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## Introduction

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Recent data excavated from the Middle East challenge many of the narratives to which we have become accustomed regarding the origins of agriculture and settled life. The notion of a Neolithic Revolution has been replaced by a very long-term gradual process (Maher, Richter, and Stock 2012). The old Levant-centered sequence has been replaced by polycentric models that see early complexity and domestication of plants and animals in diverse locations. Large ritual centers and elaborate sites have been discovered in northern Mesopotamia in the pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) well before the appearance of fully domesticated resources in the pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB). The assumed primacy of “it’s the economy, stupid” has been replaced by a singular focus of “it all began with ritual.”

This volume responds to these exciting new challenges by exploring one aspect of the new narrative that needs to be built, based on emerging evidence for the importance of history making from the later Epipaleolithic through the Neolithic in the Middle East (figures 0.1, 0.2). This focus also allows some integration and bridging between subsistence-based and symbol-based approaches. There has been much discussion (summarized recently by Arbuckle 2015) of whether there is evidence of resource depletion in the later Epipaleolithic as humans shifted to the exploitation of a wider range of resources that required increased time and effort to extract and manage. From 25,000 BCE onward there is evidence of investment in

*Two Forms of History  
Making in the Neolithic  
of the Middle East*

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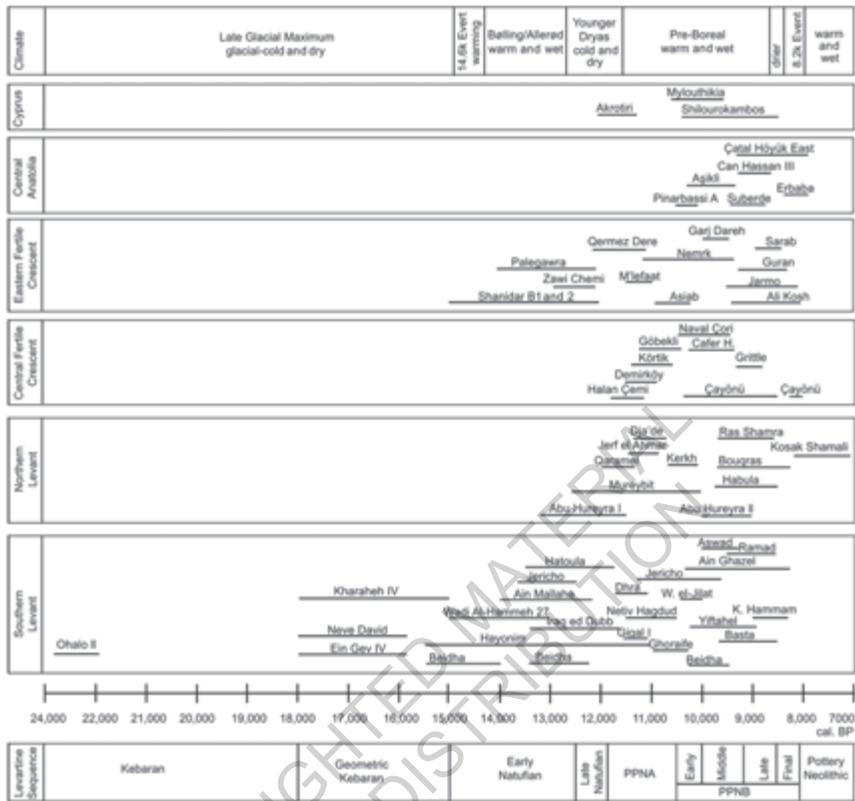


FIGURE 0.1. Chronological relationships between sites in the Middle East and Turkey. Source: Zeder 2011.

tools such as grinding stones and sickles, and storage and more stable settlement gradually appear. Woodburn (1980) made a distinction between immediate and delayed returns for labor. As humans increasingly intensified resource extraction and invested in tools, equipment, and land, the return for labor became delayed. The complex hunter-gatherers of the late Pleistocene and early Holocene in the Middle East increasingly encountered delayed returns for their labor. The group had to be held together over the period between investment and return. History making was thus key. Through the period from the late Epipaleolithic to the PPNB, subsistence intensification and history making had to go hand in hand.

Equally, however, as humans invested in subsistence practices that demanded more labor, they increasingly depended on wider networks to obtain resources



**FIGURE 0.2.** *Distribution of main late Epipaleolithic and Neolithic sites in the Near East.*  
 Source: Zeder 2011.

such as materials for tools, to obtain collaborative labor, and to build social ties that could buffer downturns in local production. Gamble (1998) and Coward (2010) have documented the increased emphasis on networks and cultural interchange in the later Epipaleolithic and early Neolithic at the regional scale. At the local scale, one effective way of building strong networks is to build (actual or fictive) relations through ancestors. The emergence from the Natufian onward of a concern with the deposition, circulation, and re-deposition of skulls and other human remains allows the building of community (Kuijt 2000). The greater the temporal depth achieved in the building of ties to ancestral remains, the wider the network of affiliated individuals. Both within and between houses, the burial of human remains allows history making and thus the establishment of various scales of community building and subsistence co-reliance.

The initiative for this volume was a project funded by the John Templeton Foundation titled “The Primary Role of Religion in the Origin of Settled Life: The Evidence from Çatalhöyük and the Middle East” (ID: 22893). The project culminated in an international conference held at Çatalhöyük on August 2–3, 2014, at which several of the papers published in this volume were presented.

There was a follow-up session at the Society for American Archaeology meetings in San Francisco in 2015. Both the conference and the session were called “Religion, History, and Place in the Origin of Settled Life.” The main question contributors were asked to assess was whether there was widespread evidence that delayed-return agricultural systems emerged in tandem with an increased focus on history making. In the Çatalhöyük project there had long been recognition of repetitive practices within houses at the site (Hodder and Cessford 2004), and more recently the term *history house* had been coined (Hodder and Pels 2010). But could such emphases be identified elsewhere? What is the timing of the emergence of a concern with history making in place? At what point in regional sequences do such features emerge, and with what does their appearance correlate? And in what context does history making most clearly emerge, public ritual buildings or domestic houses?

#### WHAT IS MEANT BY HISTORY MAKING?

Throughout this volume we will come across many examples of continuity. For example, a building is continually rebuilt in the same place. What does it take to move from such evidence to the claim for history making?

It is first necessary to consider whether the continuities were produced by material constraints. Settlement may at different times be attracted to a particular water source or fertile patch of land, resulting in a palimpsest of occupation in the same place but in which there is no historical or cultural connection. Similarly, a new house may be built exactly onto the firm foundations of the walls of earlier buildings to provide stability. Or a new house may be sunk into the pit created by an earlier semi-subterranean house to save energy in excavating a new pit. Or houses may be built on the imprint of earlier houses because the settlement is so packed that there is no room to change house location. In these cases we cannot assume that historical ties were being created through time.

