buildings were considerably smaller than previously. A transformed custom of intramural burials was identified in phase 0. The rectangular space 248, excavated in the Polish area, was probably used as a burial chamber, as indicated by the remains of at least six individuals, all of them children and females, interred on the floor and sealed off by a thick layer of plaster (Figure 4). Considerable changes also occurred in the Late Neolithic in other activities, such as lithic industries, pottery manufacture and art (and see in Czerniak and Marciniak 2007).

Digging Çatalhöyük

Mellaart (1967: p15) described the finds from Çatalhöyük as "addition[s] to our knowledge of the earlier phases of the human achievement in terms of urban settlement," reflecting the focus of his work on manifestations of urban life such as developed architecture, art, and early religious systems. This emphasis was also reflected in Mortimer Wheeler's preface to Mellaart's book, where he sees the site as "a fully fledged town," being a successor to the much older "walled oasis-town of Jericho" and precursor of three to four millennia younger, large cities of Mesopotamia (Wheeler 1967: p9).

From 1993 onwards, archaeologists from a variety of countries investigated the site as part of the large international project directed by Ian Hodder. Organisation of the project differed considerably in its subsequent stages. A core of the early phase of the project between 1995 and 1998 consisted of a Cambridge-based team that excavated three areas known as South, North and KOPAL. The excavations in the South Area were focused upon a 20 metre x 20 metre area in the southwest part of the mound, which had been investigated by James Mellaart in the 1960s. The aim of the excavations in the North Area was to investigate an entire structure on a part of the mound that had not been previously excavated. The KOPAL excavations consisted of a long trench across the northern flank of the mound, to investigate site formation processes, and an off-site area to the north of this to determine what natural and cultural deposits were present.

In subsequent years, other excavation teams joined the project and started excavating a number of areas of the mound and on the adjacent chalcolithic mound, Çatalhöyük West. These were independent groups from the University of California at Berkeley, led by Ruth Tringham and Mirana Stevanovic, working in 1998-2003 in the BACH area, the University of Thessaloniki, led by Kostas Kotsakis in 1996 and 1998, and the Universities of Poznań and Gdańsk led by Lech Czerniak and Arkadiusz Marciniak which joined the project (TP Area) in 2001. Two Turkish teams started working at the site in the 2005 season. The Istanbul University team led by Mihriban Özbaşaran, aimed to focus on the early/earliest development of the site (IST Area), while the team from Selcuk University, led by Ahmet Tirpan, Asuman Baldiran and Zafer Korkmaz, worked on the Classical site to the east of the East Mound (SEL Area) and then on the Byzantine burials on the West Mound. On the chalcolithic West Mound itself, two new teams joined the project in 2006 – one from Cambridge, led by German archaeologist Peter Biehl, and the other from the University of Thrace at Edirne, led by Burçin Erdoğu. At present, the core of the project comprises the Cambridge-Stanford based teams (4040 and South Areas), which consist mostly of contract excavators from the UK, Turkey, the US, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania. In addition, there are also funded individuals from universities in the UK, the US, Sweden and Denmark, and Turkish students from different universities supported by the Çatal Project. The Stanford Field School

3 Çatalhöyük East, North Area. Building 5

4 Çatalhöyük East, TP Area. Space 248

and Berkeley Field School were present at the site in the last few years.

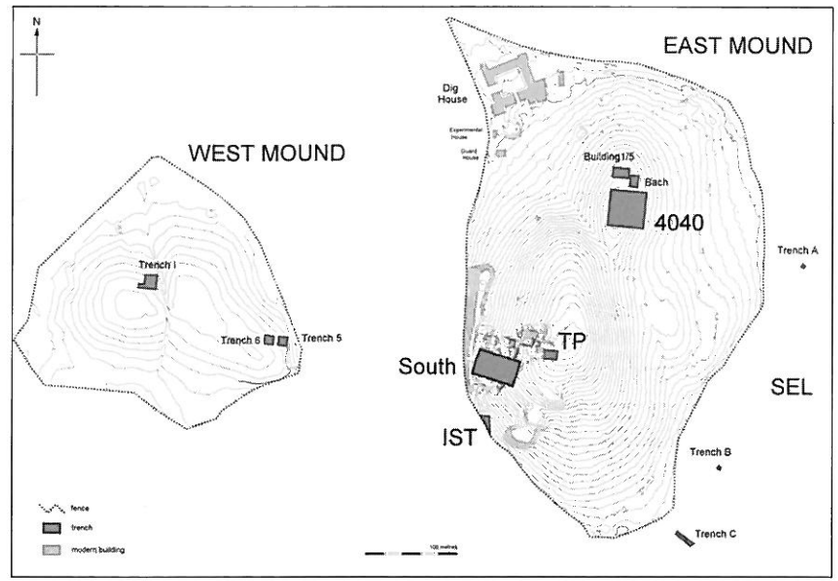
It is required that all teams participating in the project apply a standardised recording system in the form of an elaborated database, and agree to share results of their work with each other. In particular, they are obliged to use the 'single context recording' method in which every context, such as pit infill, pit cut, etc is described and planned separately.

