McDONALD INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS

Towards reflexive method in archaeology:
the example at Çatalhöyük

By Members of the Çatalhöyük teams

Edited by
Ian Hodder

MERKO

BRITISH INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT ANKARA

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BIAA Monograph No. 28

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Maria Mangafa.

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Cover illustration: *Investigating different modes of representation: Mark Knight and Nessa Leibhammer engaged in recording the same bins in 'scientific' and 'artistic' modes.*

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As well as those listed above, many other team members contributed to the development of the ideas contained in this book. This book remains above all things, a collaborative effort on the part of the whole team.

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Acknowledgements

Funding for the field research was provided by the Isaac Newton Trust, the British Academy, the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, the McDonald Institute, the Kress Foundation, the Dayton Foundation, Stanford University and the National Geographic Society.

The project is extremely grateful to the Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums (especially to the current Director, Kenan Yurttagül) and to the government representatives for their help and support. Generous assistance was also given by Ilhan Temiszoy, Director of the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations at Ankara, by Konya Museums (Director Erdoğan Erol) and the Çumra Belediye Başkan. An enormous amount of logistical help and advice was provided over the years by the Director, Dr Roger Matthews, and staff of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, to whom we are extremely grateful.

I would like to thank especially the local men and women who work with us on the site, led by Ismail Yaşli. We are well looked after by Necati and Nazmiye Terzioğlu and their family and by Ismail Salmanci and protected by Sadettin Dural and Mustafa Tokyasin.

Special thanks are due to the Istanbul Friends of Çatalhöyük, especially Reşit Ergener. It is a great pleasure to acknowledge our continued debt to James Mellaart, his wife Arlette and their son Alan. Increasingly the project has become dependant on the energies and support of Ömer Koç. His interest in and intellectual engagement with the site will provide the basis for many future generations at Çatalhöyük. I also wish to thank Evren Artam of the Koç Foundation, and Cem Kozlu.

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IAN HODDER

Author Biographies

Meltem Ağcabay has been working at Çatalhöyük since 1996 with the archaeobotany team. She completed her undergraduate degree in the Prehistory Department, Istanbul University in 1997 and has worked at the Zekirdağ Menekçe Çatağı excavation (1996) and on the Kastamonv Survey (1997). Currently she is studying for her Masters degree in the Archaeometry Department, Çukurova University. She will be analyzing a set of midden samples from the southern part of the Çatalhöyük site and using statistics to sort out groupings based on the botanical assemblages for her thesis.

Banu Aydinoğlu has been working at Çatalhöyük since 1996 as an excavator and for the last two years with the archaeozoology team. She has participated in the Zekirdağ Menekçe Çatağı excavation for the two study seasons (1996–97). She has worked in Greece at the Thessalloniki-Tumba excavation for one season in 1998 and is presently focusing on fauna from flotation samples by resorting them and visualizing the results with graphs.

Ayfer Bartu is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Koç University in Istanbul, Turkey. Her areas of interest include anthropology of tourism, urban anthropology, heritage studies and social theory. She has published several articles on the politics of historical preservation in Istanbul. In addition to the Çatalhöyük project, she has been working on a research project on emerging forms of urban segregation in contemporary Istanbul.

Adnan Baysal was born in Istanbul and studied archaeology at Istanbul University. He received his graduate degree from the Protohistory and Asia Minor Archaeology and Art History Department of the Faculty of Letters, Istanbul University. He continued studying in the same department and prepared his MA research on Southern Anatolian Neolithic Cultures and Ceramics. He has been involved in the Çatalhöyük project since 1993 and is currently studying ground stones from the sites as part of his PhD research at University College London. He lives and works in the UK in contract archaeology.

Åsa Berggren is a post-graduate student in Lund, Sweden. Her PhD subject is the spatial relationship between settlements, burials and offering sites during the Neolithic in southern Scandinavia. She is currently employed in contract archaeology in Malmö, Sweden. She participated in the Çatalhöyük project during the 1998 and 1999 seasons, as an excavator.