Thus we need to start with exploring whether the functional requirements of, for example, building technologies produced the continuities observed. Was a tell matrix so soft and mixed that stable buildings could only be constructed on wall stubs? In assessing whether there was any social meaning in building continuity, it is also important to explore variation through time and place. For example, Düring (2006) has shown that in the upper levels at Çatalhöyük there is a weakening of the earlier focus on a strict and exact repetition of houses on the same footprint. This change may have occurred in part because of changes in building technique in the upper levels, but there

were also important social changes that produced greater house independence (Hodder 2014). Similarly, Kotsakis (1999) has argued that different parts of the site of Sesklo saw different relations between buildings through time, some areas showing repeated building on the same footprint and others showing horizontal shifting. For the Balkans, Tringham (2000) has discussed the different ways houses replaced each other during the Neolithic in terms of meaningful social and cultural practices.

Often, the repetition of the layout of activities in buildings is too great to be determined by wall settings. There are then two broad possibilities in terms of memory construction or history making. The first is that the repetition of practices within buildings is the result of habituated behavior. Many archaeologists, influenced ultimately by the work of Bourdieu (1977), have documented the ways in which practices become routinized and habituated at the non-discursive level. In other words, we know it is right to put the hearth in this location rather than that one because it has always been done that way. Our daily bodily movements get accustomed to certain routines, and we cannot discursively explain why. This is a type of history making in that the body is “remembering” earlier practices and there is continuity in the overall system of meanings and practices. Thus at Çatalhöyük there is a long-term practice of keeping northern parts of main rooms clean while allowing refuse to build up in southern “dirty” areas (Hodder and Cessford 2004). This habituated practice at Çatalhöyük may not have been consciously interpreted and explained, but it was part of a larger set of oppositions between adult burial and rich symbolism in the north and child burial and food preparation in the south. People knew that “it had always been done this way” even if they could not explain why. This type of history making is very embodied and may not be conscious.

A second possible interpretation of culturally meaningful continuities is that they are the result of commemorative behavior in which people consciously build social memories and historical links into the past (Connerton 1989). In the case of habituated behavior, ritual and other acts may become routinized and codified but there is no specific memory of events and histories, while in the commemorative case a link is remembered to a specific event or person. Here the onus is on the archaeologist to demonstrate specificity of memory construction (Van Dyke and Alcock 2008). This can often be achieved by studying the curation, circulation, and deposition of objects. There are many examples from Çatalhöyük. For example, in the sequence of two buildings constructed on the same footprint, Buildings 59 and 60, there is an example of an obsidian projectile point kept/owned in a house for the duration of fourteen wall re-plasterings. Elsewhere we have evidence of much

longer-term curation of objects. Space 279 midden in Level 4040 I had an inscribed Canhasan III point otherwise typical of the aceramic levels of the site, perhaps indicating an heirloom (we do not usually find evidence of post-depositional processes that could have relocated such an object across so many levels of occupation). In Building 1, a pit was dug down to retrieve an installation or relief from the west wall of the main room (Hodder and Cessford 2004). In the sequence of buildings numbered from earliest to latest—65, 56, 44, 10—Boz and Hager (2013) found that teeth that fit into the jaw of an individual originally buried in Building 65 were found with another burial in Building 56 directly above it. This suggests that those living in Building 56 were constructing relationships or memories with the individuals buried within the earlier building below.

If commemorative history making is an important social practice, breaks and discontinuities will likely be marked and embedded in ritual. Throughout this volume we shall see examples of the careful cleaning and dismantling of buildings, burning, holding of special feasts during abandonment. Buildings are often intentionally and carefully filled. The foundation of new buildings may again be marked by burials, feasts, special events. These types of symbolic emphases certainly suggest a focus on history making. They may more immediately suggest forgetting, de-commissioning, but even so, these practices refer to a larger process in which links to the past have become important, if also dangerous and contested.

In this chapter, history making thus refers to continuities produced both by habituated practices and by commemorative links to the past. We shall see that there is often a related link to ownership. The building of historical links to the past in specific places may be associated with the assertion of rights to land or to animals, to buildings or ancestors. Again, this link needs to be scrutinized carefully. The continued use of a distinctive type of mudbrick in making a column of houses may suggest ownership of a clay source, or it may simply reflect habituated behavior. The repeated use of a particular part of the landscape for sheep grazing may suggest ownership, but the degree of exclusivity needs to be evaluated.

Another important consideration is the degree of temporal depth over which practices endure. Ancestral bones and relics may quickly become generic, the specific names and individuals long forgotten. It remains unclear over how many generations histories were constructed in the Neolithic of the Middle East. The depth may well have varied. Certainly at Aşıklı Höyük the longevity of habituated practices in individual houses is many hundreds of years (see chapters 6 and 7). At Çatalhöyük a good case can be made for commemorative

memories and histories that go back up to 100 years. Refinements in dating techniques are allowing new insight in these areas (Bayliss et al. 2015).

Commemorative history making involves constructing a link between the present and a specific event in the past. At times there is remarkable precision and specificity at Çatalhöyük in the way people dug down in exactly the right place to retrieve a skull; clearly in these cases the locations of specific earlier burials had been remembered. Also at Çatalhöyük, a plastered female skull was found held in the arms of an adult woman (Hodder 2006). The head had been plastered and painted at least four times, and the specificity of the arrangements in the graves suggests that specific links were being built between the two individuals. This is in contrast to the frequent amassing of plastered skulls and their more communal or generic nature in the Levant (Bonogofsky 2004). At some point skulls may have become generic ancestors or merged into myth.

Myth can be distinguished from history in that although myths may be rife with origin stories, the time of their occurrence is in a relatively undifferentiated distant past. There is the time of myth and the time of the present, but they are not specifically connected. This may be true of the treatment of skulls in the Levant. It is also tempting to follow Clare and colleagues (chapter 4) and argue that the T-shaped pillars at Göbekli represent mythical ancestors. However, Clare and colleagues also argue that the stone enclosures at the site were involved in history making. The onus is on the archaeologist to differentiate myth making from history making. It is only when specific links between past and present can be seen to have been constructed that we are warranted to talk of history making.