In addition to the various excavation teams, an integral element of the project are the largely independent teams of specialists working at the site during the entire season. Each team is led by its leader(s) responsible for the setting up of standards of recording and analysis of particular categories of data, and co-ordinating lab work. Their composition is heterogeneous and they are composed of groups of specialists employed by the main project, as well as specialists brought in by individual national teams. In practice, the organisation of work and level of co-ordination within particular specialist teams vary considerably, from highly centralised structures to more loosely organised entities. A team from the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, is responsible for the site preservation and conservation, which comprises another significant objective of the project (see Hodder 2006: p42).

Over the years, the leaders of the teams of specialists have changed, inevitably leading to modification of recording procedures. Further modifications have been required as a result of the gradual accumulation of experience and changes of research questions by the main project. Furthermore, changes have also been necessary in order to accommodate research questions introduced by incoming national teams and their specialists, who often came from research traditions different from those of the core project specialists. Hence the recording system was, and remains, in a state of flux.

It is important to note that the range of specialists brought in by individual teams were far more diverse in their theoretical backgrounds and analytical routines than the team leaders sharing the original vision of archaeology being practised at Çatalhöyük.

The primary research goals of the project from 1995 to 2002 were to conduct intensive studies of individual buildings, and small-scale inter-house relationships, in order to counter-balance Mellart's large-scale work, and to make possible a new understanding of the neolithic mode of life. It was focused upon detailed investigations of the sequences by which individual houses were built, lived in, destroyed and rebuilt. Furthermore, it was decided to excavate in areas away from the zone excavated by Mellaart, in order to see how representative that zone was. It was also decided to excavate the lower and upper levels of the mound, in order to explore the early and late development of the site and to prepare buildings at different dates for public display. A range of buildings and external areas corresponding to Levels VIB to XII, as well as earlier deposits



5 Plan of Çatalhöyük East and West

designated Level Pre XII.A-E, were excavated (Hodder 2005a). This stage of the project can be called the 'house' phase and it was mainly conducted within a national team context.

The second stage of the project, in 2003, could be called 'the neighbourhood phase.' It involved the recognition, and then detailed study, of one of the clustered neighbourhoods, and aimed to understand various aspects of co-existence of groups inhabiting individual buildings. This stage of enquiry was intended to contribute to the fuller understanding of the site's overall social organisation (see Hodder 2004) (Figure 6), in particular aiming at answering the questions, how were production, social relations and art organised beyond the domestic unit? How did this organisation develop over time? Does the social geography of Çatalhöyük involve groups of houses clustered around a dominant house, or was social and economic life decentralised and based on equivalent domestic units of production? (Farid 2004). The early years of this stage of the project were dominated by contract based organisation, while the work of national teams contributed to a lesser degree. This situation has changed recently, to some extent due to the arrival of new teams, who came with explicit aims that corresponded to, but in many cases supplemented, the original goals.

One of the objectives of the Berkeley team coincided exactly with one of the goals of the first stage of the main project. This involved the excavation of an entire house immediately to the east of the North Area, with the intention of

carefully investigating the house's life history. Additionally, it was hoped that this would shed light on the relationships with the houses studied in the North Area, and that this might lead on to the question of the social formation of the mound (Tringham 1997).

The Polish team joined the project in 2001. Their aim was to study the latest neolithic occupation sequence known as Levels 0, I and II, dating back to the end of the seventh millennium cal BC. The crest of the East Mound was believed to be ideal for recognition of the Late Neolithic structures. It was intended to investigate consequences of a major shift that occurred at Çatalhöyük in the transition from level VI to V, marked by the abandonment of any building continuity, the appearance of exterior doorways, and the emergence of kinds of courts and streets, as well as considerable changes in art, lithic industries, and pottery manufacture. In other words, the work was to focus upon a fine-grained conceptualisation of the nature of the processes that eventually led to the demise of neolithic society (for details, see Düring and Marciniak 2006; Czerniak and Marciniak 2007).