Peter Boyer started his involvement in archaeology as an undergraduate at the University of Wales, Lampeter, in 1983, during which time he excavated sites in Wales, Somerset, Sussex and Northumberland. Following graduation he worked extensively for Leicester University and the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit between 1987 and 1993. This work involved excavation, environmental archaeology and survey. During this period he was also involved in overseas projects in Libya, Turkmenistan, Italy and Spain and completed his Masters degree at Leicester University. During 1994 he was the environmentalist for a large project in Essex, employed by Essex County Council Field Archaeology Group.

In December 1994 he began his PhD thesis, entitled 'A Geoarchaeological Approach to Late Quaternary Environmental Change in South Central Turkey'. This examined the archaeological and sedimentary sequences of the Çarşamba alluvial fan in the Konya basin of Central Anatolia. He was awarded his PhD in 1999. He first became involved with the Çatalhöyük project in 1995 through the work of KOPAL (Konya Plain Palaeoenvironmental Project). This involved the analysis of geoarchaeological sequences from a number of archaeological mounds in the area around Çatalhöyük including a concentration of sequences from, and in the direct vicinity of the two mounds at Çatalhöyük. The fieldwork element of this work continued until 1997 and the material recovered provided the bulk of data for his thesis. In 1998 he excavated on both the East and West mounds of Çatalhöyük. In 1999 he again excavated on the East mound and also supervised an offsite excavation as a further element of the work of KOPAL. He currently holds a post-doctoral appointment based at the universities of Cambridge and Plymouth, and funded by the Çatalhöyük Research

Project and Plymouth University. This appointment involves post-excavation work for the Çatalhöyük Research Project and the analysis of sediments recovered from various aspects of work by KOPAL. This also furthers his current research interests which are concerned with the investigation of Neolithic and later prehistoric geoarchaeological and alluvial sequences on the Konya plain, and the wider implications these have for prehistoric environments, societies and early agricultural systems.

Başak Boz has been working at Çatalhöyük since 1996 with the Human Remains team. She graduated from the Palaeoanthropology Department in Ankara University in 1992 and has a Master's degree from the Physical Anthropology Department in Hacettepe at Ankara in 1997 and worked at the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara in 1998 and 1999. She currently works as a freelance anthropologist and is preparing to do a PhD. Başak has participated in several palaeontological excavations and surveys as well as archaeological excavations in the past nine years in Turkey. She is particularly interested in researching the Çatalhöyük population's dietary habits using microwear features on teeth. She also uses information gathered from ethnoarchaeological, botanical and archaezoological work.

Jenny Bredenberg currently works for the Cambridge Archaeological Unit at the University of Cambridge. Previously she took her MA in Archaeology at Stockholm University. As well as being involved in the Çatalhöyük Project she has also been involved in archaeological projects in Ireland, Jordan, Iceland and South Africa.

Dorothée Brill has studied Contemporary Art and Media Theory at the HfG (Staatliche Hochschule für Gestaltung) and the ZKM (Centre for Art and Media) at Karlsruhe and History of Art in Tübingen and Toulouse. Her research interest is focused on the influence of new image technics on art. At Çatalhöyük she was working on the permanent video documentation and the setup of the video data base, as a part of the Çatalhöyük Archaeology & Media Project (CHAMP), a project co-operation between the University of Cambridge, HfG, ZKM and the European Institute of Cinema Karlsruhe (EIKK).

Tom Cawdron is an undergraduate in Archaeology and Anthropology at Churchill College, University of Cambridge. He excavated at Çatalhöyük during the 1998 season.

Craig Cessford studied archaeology at Newcastle University at both undergraduate and Masters levels. Since 1991 he has been a full-time contract field archaeologist working for a number of organizations in Britain. He joined the Çatalhöyük project in 1997 and supervised excavations in the North area of the site since 1998. His main interests in the site are concerned with developing practical methodological approaches to the excavation of complex stratified sites and the interpretation of intra-building spatial patterning. His other research interests include Pictish art, Old Welsh poetry and clay tobacco pipes on which he has presented conference papers and published a number of articles.

James Conolly is a lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. He received his degrees from the University of Toronto (BA Anthropology) and the University of London (MA Archaeology, PhD Archaeology). His research interests are lithic analysis and spatial analysis (particularly GIS). He has been a member of the Çatalhöyük Project since 1993.