In general terms, it is possible to argue for a close link between religion and history making. Definitions of religion in relatively non-complex societies are fraught with difficulties. These have been discussed at length in previous volumes (Hodder 2010, 2014). Religion often seems to have to do with “the beyond” or the “transcendent.” It is this latter definition that links religion and history making. For Bloch (2008), as discussed by Benz and colleagues (chapter 5), religion is about creating links through time that extend beyond the everyday. Religion creates a “transcendental social,” an imagined communal identity of a social entity. It might be expected, then, that as the demands on social community and continuity increase, so history making would be elaborated in ritual and religious contexts.

In this volume the larger question of the role of religion in the shift to more intensive agricultural systems is explored by Shults and Wildman (chapter 1). They develop a systems-dynamics model that is novel in a number of

ways, particularly its inclusion of what they term religious variables dealing with cognitive, moral, ritual, and social dimensions. They model the shift from low-investment to high-investment systems, comparable to the change from societies more engaged with immediate returns to those more involved in delayed returns for their labor. Their model integrates in an exciting way a wide range of religious and social variables, including contestation, into economic and subsistence variables. The result is a fascinating interdisciplinary exercise that fits much of the data we have from Çatalhöyük. In particular, the rapid changes seen in their figure 5 (figure 1.5) correspond with the marked cultural, social, and ritual changes we see halfway through the sequence at the site. In more general terms, their model demonstrates the centrality of religious transformation to the overall growth of mega-sites such as Çatalhöyük. The results support the claim made by Whitehouse and Hodder (2010) that during the occupation of the site there was a shift from more “imagistic” to “doctrinal” modes of religiosity.

## THE EVIDENCE FOR HISTORY MAKING IN THE NEOLITHIC OF THE MIDDLE EAST

So what, then, is the evidence for these various forms of history making during the late Epipaleolithic and Neolithic of the Middle East?

Of course, there were repetitive practices earlier in the Paleolithic. These involved repeated seasonal uses of the landscape in such a way that certain sites that provided shelter, such as caves, were returned to over long periods of time. For example, Ksar Akil in Lebanon has 23 m of deposit covering the period from the Middle Paleolithic through the Early and Upper Middle Paleolithic to the Kebaran Epipaleolithic. In the upper levels there was a “fine and complex stratigraphy” (Bergman 1987, 3). Kebara Cave also has deposits that span from the Middle Paleolithic through to Natufian, or from roughly 60,000 to 10,000 BCE. The Middle Paleolithic deposits show repeated use of part of the cave for hearths, while an inner part of the cave was used as a dump area (Goldberg 2001). The hearth area has deep deposits of overlapping hearths, each of which results from several episodes of combustion (Meignen et al. 2000, 14). These multiphase hearths indicate long periods of repetitive use in the same depression (Meignen et al. 2000, 15), and similar processes are found in other sites in the Middle East—there is an abundance of fire installations vertically superimposed (Meignen et al. 2000, 16). But the placing of these hearths was not exact. Rather, there was a zone in the cave where, over a long period of time, people made hearths. Each hearth involved a few

re-firings, but the hearths themselves created a vertical palimpsest of overlaps. There was general use of a part of the cave for hearths but no specific backward reference. For Upper Paleolithic examples from the Levant, see Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen (chapter 3).

The Kebaran in the Levant has lowland aggregation sites of twenty-five to fifty people and upland camps of fourteen to seventeen people, and there may have been seasonal cycles of aggregation and dispersal. Little architecture has been excavated, but there was possibly twice a year occupation in the early Kebaran at Ohalo II about 19,000 years ago (Nadel 1990). At Ohalo II the huts have multiple floors with trash between them. Burial beneath floors probably occurred in the Kebaran at Kharaneh IV and Ein Gev (Valla 1991). At Ein Gev I in the Jordan Valley in Israel, there is a fourteenth millennium BCE Kebaran site on the east side of the Sea of Galilee (Arensburg and Bar-Yosef 1973). A hut was found dug into the slope of a hill. “The hut was periodically occupied as indicated by six successive layers which accumulated within it” (Arensburg and Bar-Yosef 1973, 201). Each layer had a floor 5–7 m in diameter littered with artifacts and bones, covered by a sandy layer that included artifacts. In section the floors clearly repeat each other, and from one of the middle floors a grave was cut. There is no evidence of specific repetitions of feature or artifact placements, but this example clearly indicates some specific backward reference in the location of a house structure, even in the absence of permanent occupation. In chapter 2, Matthews discusses the evidence of repeated building at Zawi Chemi Shanidar, ca. 11,150–10,400 BCE, where a round house, Structure 1, was repeatedly constructed three times in the same place.

In the Natufian there is some degree of sedentism (Bar-Yosef and Valla 2013). ‘Ain Mallaha has animals and birds from all seasons (Valla 1991), and there are commensals (such as the house mouse), indicating sedentism. Settlements occur in the hill zones of Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria; and related sites are found to the north in Mureybet and Abu Hureyra. The later Natufian starts at the same time as the Younger Dryas climatic deterioration. In the Levant in the later Natufian, many but not all hamlets dispersed and became more mobile (Bar-Yosef 2001). But in the Taurus in southeastern Turkey and adjacent areas, the response to the Younger Dryas may have been greater sedentism at sites such as Hallan Çemi (Bar-Yosef 2004).

There were both base camps and shorter-term intermittent sites in the Natufian. In the shorter-term sites there is little evidence of repetitive practices. In the Natufian site of Hatula there is a Natufian layer and then (PPNA) Khiamian and Sultanian occupation. The Natufian layer is about 0.8 m deep,

and there are no houses or burials. This site is interpreted as an accumulation of short halts related to a specialized task, probably hunting gazelle (Ronen and Lechevallier 1991). This shows that palimpsest sites that do not involve placed continuity and memory construction did occur. In the short-term or seasonal encampment at Beidha, the Natufian had two to five distinct layers within 0.6 m of deposit (Byrd 1989). There were hearths and roasting areas, but no visible architecture and no burials were found.

In the Natufian at Hayonim Cave, some structures had paved floors. In one of the structures, Locus 4, there were two stages of paving and built-up hearths (Bar-Yosef 1991), although this structure then became a kiln for burning lime and then a bone tool workshop—so this is not a long sequence of repetitive use. In Stratum B there were five stages of Natufian activity within only 1 m of deposit (Bar-Yosef and Goren 1973), and there is little evidence of repetitive use of the same place or layout.

Even in substantial Natufian sites, there may be little evidence of structured repetition. Valla (1991) notes that it is often difficult to follow coherent levels of habitation in Natufian sites and difficult to show the absolute contemporaneity of buildings. In Square M1 of the tell site at Jericho in the “proto-Neolithic,” there were 4 m of occupation, including a large number of beaten floors, but no evidence of repeated behavior. At Abu Hureyra 1, Moore and colleagues (2000, 105) describe “numerous, superimposed, thin floor surfaces,” but there was little sense of repetition or continuity. Large numbers of small fires and artifacts are described, and the deposits sound more like midden than house floors.