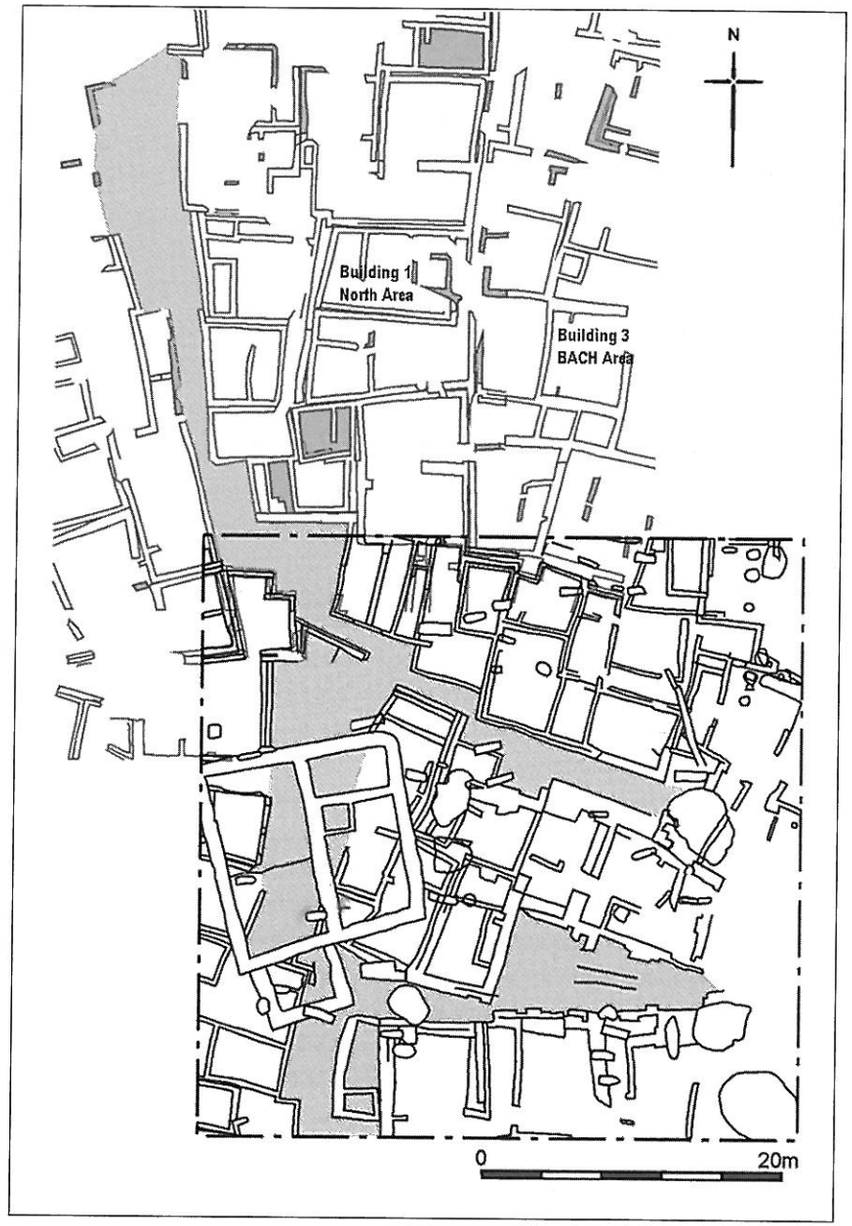
The Istanbul team works on the southwestern edge of the main East Mound, with the aim of reaching the lowest levels of the mound. They are interested in making comparisons with their excavations at the earlier sites of Aşıklı Höyük and Musular in the eastern part of Central Anatolia (Özbaşaran 2005).

Both teams working on the West mound aimed to examine the beginning of the new tell settlement in order to understand why and how people settled there, as well as being able to analyse and contextualise the nature of the socio-economic changes taking place during the abandonment of the East mound (*cf* Biehl and Erdoğu 2005; Biehl *et al* 2006). Thus, the research goals of these teams directly correspond to the questions addressed by the Polish team.

Çatalhöyük: Methodologies and Practices

Explicit methodology was defined before fieldwork began, and prior to the arrival of national teams, not only to ensure that the project's objectives were carried out, but also to confront "the challenge of introducing multivocality and reflexivity in the laboratory and trench", as formulated by Hodder (2000). This new approach included: (a) priority tours aimed at discussions between the laboratory and field staff, (b) interpretive approaches to sampling strategies, (c) co-operation of specialists at the site, (d) quick feedback by the laboratory staff to the field staff, (e) interactive database available on and off the site, (f) the writing of a diary to enhance fluid and flexible data, (g) video recording, (h) presence of social anthropologists studying the construction of knowledge at the site, and (i) a hypertext solution to challenge the linearity of archaeological narrative and allowing accounts with multiple pathways and multimedia.