Anwen Cooper has recently completed an MA in Landscape Archaeology and has worked professionally as an archaeological surveyor and excavator. She first came to Çatalhöyük in 1996 as a student and has returned to dig twice since then. Her main interests in archaeology are British prehistory, landscape perspectives and community archaeology.

Martin Emele studied history and rhetorics at the University of Tübingen from 1984–90. From 1988–95 he produced video documentation and press releases for 'Projekt Troia', archaeological excavation in Troy, Turkey as well as annual video documentation for the Institute of Scientific Film Göttingen, Germany. In 1994 he created the experimental film *Laokoons Rueckkehr — Die Landschaft Troas als Mahnmal des Krieges* (18 min.) for Stunde der Filmemacher, SAT 1 (Prize for greatest innovation and originality, AGON, international meeting of archaeological film Athens, Greece 1996 prize of the jury at AKRAI Catania, Italy 1996). Since 1995 he has been a lecturer and senior researcher at the film department at the Hochschule für Gestaltung Karlsruhe (HfG). From 1996–98 he was involved in project coordination for the 'Çatalhöyük archaeology and media project' (CHAMP) in co-operation with the University of Cambridge and the Centre of Art and Media Karlsruhe (ZKM), supported by INFO2000 of the European Union. He received his PhD in 1997 on the

subject 'Neue und Alte Mythen in den deutschen Medien — Heinrich Schliemann und Troia' ['New and Old Myth in German Media — Heinrich Schliemann and Troy]. At Çatalhöyük he is involved with nonlinear documentation for CD-ROM, Internet and Real-Time-Machine; Project management video, audio, content (prize of the jury 'Interaktive Projekte' 2. Forum Hochschulfilm Baden-Württemberg 1997; special prize 'bestes Nachwuchsprojekt' MFG Medien- und Filmgesellschaft Baden-Württemberg and MILIA '98 Cannes at the Multimedia Transfer '98). He also produced the documentary film *Çatalhöyük — Voices of the Past* (45 min.) English (Italian 1998) (Prize for the best Educational Film, International Meeting of Archaeological Film of the Mediterranean Area, Crete, Greece 1998).

Begumşen Ergenekon is a sociologist and social anthropologist who was trained at the Middle East Technical University, University of Bergen (Norway), and Ankara University. Her fields of specialization are rural and urban anthropology and ethnoarchaeology. Since 1990 she has taught in the Department of Modern Languages in the Middle East Technical University, and since 1992 she has taught in the Archaeometry programme there.

Aylan Erkal studied Social Anthropology at Ankara University(1993–1997), before going on to METU for her MSc in Archaeometry (1998–2000). In 1996 and 1997 she was a ethnoarchaeological fieldwork assistant, in central Anatolia. In 1998 and 1999 she undertook ethnobotanical fieldwork on the Çatalhöyük excavations as part of her Master's thesis. She has undertaken extensive fieldwork carried out in plain and mountain villages around the Konya Basin, based on botanical collections and interviews with villagers. She has also carried out experimental work at Çatalhöyük in 1999 on wetland tubers. In June 1999, she received a British Council scholarship to visit England for three weeks and visited researchers and libraries at Cambridge and University College London. She also gave a talk concerning her current research at University College London. In August 2000, she will be starting a PhD program in Anthropological Archaeology at University of California, Berkeley.

Shahina Farid gained a BA Hon. degree in Near Eastern Archaeology from the University of Liverpool. Since graduating she has been a full-time contract archaeologist working in Britain, Turkey, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. She has worked in Turkey seasonally since 1985 joining the Çatalhöyük Research Project in 1995 and has been site director since 1997.

Carolyn Hamilton is an anthropologist and historian, and is currently the Director of the Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand. She is the author of numerous publications on the production of historical knowledge. Her most recent book is *Terrific Majesty: the Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Invention*, 1998, Harvard University Press.

Naomi Hamilton is an archaeologist based at Edinburgh University, where she is carrying out research on methodologies for understanding gender as a social structure in prehistory. Previously a field archaeologist in Britain, she undertook post-graduate study at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London on the Prehistory of Turkey and the surrounding regions with James Mellaart. She joined the team at Çatalhöyük in 1993 when field research was renewed and has been involved both in the field and the laboratory throughout the life of the project. Her particular areas of responsibility are the study of figurines and burials, data sets commonly used as the basis of statements about gender roles in prehistory. Her approach to this material is based on a feminist critique of assumptions prevalent in archaeology and in society in general, and is informed by extensive involvement in the Women's Movement.