However, in the early Natufian site of Wadi Hammeh 27 in the central Jordan Valley, a sounding “has revealed three successive constructional phases, overlying a human burial and associated burials.” These are phases of circular stone built houses. The evidence “shows a continuity in spatial arrangement of constructed features through successive phases” (Edwards 1991, 125). The earliest evidence of Natufian occupation at Hayonim Cave is Grave XIII, “which was covered by the floor of Locus 3”—that is, by one of the structures with undressed stone walls (Bar-Yosef 1991, 86).

At ‘Ain Mallaha there is definitely super-positioning of houses. In the “ancient level,” Houses 131, 51, and 62–73 succeed others on the same spot (Perrot 1966). In the “recent level,” there is another sequence of houses dug into each other (26, 45, 22). In the final Natufian at Mallaha, each major building had a succession of floors, one on top of another, with no sterile layers between (i.e., no abandonment fill) (Samuelian, Khalaily, and Valla 2006).

There is a rough repeated pattern in the layout of hearths and other structures in some of the Mallaha buildings. Sometimes this is very specific. According

to Perrot (1966), in dwelling No. 1 at Mallaha there was a rectangular hearth on the north side with a human skull just by it to the south. The dwelling was then filled in, and from the surface a pit was dug to make a grave on the same alignment to the south. Piles of stones also occurred on the same alignment. The southern grave was then covered with stones to make a “tomb” that was visible. All this suggests structured use of space through time and memory construction in the reference to earlier practices.

By the end of the Natufian there is evidence of the removal of the human skull after death, although in the absence of evidence for circulation and reuse, this does not by itself indicate the construction of historical links to ancestors. Skull removal may have had other roles such as healing, divination, and so on. There were quite a lot of skeletons within the houses at Mallaha, but the stratigraphical positioning is often unclear in Valla (1991). According to the reanalysis by Boyd (1995), the 131-51-62-73 sequence of buildings started with twelve skeletons beneath the floor of 131. He draws attention to the continuity of activity in the same place starting with a set of burials (see, however, the critical discussion by Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen in chapter 3). Burials also occurred in pits outside houses at Mallaha. In Building 203 in the final Natufian at Mallaha, a building without housing facilities turned into a house with two distinct phases of floors, separated by a grave. In the final stage of occupation of this building, a corpse was deposited on the floor. Then the bones were rearranged during later habitation (Valla et al. 2002). At Natufian Hayonim Cave, graves were dug into several structures that then went out of use (Bar-Yosef 1991), but in some of the occupation phases at this site there were also graves outside the structures.

As described above, for societies in which temporal depth and memory construction are important, ending and starting buildings are likely to be significant events surrounded in ritual. Did such practices already occur in the Natufian? At Mallaha in both “ancient” and “recent levels,” the fills of buildings are full of artifacts. Boyd (1995) argues that the material on the floors of Building 131 at Mallaha may have been there as part of abandonment or founding rituals. The floors at Wadi Hammeh 27 are also filled over with artifact-rich deposits (Edwards 1991). This could be a specific abandonment and dumping process, but Hardy-Smith and Edwards (2004) suggest that at Wadi Hammeh 27 and other sites, the pattern results from a lack of focus on differentiated activities in space.

In the ruins of one house at Mallaha there were several boar heads (Valla 1991), which could indicate ritualized abandonment processes. In what he called Abri 26 at Mallaha, Perrot (1966) found a child’s skeleton and necklace

on the abandoned floor. Complete basalt artifacts were found “discarded” or cached on interior floors at Wadi Hammeh 27 (Edwards 1991), but it is not clear whether they were just abandoned in a context of use or whether this was ritualized in some way. Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen (2001, 260–62) describe a number of possible cases of Natufian “ritual caches” of stone tools that could represent special deposition of some form.

Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen (chapter 3) discuss numerous other cases of history making in the Natufian. Of particular interest is the evidence that during the shift to more dispersed occupation in the later Natufian, people returned to earlier settlement sites to inter the dead there (see also Bar-Yosef and Valla 2013). They also discuss the history making evident in the circulation of human skulls, and they raise the broader point that distinct local cultural traits passed down from generation to generation indicate identity marking while at the same implying locally specific memories and constructed histories.

In the PPNA in the Levant, settlements were 0.2 to 2.5 hectares in size and are thus three to eight times larger than the largest Natufian sites (Bar-Yosef 2001). The houses were often oval and semi-subterranean, with internal hearths and plaster floors. In northern Syria, too, mounds were often long-lived. Jerf el Ahmar had at least ten building levels comprising about 800 years of settlement (Akkermans 2004, 287). PPNA and related sites were also often much more structured than most Natufian sites. Nadel (1998, 9) has noted that “in Natufian and other Epipaleolithic sites, it is common to find the entire range of typological variability in each site, and even in each locus . . . However, in PPNA cases, it is common to find typological differences between assemblages from contemporaneous loci at a site.” Goodale and Kuijt (2006) have noted a similar shift in the way sites are formed as a result of their work at ‘Iraq ed-Dubb in Jordan. Here a late Natufian occupation “had fairly non-delineated use of space compared to a more delineated use of space during the PPNA.”

There is much more evidence of repeated use of the same space or house in the PPNA throughout the region. In the small site of Hallan Çemi by the upper reaches of the Tigris there are no human burials and no storage pits, and there appears to be little evidence of overall continuity from layer to layer in the location of buildings (Rosenberg and Redding 2000). However, within the latest that was examined in greater detail, the floors of buildings had surfaces of thin sand and plaster mixture “and were . . . resurfaced multiple times” (Rosenberg and Redding 2000, 45). But Qermez Dere in northern Iraq has good evidence of rebuilding in the same place (Watkins 2004, 2006).

In Phase II at Mureybet on the Middle Euphrates, there were round houses superimposed on an “Epi-Natufian” house xxxvii: “Trois niveaux d’habitation

en maisons rondes se superposent directement à la maison xxxvii de la phase IB. Il s'agit manifestement de la reutilisation du même espace d'habitat en continuité directe avec la période épinatoufienne" (Cauvin 1979, 26). In part of the site, there were five levels of occupation in this phase.