A significant element of this research strategy was to use the latest scientific



6 Çatalhöyük East. Plan of 4040 Area

techniques available to make the project more intensive as compared to the extensive work carried out by Mellaart. Hence a wide range of techniques were used by the specialists, who worked at the site in their own laboratories. This allowed archaeologists and specialists, such as biological anthropologists, archaeozoologists, palaeobotanists, lithics and pottery specialists, etc., to co-operate during the field season (Hodder 2006: p17).

An important element of the digging strategy was the sampling regime, which was set up in the first stage of the project, and was very rigid. Furthermore, this strategy led to the collection of a huge number of samples, far too many to be analysed in the time available. This initial sampling strategy also led to a considerable slowing down of the entire excavation process.

These circumstances, along with changed objectives of the project, resulted in a considerable revision of the sampling strategy (Hodder 2004). Accordingly, a three level excavation track was introduced. This involved a 'fast track', 'medium track' and 'full-on sampling track'. The fast track was to be used for spaces and buildings where the complete sequence was obviously lost through erosion or other causes. This meant that there were no flotation samples, no archive samples, no samples for analyses, no dry sieving (finds were hand picked). Medium track was introduced where a complete sequence of a space or building was represented. Flotation and archive samples were taken and dry sieving took place. Specific samples were taken at the excavators' discretion or with laboratory teams' advice. Full-on sampling involved the complete suite of samples taken in a representative sample of spaces and buildings, based on spatial and temporal dimensions of variation.

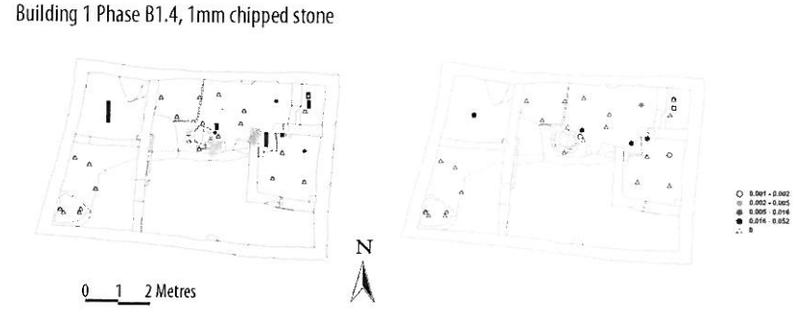
Various national teams joined the main project at different stages and hence inevitably were confronted with either the first or the second methodological strategy. The first strategy applied to the first West mound and the American teams working there, while the second strategy applied to the Turkish and other West mound teams. The Polish teams started work at the end of the first strategy phase of the project and continued into its second stage.

The methodological issues discussed below include (a) excavation methods, (b) sampling procedures, (c) recording systems of different categories of data and (d) the relationships and co-operation between the field and laboratory staff.

Excavation Methods

A modified form of single context (unit) excavation and recording was employed and the unit forms became the basic element of a nested hierarchical system. It is generally referred to as a 'context' in British field archaeology, and ideally represents a single identifiable depositional event. The system also included features (understood as groups of related units), space (spatially bounded entities generally defined by the walls of buildings), buildings (groups of spaces forming a structural entity) and

7 Çatalhöyük East, TP Area. Cross-section of a complex stratigraphic sequence



8 Çatalhöyük East, North Area. Building 1 – example of heavy residue analysis

areas (spatially discrete locations where excavation had occurred, as in the South Area) (Hodder 2005b). Chronological grouping was provided by phases and levels. This model originated in the single context system of excavation, and the recording developed in British urban archaeology in the 1970s, which is now employed as standard practice in contract archaeology in the UK (Farid and Cessford 2005).

The initial system developed in 1995 involved five general unit categories: layer, arbitrary layer, cluster, skeleton and cut. In 1997 a further level of 'interpretation' was introduced as the general categories did not provide sufficient information to the laboratory teams about what type of deposit was under investigation, especially when information was required quickly. Initially, excavators used a diverse range of interpretative terms. This allowed for an individualistic and 'fluid' approach, and led to an exploration of the range of terms deemed necessary for this particular site. As the post-excavation process started in 2000, however, a systematic set of terms was introduced and labelled 'data category' to enable a relevant query to be asked of the database. A standardised list was compiled on the basis of the deposit types excavated on the site over the few preceding years. It was accepted that new types of deposits could be encountered as excavation progressed, and the list could be amended accordingly. There were ten primary data categories: fill, floor, construction, midden, activity, natural, arbitrary, cut, cluster and skeleton.