Christine Hastorf is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of California-Berkeley. She has been involved in anthropological research of human–plant relationships since 1979. Her training and PhD from UCLA was within Anthropology but focused on Archaeobotany and human uses of and relationships with the natural environment. Concentrating in archaeology, she has focused on long-term plant use in the South American region, especially on highland societies of later prehistory within the pre-Inka and the Inka political world. More recently she been directing a project on the shores of Lake Titicaca where we are studying the Formative site of Chiripa. The interest there is in studying the domestic daily world of the residents, but also their ritual world. On the Çatalhöyük project, she is in charge of the plant collection and interpretation, beginning this in 1996. Her laboratory expertise in archaeobotany is with macro remains, the visible plants that are recovered from the site matrix. Within that capacity she has

been involved in developing sampling strategies, processing methods, as well as issues of contextual interpretation and forms of feedback with all of the other specialists involved in the site. She is currently the director of the UCB McCown Archaeobotany Laboratory where a series of projects are ongoing, ranging from social theory of past human social life to new methodologies to understand past plant use. She has written on gender relations surrounding plant collection, cooking, agricultural production change through time, the onset of complex society, on political change and the symbolic use of plants in the legitimation of authority, fuel use and symbolism, and the origins of plant domestication as it is involved in developing social identity. She is particularly interested in methods and interpretations of plants to better 'see' wild taxa use as well as the stages in plant processing. All of these methods will help to approach the larger questions about past social realms, especially cultural and symbolic, and the concept of culture in a natural world.

Lucy Hawkes took a BA in Archaeology at Cambridge University and started her MA in South East Asian Art and Archaeology, Tibetan Art and Buddhism at The School of Oriental and African Studies in September 1999. She has been involved with the Çatalhöyük Research Project for three seasons. During her first season at Çatalhöyük she had her first experience of excavating skeletons and began to develop an interest in the treatment of the body during burial, especially in the meaning of the postures and relationships between bodies in the ground. For the last two seasons she has been doing reconstruction illustrations and interpretative work with the human remains team from the Natural History Museum at Çatalhöyük. Her artistic training comprises an A-Level in Art and Design and personal work in her own spare time. She has had freelance commissions for illustrations and design work. She is particularly interested in the human form and has been able to draw upon her experience of life drawing in interpreting the skeletons at Çatalhöyük. She spent the 1999 six month season at Çatalhöyük doing the video recording of the project. After her MA she plans to do a PhD in some aspects of Southeast Asian or Indian Archaeology and is specifically interested at present in the material culture of Buddhism.

Ian Hodder teaches in the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology at Stanford University. His interest in Çatalhöyük partly stems from his involvement in symbolic and contextual approaches (e.g. *Symbols in Action* (1982), *Reading the Past* (1986), *The Domestication of Europe* (1990), and partly from an interest in field methodology and its social context in a global environment (*The Archaeological Process* (1999)). But it also stems from the fact that he was taught by James Mellaart as an undergraduate in London. He began planning to re-open the site in 1991 and has been director of the overall project since fieldwork began in 1993.

Mark Knight is currently employed as Project Office for the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, specializing in Neolithic and Bronze Age landscape projects. From 1986–92 he was Project Officer for Exeter Museums Archaeological Field Unit and in 1992 started his undergraduate degree, Prehistory and Theory & Methodology, at the University of Cardiff. Since graduating in 1995 he has worked for the Cambridge Archaeological Unit. His fields of interest focus on material culture theory — in particular the fragmentation/disarticulation of objects and the creation of assemblages in the past (at the point of deposition) and the subsequent fragmentation of the same assemblages in the present (at the point of categorization and specialist analysis); addressing the interrelatedness of different kinds of objects that form an assemblage, and its particular place of deposition against the examination of objects based primarily upon category or type. Similarly, he is also interested in the actual relationship between people and things, and especially keen to develop a kind of contextually informed phenomenological approach to excavation dependent on being there at the point of encounter. This could be seen as an attempt to reclaim the empirical. He is also interested in *visual representation in archaeology* — deliberately embracing ambiguity or the trickery of the visual to contest conventional/rational presentations (both visual and textual) to encourage the possibility of other interpretations. He worked for the Çatalhöyük Research Project during the 1998 season — North area, Building 5.