At Jericho (Kenyon 1981) in Trench D II there is a huge amount of very repetitive surfaces adjacent to the tower in PPNA—between the tower and adjacent circular enclosures. But it is inside the walls that one sees most of the residential continuity in PPNA and PPNB deposits. For example, in Trench E there was continuity in E 5 in PPNA and E 135 to E 146 to E 161 in PPNB. On the whole, walls were cut down further than at Çatalhöyük. In PPNA in Squares E I, E II, and E V, there were twenty-four main building phases. In most cases there were only two to four floors for each building phase: "Some of the houses lasted through several phases, but usually with rebuildings almost from the base of the walls. Associated with most of the phases was usually a long succession of surfaces, particularly in the courtyard areas linking the various buildings" (Kenyon 1981, 269). In Square M1 in Phase xxxvii a house MH was built "which has a very long life, lasting from phase xxxvii until xlv or xlvi" (Kenyon 1981, 220). "The interior of house ME, unlike MC, shows a number of renewals of the floors, two of them with a considerable make-up of cobbles; associated with the floors are occupation levels" (Kenyon 1981, 228). The ME to MH sequence covers fourteen phases, from xxxiii to xlvi.

The greater delineation of space in PPNA sites has been noted, and this is relevant to abandonment and foundation processes. There is more evidence of refuse management practices, with separate middens and more cleaning out of houses on abandonment (Hardy-Smith and Edwards 2004; Goodale and Kuijt 2006). At Hallan Çemi, plant and animal remains and groundstone were rare inside buildings, although there were fragments of copper ore and evidence of obsidian knapping inside (Rosenberg and Redding 2000). But in PPNA Göbekli, the fill in Enclosure D was full of artifacts, animal bones, and other typical settlement debris (Schmidt 2002).

Evidence for abandonment and foundation deposits is also found at Jericho. In PPNA in Trenches E I, E II, and E V, there was one building with a central stone-lined post socket under which was an infant burial (Kenyon 1981), which may represent a foundation deposit. In Square M1 in PPNA in Phase xlii in house MM, the clay floor had a foundation of cobblestones: "Set in the cobbles, but sealed by the clay floor, and therefore contemporary with the construction of the building, were two burials" (Kenyon 1981, 232). At Jericho in M1 in PPNA, there was perhaps a repeated pattern of large numbers of burials occurring when a new house was founded, either

in the foundation or in the first occupation. This is true of buildings MO, MM, and MH. MJ had a burial in its destruction level. Burials sometimes occurred beneath floors of houses at Jericho in PPNA (Kenyon 1981). Skull removal also occurred in the PPNA (Bar-Yosef 2001). At Jerf el Ahmar in northern Syria, in Village 1/east there was a sunken building with wooden posts to hold up the roof. At the bottom of one of these posts “two human skulls were found” (Stordeur 2000, 1). This begins to suggest the specific use of skulls to build histories in houses, although the use of skulls in this way may have been simply protective or magical. Yet the use of a human skull begins to suggest that links to the past and past individuals were of increasing salience.

In their account of Körtik Tepe in southeast Turkey, Benz and colleagues (chapter 5) focus on the building of community identities and histories. The strong overall commitment to the local place is suggested by isotopic studies of human skeletons that indicate largely local and collective food consumption. The designs on stone vessels are found across the site as a whole and indeed have similarities at other sites in the region. But there is also much evidence for smaller, perhaps house-based, history making. For example, there is evidence for renovation and reoccupation of individual houses. Outside fireplaces were placed repeatedly in the same areas. There are also burials placed beneath the floors of houses. The burials are often associated with the deliberate smashing of decorated stone vessels, with some fragments kept aside and not buried.

Clare and colleagues (chapter 4) also see the elaborate structures at Göbekli Tepe in terms of the building of public histories or cultic community. They note the frequent modifications of the PPNA circular enclosures with T-shaped pillars, the reuse and resurfacing of pillars, all of which suggests curation and history making. In addition, there is good evidence for intentional burial of the enclosures, with the tops of the pillars probably still visible in the hollows between later PPNB occupation. The closure of buildings was associated with feasting. The fact that these histories were contested is suggested by the digging of a pit in Enclosure C, linked to the destruction of its two central pillars.

Turning to the PPNB in the Levant, ‘Ain Ghazal has frequent floor replasterings (Banning 2003), but perhaps the best evidence is from the extensive excavations and soundings at Jericho. As in the PPNA, walls are built on walls and there are repeated floors inside houses. So in E I, E II, and E V, in Phase xlvii “the levels in the northern room of the eastern range [of rooms] were gradually raised by a series of floors . . . The numerous floor levels suggest a prolonged period of use” (Kenyon 1981, 295). But the best evidence for

repeated surfaces was in the outside, courtyard areas between buildings. The courtyards had alternating layers of clay or mud floors and spreads of charcoal (Kenyon 1981, 294). There were hearths in these areas but Kenyon did not plan them, and so it is not possible to say whether there was repetitive location of hearths in outside areas.

The main changes in house sequences at Jericho are that rooms were added, built out onto courtyard areas before retreating again. Despite the overall focus on continuity, there is more interruption than at Aşıklı Höyük and Çatalhöyük. At Jericho there were real breaks, with horizons of destruction, collapse, decay, with burials in fills and fireplaces dug into stumps of walls and into abandoned floors. But the basic pattern of repeated buildings reasserts itself after the break.

In Jordan at Beidha, “the inhabitants were extremely conservative in their siting of the different elements of the village” (Kirkbride 1966, 14). “The siting of the large houses was conservative,” with sequences of houses in the same location (Kirkbride 1966, 17). There was also at the site “plenty of evidence for the long use of the Level II corridor buildings; most of them were rebuilt at least partially one or more times . . . The buildings [of Level III] underlie the Level II corridor units with great precision . . . Where investigations in depth have been made the walls and buttresses lie immediately below those of Level II in most cases” (Kirkbride 1966, 18). The plaster floor of one building had been re-laid five times. Each floor was composed of many thin layers of plaster, and there was continuity in bands of red painted plaster (Kirkbride 1966, 17). In one building at Beidha the total thickness of the multiple plaster layers was over 5.5 cm, and parallels were drawn with Çatalhöyük (Kirkbride 1966, 18).