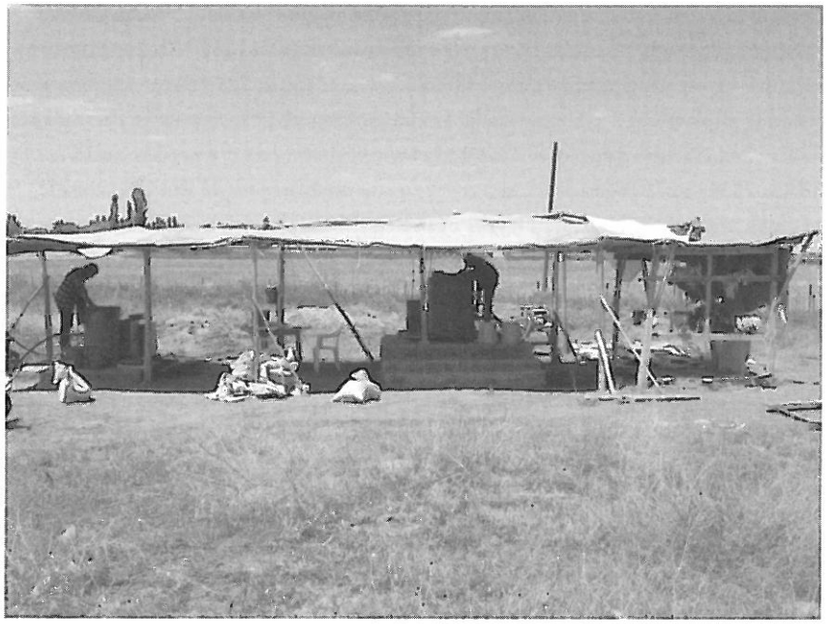
This methodology was initiated in the early phase of the project and was explicitly aimed at dealing with neolithic deposits (to fulfil the early project objectives and to challenge and overcome the limitations of Mellaart's methodology and approach). However, it was applied in a rather general way and resulted in a tendency to impose one methodology irrespective of deposits from different chronological horizons. Admittedly, such horizons would have been difficult to foresee at the outset of the project.

Single-context excavations, as carried out at Çatalhöyük, had some shortcomings as compared to Polish methods, in particular the practice of cutting the feature into two halves, digging one of them and then drawing its section. It took some time for the Polish team to get acquainted with the Çatalhöyük unit-feature scheme.

The Polish team had no previous experience of excavating *tells* and mud-brick architecture. Instead, it brought with it experience from the open sites in Central Europe, especially the highly efficient horizontal/spatial grid system used for excavation of timber-framed houses. Clearly, this system was not always appropriate for *tell* digging.

All excavation was done by hand (using trowels or small mattocks) by members of the team. In view of the complex stratigraphy which confronted the Polish team, no local workers were employed. This ran counter to one of the objectives of the overall project, which was to involve the local community in the excavation process.

In the first five years of the Polish excavations, unit sheets were filled in only



9 Çatalhöyük. Flotation machines

by two or three people, whose experience and written English was good enough to get it done properly. This differed from the British practice, where one person was assigned a unit and expected to complete the whole process through excavation to complete recording. Meanwhile, the American team adopted a more flexible approach, where one unit sheet was usually filled out by a few people.

The Berkeley team's excavation methods were derived from the directors' experience in Balkan archaeology, and could not be seen as "typical of the American style of excavation practice" (Tringham and Stevanovic 2000: p112). The directors redefined their methods to achieve their aims of studying a life history of the house, rather than the settlement as a whole (as had been their work in the Balkans). This required all remains to be systematically and fully mapped, recorded and sampled to a degree that had never occurred "on any other Neolithic site yet excavated in southeast Europe" (Tringham and Stevanovic 2000: p112). This strategy also differs from those investigating the vertical exposure of the stratigraphic sequence.

In spite of the sharing of methodological principles and aims in the Çatalhöyük project, there were some important differences adopted by different teams. In both Polish and American practice, excavated structures are monitored vertically by cross-section, which was not the practice at Çatalhöyük. As a result, the Berkeley team retained the use of a cross-section through Building 3, while the Polish team did the same while digging more complex stratigraphic sequences (Figure 7). The American

team continued to use small temporary profiles to understand microstratigraphic relations, whenever possible. They aimed to demonstrate and document stratigraphic relationships and supplement the Harris matrix analysis. This approach, however, was not implemented systematically, as compared with excavations in the Balkans or Central Europe. Moreover, the Berkeley team advocated a need to excavate by arbitrary layers, a practice known from southeast Europe and the US in the case of thick and undifferentiated layers of mixed materials such as house fills.