Mine Küçük received her BA degree from Istanbul University in prehistoric archaeology and worked three seasons as an Early Bronze Age specialist at Troia, Turkey. She received her MA degree in Ancient Studies and Museology from the University of Minnesota, preparing a thesis comparing Neolithic chipped stone assemblages from central and southeastern Anatolia. She interned at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, the Science Museum of

Minnesota, and the Bermuda Maritime Museum. Her archaeological specializations include lithic illustration and the Early Neolithic of central and southeastern Anatolia, and she has illustrated artefacts in Poland, Turkey and America. She has also assisted with an obsidian sourcing project for central Anatolia.

Since 1994 Mine has been working for the Science Museum of Minnesota as a content specialist, exhibit developer, and project manager for the Çatalhöyük Project. She currently directs production of exhibit components in Turkey for the Çatalhöyük Visitor Center. She also writes articles about museums all over the world as a freelance writer.

Jonathan Last received his PhD from Cambridge in 1995; the subject of his thesis was Neolithic settlements in Central Europe. He has been involved with the Çatalhöyük project since 1994 as an excavator and pottery specialist. He is currently employed as an Archaeological Project Officer with the Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust.

Su Leaver attended Amersham College of Further Education and Art from 1978–80 specializing in Foundation Art and Ceramics. She got her BA Hon. in Silversmithing, Jewellery and Blacksmithing from 1980–84 at the City of London Polytechnic. Since 1987 she has worked in archaeology doing excavation or post-excavation work. She started work at the Museum of London and since has worked all over Britain, Italy and the Lebanon. She was an excavator at Çatalhöyük in the summer season of 1998. Her interest in the project was the prospect of working in Turkey and with on-site contact with so many specialists, something that rarely happens in rescue archaeology. In her spare time she is a ceramicist and whilst there she become involved with experimental pottery firings using local clay and fuel (dung).

Nessa Leibhammer is the curator of African Art at the MTN Institute of Art in Johannesburg, South Africa where she is also in charge of the overall research component of the Institute. After obtaining a Fine Arts Degree from the University of the Witwatersrand in 1990 she held the position of curator of Traditional Southern African Art at the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Her experience includes working as a curator at the University Art Galleries and in the Anthropology Museum at the University of Witwatersrand. She has published mainly in the field of African Art with a special interest in the way visual images inform cultural texts. Currently registered for a Master's degree in Pre-colonial Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand her thesis investigates the role of the visual record in archaeology with particular reference to the Çatalhöyük project.

Louise Martin is a lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. Her research is concerned with the role of animals in past societies, particularly the evidence for hunting practices, livestock management and domestications, and she has worked on a number of prehistoric sites in the Middle East. She has been involved in the Çatalhöyük project since 1994 and is part of an international team of zooarchaeologists on the project studying the animal bone remains. Her interest in Çatalhöyük is in attempting to understand the social, dietary and symbolic importance of animals and their products, using an approach which contextualizes zooarchaeological data with the rich body of archaeological and palaeoenvironmental evidence.

Frank Matero is Associate Professor of Architecture and Chair of the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at the Graduate School of Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania and Director of the Architectural Conservation Laboratory and Research Associate of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. He also serves on the faculty as course lecturer at the International Centre for the Study of Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) in Rome. From 1981 to 1990 he was Assistant Professor of Architecture and from 1985–90, Director of the Centre for Preservation Research in the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation of Columbia University. He received his MSc from the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation of Columbia University in 1978 and attended the certificate program in conservation at the Conservation Centre at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University from 1981 to 1984. His teaching and research is focused on building technology and on the conservation of historic building materials, with an emphasis on masonry and earthen construction, and on issues related to preservation and appropriate technology for traditional societies and places. Publications include articles in various professional journals, conference proceedings, and two forthcoming books on the technical history of the stone industries of North America and a history of archaeological site preservation in the American southwest. He is regional editor for the journal, *Conservation and Man-*

agement of Archaeological Sites and a member of numerous professional boards including US/ICOMOS, the Frank Lloyd Wright Building Conservancy, the AIA Historic Resources Committee, and the Fairmount Park Historic Preservation Trust; a Professional Associate of the American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works and former Co-chair of the Research and Technical Studies Group. Current work includes the development of conservation plans for the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük, the Al-Dard-Al Ahmar district of Cairo (with the Historic Cities Support Program of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture), and various sites in North America including Mesa Verde National Park and Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.