At Abu Hureyra 2 “each house was usually constructed on the remains of an earlier one, and the form of that building largely determined the plan of its successor” (Moore, Hillman, and Legge 2000, 262). The rooms of the ruined house were filled in and the stubs of the walls cut down: “The houses in Trench E were rebuilt four, and the houses in Trench B no fewer than nine times” (Moore, Hillman, and Legge 2000, 266). Floors were renewed at least two to three times and sometimes up to ten times. Walls also had mud plaster or whitewash refreshed several times during a room’s life. “The hearths were often set in the same place in successive houses” (Moore, Hillman, and Legge 2000, 265)—for example, the series of hearths in houses of Phases 2–7 in Trench B. “We conclude from this that the builders of a new house often remembered not only the plan but also the internal arrangements of its predecessor, and considered it appropriate to replicate both” (Moore, Hillman, and Legge 2000, 265). “We know, too, that in some instances they themselves were

the descendants of the inhabitants of the earlier structures” (Moore, Hillman, and Legge 2000, 266), since some distinctive skeletal and dental traits that are probably genetically transmitted were identified in house burials.

On the Euphrates at Bouqras in the PPNB “the house plans recovered suggest a preference for a standard dwelling pattern with respect to the location of certain areas, perhaps connected with their different functions” (Akkermans et al. 1983, 340). Thus the house had a large room with a horseshoe-shaped oven placed diagonally in one of the corners, although not always in the same corner. There is clear evidence of continuity of building in one spot (De Contenson and Van Liere 1966; Akkermans et al. 1983). “The foundations of new walls were erected directly on the stumps of the old walls, or on the floors of the former rooms, parallel to and often against older walls” (Akkermans et al. 1983, 340), although previous walls were cut down to only a few mudbricks high. As a result, the site had ten architectural levels in only 4.5 m height of mound.

At Dja'de el Mughara on the Euphrates small, one-room houses were built of pisé on stone foundations and they had been repeatedly renewed, although there were insubstantial short-term structures as well (Akkermans 2004, 285). Repetition of houses continues into the Pottery Neolithic at sites such as Tell Sabi Abyad in northern Syria (Akkermans et al. 2006), as well as in later periods.

In the Zagros, Matthews (chapter 2) notes that locations may initially be defined as “places” during early phases of infrequent and low-intensity use. It is only through time that repetitive behaviors such as floor resurfacing start to occur and more established histories are built. Matthews notes that this increased association with place may have very mundane practical concerns, such as the dependence on herbivore dung for fuel, associated with the domestication of animals. In addition, there is evidence for increasing numbers of sites and intensification of land use, all contributing to, or motivated by, greater attachment to place. She also identifies a pattern found in many other sites and regions of the repetition of houses linked to burial practices; the history making in house building was closely tied to history making around human remains. The idea that the repetitions of house layout are more than just routinized practices is suggested by their embedding in specific practices, such as the choice of very white plaster or red paint for special locations, and by the placing of bull and other installations. History making is seen in both domestic and more public ritual buildings.

In southeastern Turkey at Çayönü, there seems at first sight to be much more evidence of conformity within phases than between phases, as houses change in form from Round to Grill to Channeled to Pebble paved to Cell to Large room. There is a striking homogeneity of building types in each building

layer (Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1989, 72). Thus there seems to be more of a focus on horizontal similarity rather than vertical continuity. However, even here Özdoğan and Özdoğan (1989, 73) argue that “in every building layer, the foundations of the new building are always directly on top of the preceding one, without disturbing or re-using its stones.” Some buildings are mentioned as having several rebuilds, and the Skull Building went through at least five major rebuilds.

At Aşıklı Höyük in central Turkey, dated to the late ninth and early eighth millennia BCE, “in one of the excavated rooms, ‘room A’ (trench 3K . . .) 13 floor levels have been recognized” (Düring 2006, 73). At this site there is also the possibility of variation between houses in memory construction. Only 35 percent of rooms have hearths at this site (Esin and Harmanakaya 1999), but there is clear continuity in those houses that do and do not have hearths (Duru, chapter 6). Given the relatively small percentage of buildings with hearths, this evidence suggests that some buildings passed down the practice of hearth use while others did not. Anspach (chapter 7) argues that the hearth itself may have been a major symbolic focus. He argues that buildings with hearths more commonly had burials beneath floors and had a special non-domestic status. There is also much continuity at the site in terms of the location of the major street and the “ritual complex” and the location of midden areas (in the deep sounding). History making thus seems to occur at a variety of scales at Aşıklı: at the house level, at the level of the hearth buildings, and at the level of the community as a whole. The emphasis on continuity of buildings seen at Aşıklı Höyük and Çatalhöyük is also found elsewhere in the Ceramic Neolithic in central Anatolia. Thus, Erbaba in the mid-seventh millennium is only 4 m high, but “in some cases the walls seem to have been constructed on top of earlier walls in the same alignment” (Düring 2006, 236), and up to ten successive floors occurred in a single room.

We have seen that there is much evidence for repetitive practices in houses and for memory construction in the PPNB and related groups in the Middle East and Turkey. There is also continued evidence for abandonment and foundation practices. At Beidha the large houses were kept scrupulously clean, but the corridor buildings, which may be basements (although in some cases the floors were plastered), have fills containing implements and waste (Kirkbride 1966). At Bouqras the fills between house levels were a mixture of midden and building material (Akkermans et al. 1983). At Jericho there was often “bricky debris,” perhaps from the destruction of the previous phase, between phases, and rebuilds of houses. The walls were generally cut down much more than at Çatalhöyük.

Heads tend to be found in groups in the Levant, sometimes with features plastered on, but it is not clear how much they were circulated. There are male and female skulls as well as sub-adults, raising the question of whether the skulls represent ancestor veneration at all rather than apotropaic or other protective functions (Bonogofsky 2004). However, the depositional contexts of some skull deposition are suggestive of practices that may have involved backward or forward reference. The skull of a child was found between the stones of the foundations of Wall E 180 at Jericho (Kenyon 1981). In Phase lxii in a room in a house in E I, II, V, the cranium of an elderly man was set upright in the corner about 15 cm below floor level. In E III–IV a plastered skull was found in a building fill. Goring-Morris (2000, 119) argues that many PPNB burials definitely stratigraphically predated the construction of the overlying architectural features and floors. For example, “In at least three instances at Kfar HaHoresh burial pits clearly stratigraphically underlie and are sealed by plaster surfaces” (Goring-Morris 2000, 119). In some cases there is a lapse of time between burial or skull removal and the making of the floor. Thus buildings “remembered” the location of the burials or skulls. Sometimes there is evidence of markers above the burials or skulls. Goring-Morris suggests that constructing buildings in relation to earlier buildings may have started at Mallaha in the Levant (see above).