A new German team working on the West mound was intended to expand excavation recording systems by application of the Tageskizze system, already adopted by some German expeditions working in Turkey, Bulgaria, and Lebanon (Hachmann 1969; Korfmann 1983). The Tagesskizze, which is prepared at the end of each day's work, aims to document the state of the excavation in sketch form, and includes all x-finds, units and features currently under excavation. It was intended to summarise and often interpret stratigraphic trench situations, and to document the progress of the excavations. It showed which features were visible to the archaeologist and which units were being dug at the same time. Hence, the Tagesskizze contributed to the better understanding of the day to day work, and made planning of the archaeological work much easier and clearer for all participants in the excavations. All sketches were intended to be archived in a so-called 'excavation diary'. Additionally, the team aimed at digitising the Tagesskizze and including it in the online Çatalhöyük database which, together with video footage and digital photos, would greatly improve post-excavation analysis (Biehl and Rosenstock 2007).

Sampling Procedures

An intensive and systematic sampling regime was implemented at Çatalhöyük (Farid 2000). Soil samples were taken for chemical analysis, and for phytolith analysis, while objects were sampled for radiocarbon dating, isotopic analysis, DNA, etc. Routinised activities also comprised dry sieving with a 4 millimetre mesh and in most cases all soil was dry sieved.

The same applied to flotation. Each unit excavated had at least one sample of up to 30 litres of disaggregated sediment taken for flotation and screening. This led to the collection of 'light' residue, which floats, and 'heavy' residue, which does not (for fuller discussions see Fairbairn *et al* 2005; Hastorf 2005). The 'light' residue was collected in 250 µm mesh and was sorted while the 'heavy' residue was sorted by three fraction sizes of >4 millimetres, <4 millimetres and >2 millimetres, and <2 millimetres and >1 millimetre, (Figure 8). In general, the 'light' residue was primarily of interest for archaeobotanical and charcoal studies, whereas the 'heavy' residue provided material for a wide range of specialists. As a result, the assemblages studied from individual units by specialists concerned primarily with artefactual material, generally consisted of a mixture of hand picked, dry sieved and wet sieved material. This rigid approach to sampling turned out to be inefficient in many instances, as it slowed down the excavation process and produced a vast body of data, sometimes from insecure contexts, which was either impossible to get thoroughly analysed or sometimes even looked at.

A certain limitation of this strategy was revealed in the first seasons of the Polish team's work at the site that revealed intense occupation dating back to the Byzantine, Roman and Hellenistic periods, with features such as burials, storage buildings and large pits, distinct from those from the neolithic. A strict application of the advocated excavation procedure, especially regarding the dry and wet sieving, would have produced a vast body of wet sieved and dry sieved material deriving from unspecified and highly disturbed levels. The most time and cost-effective means of sampling is for excavators to make early decisions about the selection of samples to be collected in the light of several factors, including limits regarding the export permits, the time consuming nature of laboratory work, etc.

As a result of the criticism, problems and tensions arose between excavation and laboratory teams and, based upon experience of the first phase of excavations employing detailed analysis on the sequences of individual buildings (Farid 2000), revised methods of excavation and recording were proposed at the beginning of the second stage of the project. This new strategy involved more selective use of intensive, on-site sampling as specified by three levels of 'excavation tracks' (see above).

Recording Systems for Different Categories of Data

There were considerable differences regarding the recording systems for different categories of data among teams participating in the project, as well as a tension between problem-oriented recordings versus complete recording.

Faunal Remains

The Çatalhöyük animal bone assemblages were recorded onto a purpose-designed and very detailed Access database. It consisted of eight inter-linked tables/forms, which have various inter-relationships. The complete assemblage from each unit (context) was described in the faunal unit description table; each piece (or group of similar pieces) of bone was entered onto the basic faunal data table; most pieces (except some undiagnostic bone) were then recorded onto either the cranial table or postcranial table depending on the part of the skeleton they represented. The other tables were only used when relevant: these were the measurement table, the modification table (for recording butchery/processing marks), and the artefact table (for worked bone), which were inter-linked to the contact table (for describing manufacture and use of worked bone). A three-step recording system ranged from a general to very detailed observations. Material from particular units was not analysed at all three levels, decisions as to which should be analysed completely were taken by the archaeozoological team leaders, sometimes in consultation with

the field director of particular areas.