Wendy Matthews is a fellow at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge. She studied Near Eastern Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, and wrote her doctoral dissertation at the University of Cambridge. She has taught as a visiting lecturer at the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Her doctoral and post-doctoral research is focused on microstratigraphic traces of uses and concepts of space in complex settlements and landscapes. The sites investigated include complex early agricultural settlements of Aşıklı Höyük and Çatalhöyük in central Turkey, and Bronze and Iron Age cities in northern and southern Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Bahrain. She has been associated with Çatalhöyük since the first day of renewed investigations, and is currently living in Turkey with her husband Roger Matthews who is Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.

William Middleton was born in Istanbul Turkey in 1961 and has lived in the US, Korea, and Japan. He has a BA in Anthropology (University of California-San Diego 1984), an MA in Anthropology (San Francisco State University 1991) and a PhD in Anthropology from the University of Wisconsin (Madison 1998). Research and area interests include transition to agriculture and agricultural intensification, complex societies, domestic archaeology, ethnoarchaeology, Mesoamerica (Mexico, Guatemala) and Anatolia. He is currently a Post-doctoral Fellow at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago and Associate Scientist at the Laboratory for Archaeological Chemistry, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Theya Molleson is a researcher in Physical Anthropology at the Natural History Museum, London in the Department of Palaeontology. She is particularly interested in skeletal variation and the impact of the environment and society on bone morphology. She was responsible for the analysis of the skeletons of documented age and sex from Christ Church, Spitalfields, a study which was furthered our understanding of the ageing process as well as the relationship between chronological age and biological age in cemetery material. Markers of restricted activities associated with food production and sport have been established in skeletons from the Near East dating from the Neolithic (Abu Hureyra) and Bronze Age (Ur, Kish); and the indications of postural preferences have been recognized at Çatalhöyük.

Julie Near has been a member of the Çatalhöyük Palaeoethnobotanical team since 1995 and has conducted four field seasons of archaeobotanical research in Turkey. Currently a PhD candidate at University of California at Berkeley, Near completed her MSc at the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London. Her dissertation work at Çatalhöyük has involved the study of plant-related activities at this site with a focus on the use of plants in the complex daily domestic and ritual lives of inhabitants of the Neolithic tell.

Nerissa Russell is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Cornell University. Her research focuses on human–animal relations, inequality, and gender issues in the Neolithic of southeast Europe and Anatolia. She has a particular interest in the social and symbolic uses of animals in feasting, sacrifice, bridewealth, etc. She has studied several Balkan animal bone assemblages and has been a member of the Çatalhöyük zooarchaeology team since 1995. She also has a strong interest in bone technology, and has studied bone tools from southeast Europe and Pakistan, as well as those at Çatalhöyük .

Orrin Shane received BA and MA degrees in Anthropology from the University of Michigan, and aPhD in Anthropology and the History of Science and Technology in 1967. His dissertation dealt with the definition of archaeological phases of the Early Woodland in northern Ohio. He taught at Kent State University from 1967 to 1977 before joining the Science Museum of Minnesota in 1978. He is currently affiliated graduate faculty in Anthropology and Museum Studies at the University of Minnesota, and adjunct Professor of Anthropology at Macalester College. He has worked as a research archaeologist with the Çayonu project in southeastern Anatolia, the In-