Stevanović (1997) has argued that buildings were intentionally burned as part of abandonment practices in the Neolithic of southeastern Europe. Verhoeven (2000) has made a similar case for the Middle East, although here he sees a link to death. Thus at the late seventh and early sixth millennium cal BCE site of Tell Sabi Abyad in northern Syria (Verhoeven 1999), in the “Burnt Village” there is evidence of intentional and ritual burning related to mortuary ritual (Verhoeven 2000). Two bodies were found with large clay objects. Verhoeven (2002) interprets other evidence of firing as intentional at Bouqras and Jerf al Ahmar. At Bouqras a localized fire was again associated with dead bodies, and at Jerf el Ahmar in the PPNA a burned body in a burned house had had its head removed.

The caching of lime plaster statuettes at “Ain Ghazal is of interest as it seems that they were taken out of a context of use and deposited. Features on the feet of the statuettes suggest they were displayed upright, anchored to the floor, before being dismantled and placed in pits. The evidence suggests an ending or beginning act. There are also claims that the statuettes were broken and that heads had been removed (Rollefson 2000). Other examples of abandonment and foundation deposits and burial practices indicating a concern with temporal depth are found in southeastern Turkey and northern Syria.

Special abandonment practices are found at Çayönü—for example, in the Cell phase there is blocking of doorways, and intact artifacts are abandoned in cell rooms (Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1989). Charnel houses or buildings for the dead occur at Çayönü (the Skull Building) and at Abu Hureyra and Dja'de el Mughara (the Maison des Morts) in Syria (Akkermans 2004, 289).

The individual plastered skull found at Çatalhöyük had been circulated and reused, as evidenced by multiple layers of re-plastering and repainting of the skull (Hodder 2006). Talalay (2004) gives examples of “untethered heads” in Turkey, at Nevalı Çori, Köşk Höyük, and Cafer Höyük. She interprets a pillar at Göbekli as showing an animal holding a human head. At Köşk Höyük there is a plastered skull of a twenty-one- to twenty-four-year-old woman and another plastered female skull. There are detachable head figurines from Çatalhöyük but also from Hacilar and Höyücek (Talalay 2004). There is evidence of circulation and handing down of artifacts through time in much of the region in the PPNB. Recirculation and reuse of stones was found at Çayönü. Standing stones up to 2 m high were found in the plaza and in the Skull and Flagstone ceremonial buildings. “Some of the standing stones were intentionally broken and then buried under the subsequent reflooring of the plaza” (Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1989, 74).

At Jericho in the PPNB levels, a large bituminous block was found (Kenyon 1981, 306–7). It had been carefully flaked and was obtained from the Nebi Musa district 17 miles away. It was found in the foundation of Wall E223 of Phase lxv. But it exactly fit into a niche of the earlier Phase lxiv, where it probably stood on a stone set on a pillar of earth on which there were traces of plaster. So this stone had a role in Phase lxiv and was then reused in the foundation of lv. In Phase lxiii this same room had a distinctive green clay floor, all suggesting that this part of the building had a special character over three phases.

A clear example of abandonment practices that involved collecting artifacts from different contexts is provided by the deposition of groundstone artifacts in Building 77 at Çatalhöyük, discussed in this volume by Tsoraki (chapter 9). The deposition of large numbers of intentionally broken and not fully used grinding stones showing various stages of weathering and deriving from a variety of contexts (since the fragments rarely fit together) indicates a carefully staged and choreographed process. A large network of social relations was indexed and memorialized in this closing ceremony as the house was burned and buried.

In her chapter, Joyce considers the passing down of immaterial property from house to house at Çatalhöyük. Clearly, this type of history making is less visible archaeologically, but Joyce studies the passing down of practices

in the manufacture of pottery. She finds that knowledge of how to make pots, or knowledge of and rights to acquire pots, distinguished some residents at the site from others. Because of the relative scarcity of ceramics in houses at the site, she focuses on sequences of middens, assuming that in some way these middens were used by a community of houses at the site. Such evidence concurs with other data from the site that suggest that in the upper levels, sequences of houses used similar brick recipes in house construction (Love 2013) or herded sheep in distinct locales (Pearson 2013). The passing down of ritual knowledge at Çatalhöyük is seen, for example, in the repetition of the same leopard reliefs in Mellaart's Shrine 44, Levels VII and VI.

The PPNB levels at Halula (Saña, Tornero, and Molist 2014) provide much evidence of columns of rectangular houses built in the same place during five to seven rebuilding events. There is continuity in the placement of internal features and a standardization of burial practices. The mitochondrial genetic relationships of those buried in houses suggest much mixing and homogeneity in the community as a whole; this evidence perhaps parallels that from Çatalhöyük (Pilloud and Larsen 2011), indicating that those buried in the same house were not more closely related than those across the settlement as a whole. Those living in Çatalhöyük houses were practical or fictive kin, suggesting that house histories were constructed rather than a direct reflection of biological descent. At Halula as at Çatalhöyük, the different houses were associated with specific herd management practices.

## CONCLUSION

Overall, then, there is abundant evidence of an increasing concern with temporal depth in the pre-Neolithic and Neolithic societies of the Middle East and Turkey. Perhaps one of the reasons commentators have not foregrounded such evidence in discussions of early sedentism and agricultural intensification is that archaeologists tend to base their accounts on two-dimensional settlement plans. The emphasis has tended to be on the shapes of houses, the activities that take place in them, the spatial relationships between larger and smaller houses and between public and domestic buildings, and the spatial locations of burials. The discussion has been dominated by a two-dimensional perspective, despite the fact that many of the sites have complex and deep stratigraphies. The stratigraphies are seen as important in sorting out chronological sequences, but they are not themselves seen as social. It is for this reason that the development of 3D reconstructions, as discussed by Lercari in chapter 10, is of importance, especially when linked to interactive data exploration.

Lercari's work challenges any separation of analytical research from public engagement, arguing that collaborative research on the interpretation of 3D environments benefits from an open and inclusive approach. In his reconstruction of part of the "Shrine" sequence at Çatalhöyük, he shows that a 3D visualization of a history house sequence assists considerably in interpreting the degree of continuity between houses over time.

The chapters in this volume indicate clearly that there is increasing 3D stratigraphic evidence for repetitive practices in houses and sometimes in outside areas (e.g., courtyard or midden areas at Jericho and Aşıklı Höyük), as well as in public spaces such as paved streets (at Aşıklı Höyük), through time in the late Pleistocene and early Holocene in the Middle East and Turkey. There is also increasing evidence of specific memory construction as houses are built over burials or skulls and other objects are circulated and passed down through time. The concern with time depth, history, and memory reaches its apogee in the PPNB at the same time domesticated plants appear, but it starts to emerge at least by later Kebaran and Natufian times, even in contexts in which sedentism is limited. It is difficult to explain the focus on temporal depth as the result of living in dense villages. For example, at the late ninth and early eighth millennium BCE site of Boncuklu on the Konya plain, houses are rebuilt in the same locations even though the settlement pattern is fairly open and dispersed (houses are not densely packed together) (Baird 2007). Rather, it seems that the emergence of greater temporal depth was a necessary condition for dense settled life, the delayed returns of intensive subsistence systems, and the shift to domesticated plants and animals, as well as for the staging of larger-scale feasts, exchanges, and marriages.