Compared with the Çatalhöyük system, zooarchaeological protocols are generally far less detailed and each specialist usually sets up recording criteria for his/her own purpose. Not surprisingly, therefore, the teams found the otherwise excellent system too sophisticated and often irrelevant to the final interpretation. More importantly, however, the system implemented at Çatalhöyük precluded analysis of all excavated material, with the result that interpretation of human-animal relationships had to be based upon a fraction only of excavated material. This created, and continues to create, a tension between diggers and specialists, who vary in their assessment of the significance of particular deposits.

Remains of Flora

Systematic palaeobotanical samples were collected from every excavation unit beginning in 1995, providing a representative sample of all contexts and sediment deposits for current and future study (Popper and Hastorf 1988). In addition, the priority tours (see below) determined which samples from excavated units would be selected for various levels of analysis, so producing a set of judgmental, yet archaeologically informed, samples.

Analysis involved a set of nested procedures that captured increasing detail about the botanical material of the sample. The project had two efficient petrol water-pump flotation machines (Figure 9). The size of requested sample volumes changed throughout the field seasons and varied between 20 and 60 litres. These different levels of recording served different purposes and were planned to allow for maximal flexibility in analysis. They were called phase 1, phase 2, and phase 3.

Phase 1 was designed to qualitatively register the sample with an initial assessment of general composition, accessible to all team members. The phase 2 sheet records quantification, including counts and weights by plant type, seeds, fruits, nut husk, chaff, wood, etc. At phase 3 level of analysis, the plant classes were opened up and individual plants were identified and quantified as far as is possible, ideally to the species and sometimes the variety level (Hastorf 2005).

Major changes were implemented in 2003 to accord with overall changes in the entire project. The new procedure consisted of basic data (the flot log), level 1 assessment for all samples and level 2 assessment applied to priority samples. A rapid level 1 assessment procedure aimed to identify crop type and plant part and estimate their botanical composition and richness. This formed the basis for selection of some samples for detailed analysis. It involved sorting a non-random subsample of c 5 millilitres of > 4 millimetres and > 1millimetre flot and to sort this under the microscope. The count for each category was then multiplied up, based on the total flot volume, and each category was scored on an abundance scale. The priority assessment was intended to provide detailed information on sample composition in terms of crop type, plant part etc. as well as more accurate estimates and density than a level 1 assessment. It involved analysing a random subsample of c 10 millilitres of > 4 millimetres and > 1 millimetre flot. This aimed to evaluate a character of the deposit based upon density of various plant remains. Information yielded from these two phase levels provided the basis for selection of samples for full archaeobotanical analysis (Agcabay *et al* 2003; Bogaard and Charles 2004).

The Polish palaeobotanical routine does not involve systematic sampling. Any representative character as regards the settlement spatial organisation is hardly taken into account. The samples are usually taken from contexts that were assumed to include considerable organic material, such as burned layers, hearths, etc. Considering different sampling strategy implemented by the Polish team, flotation was conducted for the deposit of secure stratigraphic position and of considerable heuristic potential. The procedures of assessment 1 and 2 systems were not carried out by the Polish palaeobotanist. Instead, samples were taken to Poland where all assemblages were fully sorted, identified, quantified and analysed. Interestingly, there are hardly any differences in the laboratory routines in these two approaches.

Chipped Stone Assemblages

The methodological approach for chipped stone assemblages employed in the first phase of the Çatalhöyük project was an attempt to strike a balance between time and the recording of the lithic industry in as much detail as possible. In a situation of literally thousands of artefacts and a limited amount of time, the level of recording could not be as detailed as one would ultimately wish. The approach also aimed to capture three major areas of chipped stone studies such as typology, technology and function. The lithics were classified into different debitage categories to be used in reconstruction of the technological characteristics of the assemblage. In terms of typology and function, analysis focused upon evidence of retouching or use that resulted in their classification in terms of the morphological characteristics of the blank and type and location of retouch (Conolly 1996).

A modified system for chipped stone is still being discussed for the second phase of the project. The aim is to create an efficient and pertinent recording system. This is by no means an easy task, taking into consideration the various potential approaches to this kind of analysis advocated by the lithics specialists working at Çatalhöyük.

The Polish school of lithics studies originated from the works of Krukowski and developed totally independently from other European schools, and still retains its specific tenets today. It focuses upon technology rather than typology, and consequently involves analysis of all elements making up an assemblage - not only complete tools. This lithics tradition is now developing towards a more holistic approach that includes such elements as refitting studies (Fiedorczuk 1992; Wąs

2005), use of wear analysis, experiments, and elements of statistics. Nevertheless, the Polish school of lithic studies lacked theoretical underpinnings of the kind found in Scandinavian and British lithics studies. Moreover, the Çatalhöyük recording system did not allow for the method of description based on 'dynamic typology' (*eg* Wendorf and Schild 1974) which followed the process of production from the nodule of raw material to the finished tool (Kabaciński 2001) and which has adherents in some academic circles in the US and Poland.

Relationships and Co-operation between Field and Laboratory Staff

Specialists working side by side was a new experience for most of the national teams in the project. It facilitated detailed and explicit decision-making regarding how various categories of data were to be recorded and described. It certainly also facilitated a thorough interpretation of complex assemblages in a number of contexts, which cross-cut specialist boundaries, and was an innovation as far as Polish field methodology was concerned. This experience was complemented by micro-scale methods such as micromorphology or heavy residue. The overall approach negates the view of specialised object study as a discrete and bounded sub-discipline (Last 2006: p134).

However, even this system had its shortcomings. Due to the vast quantity of material collected over the years of excavation, it was not possible for all excavated deposits to be fully analysed by specialists. This meant that some subset of the units excavated had to be selected for full contextual post-excavation analysis based upon criteria about which consensus proved to be difficult. It was not always possible to ensure that the units which the faunal team had had time to study fully were the same as the units fully studied by the lithics team, the archaeobotanical team, and so on.

The 2000-2002 post-excavations studies revealed that, taking the volumes of the units into account, only c 20 % of the material excavated had been analysed (*eg* faunal teams until 2003 had managed to identify less than 25,000 bones (Hodder 2006: p11), which comprised only a small part of the excavated assemblages). Of the major data categories/clusters, fills, floors and particular activity areas and middens were over represented, while constructions were under represented, since such deposits had been considered of lesser interest to the project.

From the perspective of the Polish team, it was striking that pottery studies occupied a relatively insignificant position within the project. This was partly explained by the fact that in the early stage of the project mostly pre-pottery layers and early pottery neolithic layers had been excavated, and therefore pottery had been very rare. However, although recently the amount of pottery has increased, it is still not playing a central rôle in the interpretation of the site. Of course, the assumed importance of ceramic studies derives from the emphasis of neolithic studies in Central Europe.

Three times a week the laboratory team visited the excavated areas and were given a descriptive interpretation of currently excavated units by the area supervisor. Selected units were prioritised for immediate study, based on discussions between the excavators and laboratory specialists. Priority samples were studied primarily to provide rapid data feedback to the excavators, and other specialists, in an interactive way. This procedure had the benefit of effectively empowering the excavator and the data specialist, and thus enhancing multivocality. This practice also made clear the exact source of particular information, thus acting as an aid for re-evaluation by others. The main concern with the practice is that it distracts the specialist teams from their own systematic analysis of material, since every three days there was something that needed to be looked at immediately. It is doubtful whether the tensions created by this practice were worthwhile in all instances, particularly since most of the materials could not be exported outside Turkey and studied off season.

Conclusions

The experience of national teams working beside other national teams in the large international project of Çatalhöyük proved the difficulty of setting up a uniform field methodology. That this was the case was due to a number of factors: diverse national experiences in subsequent stages of archaeological practice, different deposits being excavated, and the experiences of the project partners, particularly in the light of dynamically changing objectives of the main project. However, experience of the project showed that different ways of conducting particular elements of the archaeological process could easily find a place within the theoretical framework of the overall project. Perhaps the main concern overall is that the original project agenda was responsible for the production of a vast amount of data that remained unanalysed, even by increasingly growing teams of specialists working at the site.

At least some of the problems discussed in this chapter resulted from the necessity of having most categories of data analysed at the site since, according to Turkish law, with very few exceptions, archaeological material is not allowed to be taken out of the country to study. Moreover, the three-step recording system turned out not to be a particularly efficient solution to deal with a large amount of data, especially in the light of very detailed recording protocols in the case of some categories of data. The major challenge particular teams face, and will continue to face during the study season, is making sense of the mass of diverse data and observations from individual contexts.

Overall, however, there is no doubt that there are a number of significant benefits to this kind of large international enterprise, not least the unique opportunity which it affords to see the way that archaeology is practised 'at the trowel edge' by different national teams. It is not only the co-operation between a vast range of international specialists that makes the Çatalhöyük project so interesting, but

also that the micro-focus of the project is particularly praiseworthy.

Not surprisingly, working in a group of 100 or so people was not always easy and straightforward. In this context, it is worth stressing that the project leaders handled a range of smaller and larger issues that made up the project of that size with incredible efficiency and diplomacy. They always reacted promptly and appropriately to emerging tensions.

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PART 6

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