But it is clear that there are at least two types or scales of history making. Some authors in this volume focus on the repetition of large-scale public monuments in the same location, their use and reuse, their incorporation of earlier features, their careful abandonment and rebuilding. Other authors focus more on the history making evident in columns of individual houses. At times, as at Aşıklı Höyük, both types of history making are present. What is the relationship between these two forms?

Duru (chapter 6) provides an overall synthetic account in which theories about the Neolithic are linked to present-day political concerns in an interesting way. Duru argues that public ritual aggregation sites were important in establishing sedentism in the Middle East. Public history making played an important initial role. But he goes on to argue that these public histories came to be contested. The degree of history making in the construction of ritual buildings and streets at Aşıklı Höyük is remarkable but is matched by the

almost compulsive attentiveness to the repetition of houses and hearths at the site. As is clear in his figure 1 (figure 6.1), houses are continually replaced in the same locations, and those with and without hearths are continually reproduced over centuries of occupation. Duru sees a long-term process whereby collective history making was overtaken and contested by sub-identities that he describes as individualized and private but that could also be seen as house-based. As more and more activities are brought into the house, the overall focus on shared rituals comes into conflict with house-based production and consumption so that in the end the PPNB pattern of collective villages dissipates in many, though not all, regions.

One could indeed see some sort of evolutionary process of this sort, but the evidence can also be interpreted as a long-term tension between community and house-based production, exchange, and consumption. After all, as we have seen, house-based history making is evident far back into the Epipaleolithic, whereas clear evidence of collective history making is not evident until the PPNA. It is widely and commonly asserted that these public buildings, such as at Göbekli, brought communities together and that they mitigated the tensions arising from increased population, more intensive and competitive production, and increasing social differentiation. There are numerous problems with this narrative (Banning 2011). For example, the “public” buildings are often insufficiently large to house an entire community, and at Göbekli it is possible that several were in use at the same time. The provision of restricted entries and a dromos suggests that these are in fact secluded places, restricted to groups smaller than the community as a whole. Throughout the southern and northern Levant, the special buildings are at the edges of settlements rather than centrally located. In central Anatolia, at Aşıklı Höyük, the public buildings are marginal to the “ancestral core” (see Duru, figure 6.2) and could only have housed a small fraction of the community as a whole. While it is certainly possible that the “public” buildings brought social cohesion to sub-groups within society, they also suggest in-groups versus out-groups. Their architectural structure, inward-looking and closed off, indicates more the participation of individuals in secret societies, men’s houses (Flannery and Marcus 2012), and other exclusive sodalities rather than community-wide cohesion.

One type of history making during the late Epipaleolithic and Neolithic in the Middle East and Anatolia centers on houses, their repetition and renewal. It seems that this house-based history making involved both practical routines as well as the passing down of objects and immaterial knowledge and forms of ownership. The histories constructed were often fictive and imagined but stabilized and made concrete in the material practices of house building, burial,

and the circulation of objects. This type of history making has the greater temporal depth, starting way back in the Epipaleolithic if not before. It can be linked to the gradual rise of economic and social systems in which there is a delayed return for labor input. This type of history making centers on the house because through this time period there is a largely domestic mode of production in which much of the production, processing, and consumption took place at the household level. Houses were linked together through (often fictive) descent that underpinned economic and social collaboration.

Gradually through time, however, a second form of history making emerged that allowed greater and wider collaboration within segments of the community as a whole. This second type allowed crosscutting sodalities to be constructed. These sodalities probably included a diversity of forms such as hunting societies, men's houses, secret societies, and medicine societies (Mills 2014). They functioned to link people together across house-based groups. They were often exclusive and highly ritualized. But they allowed any particular individual to call upon a wider array of support in times of hardship. They allowed cross-community sharing on a larger scale while at the same time promoting difference and contestation.

It is thus incorrect to see the increase of ritual and public monuments, of special buildings, as resulting from community cohesion. Rather, over millennia there was a tension between house-based and sodality-based forms of history making. These forms competed with each other, and in the end the "public" buildings that came to dominate in the PPNA decreased in importance and influence. Throughout, there is a competitive process of inventing and materializing histories, both between house-based and sodality-based groups and between different houses and sodalities. Both the house-based descent groups and the crosscutting sodalities that convened in "public" buildings invested in religious practices that involved history making. Both involved creating time depth and at the same time building networks. The greater the temporal depth, the more that people could be incorporated into networks of sharing and co-dependency. But also, the greater the temporal depth, the more could people invest in subsistence practices in which there were delayed returns for labor. The pattern of PPN villages, including the mega-sites of the PPNB, were knit together by religion and history tied to place. The chapters in this volume demonstrate that shifting from a 2D to a 3D perspective allows us to recognize the importance of historical depth in these early village societies.

Another reason for the lack of attention paid to history making in the period leading up to the Neolithic in the Middle East is that the focus on 2D house and settlement plans is matched by a focus on the spatial organization of

regional exchange and settlement systems. Perhaps in part because our chronologies are so approximate, much research has concentrated on networks of interaction, interaction spheres, population aggregation, and settlement systems. Here, too, a 3D perspective is needed. Settlement systems develop over time, and sites such as Göbekli Tepe and perhaps also Çatalhöyük became attractors to population in their regions, acting as historical magnets. As noted earlier, Gamble (1998) and Coward (2010) have documented the increased emphasis on networks of interchange in the later Epipaleolithic and early Neolithic. Exchange relations are often historical in that the objects transferred carry histories with them, linking communities in cycles of interdependence, giving but also keeping (Weiner 1992). One way of creating networks is to build historical ties through actual or fictive ancestry. Another mechanism is to coalesce groups of people around the passing down of rights and duties in “house societies” (as discussed in chapter 8). The greater the temporal depth achieved in the building of ties, the wider the network of affiliated individuals. But there is a logical contradiction between networks that are flat and open and those that are apical and deep in time, in that the latter promote separation and distinction. Time depth creates attachment to place, sedentism, tendencies toward ownership, investment. In these ways and at the most general of levels, history making contributes to the production of sedentism and the origins of farming. It undermines the collective sharing and reciprocal exchange that appear to dominate the Epipaleolithic and early Neolithic.

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