cinerator site (33MY57) in Ohio, and he is currently collaborating with the Archaeological Conservancy to preserve and interpret the Native American Grand Meadow quarry in southern Minnesota. His interests are public presentation of archaeology and the cultural implications of agricultural intensification. Competencies in archaeological sub-disciplines include zooarchaeology and remote sensing. In 1965 Shane applied to work with James Mellaart at Çatalhöyük, planning to write his doctoral dissertation on the chipped stone industry in comparison with Early Neolithic industries in south-eastern Turkey and the Levant. He has served as curator-in-charge and content curator for several national touring exhibitions created by the Science museum of Minnesota and funded by the national Endowment for the Humanities, National Science Foundation, and private corporate foundations. Dr Shane has also served as design and content consultant for six major cultural interpretative centres, including Sun Watch in Ohio, the Trail of Tears Interpretative centre in Missouri, and the National Museum of the American Indian (Smithsonian) in Washington, DC. Over the past twenty years the Science Museum of Minnesota has become the leading producer in America of touring interactive science exhibitions and science-based Omnitheater films. Shane has participated since 1993 in the heritage management and public presentation of Çatalhöyük, developing exhibits for the Visitor Centre, directing the development of the Mysteries of Çatalhöyük website, co-directing Window on Çatalhöyük, and working to develop related exhibits and museums in Turkey.

David Shankland read Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh, and then moved to Cambridge to study under Professor Ernest Gellner. For his doctoral fieldwork (awarded 1993), he specialized in religion and social change in Anatolia, conducting fieldwork in an Alevi village. During this time he was successively Research Assistant at Hacettepe University, and Lecturer at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara. In 1990, he spent a term in Paris, working with Professor Altan Gökalp. In 1992, he became Assistant and the Acting Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, when his work at Çatalhöyük first became envisaged. In 1995, he returned to Britain to take up a lectureship in Social Anthropology at the University of Wales, Lampeter. He is the author of numerous articles, and also the forthcoming monograph *Islam and Society in Turkey*.

Mirjana Stevanovic is a Research Fellow at ARF, Anthropology Department, University of California, Berkeley, where she has been administering the Berkeley Archaeologists at Çatalhöyük (BACH) project and acting as a Visiting Lecturer. She received her BA and MA from the Department of Archaeology, University of Belgrade (Former Yugoslavia) and PhD in Anthropology from the University of California at Berkeley. At Çatalhöyük she is the Field Director for the UC Berkeley Research Project. Her previous work focused on Southeast European prehistory and is marked by extensive participation in the Yugoslav and international archaeological projects, including those at the prehistoric sites of Vinca, Gomolava, Bosut, Rudna Glava (Former Yugoslavia); the Joint American-Yugoslav Archaeological Projects at Selevac and Opovo (Former Yugoslavia); Jezreel Valley Project (Israel), and the Podgoritsa Project (Bulgaria). This research produced numerous publications.

Since 1995 at Çatalhöyük Mirjana has been conducting research on architecture by integrating the analysis of prehistoric houses, with ethnoarchaeological study of traditional house construction in the Konya plain, and experimental reconstruction of Neolithic houses. She has also acted as the Field Director of the Berkeley Archaeologists at Çatalhöyük (BACH) project since 1997.

Mirjana's research interest lies in early agriculturists of the Old World, in origins of sedentism and architecture and the social and cultural conditions in which these developments took place. In addition, method of archaeological excavation, more precisely, the archiving of evidence has been part of her research.

John-Gordon Swogger graduated from Liverpool University in 1992 with a degree in Archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean. His interest in archaeological illustration developed while digging in Chester and Liverpool after graduating and eventually resulted in a variety of archaeological illustration jobs. By 1996 he was illustrating full time, doing freelance finds illustration, building recording and reconstructions. His particular interests are the integration of archaeological illustration into the various and disparate aspects of the project, and the way in which the fairly traditional techniques and methods it employs have responded and adapted to the new demands of the project and its archaeology.

Ruth I. Tringham is Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, USA, where she has taught and

carried out research since 1978. She was awarded a PhD in 1966 in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, UK. After a short period in the Department of Anthropology at University College London, Ruth Tringham took up a position as Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, Mass., USA, before arriving at her current destination in California.

Throughout her career until 1996, Ruth Tringham's research focused on the prehistory (specifically Neolithic and Eneolithic periods) of Central and East Europe. She directed two international excavations in Yugoslavia at Selevac and Opovo, and one at Podgoritsa, Bulgaria. In these research projects she collaborated closely with Mirjana Stevanovic. Her first experience with Anatolian prehistory, specifically Çatalhöyük, was in 1996. Since 1997 she has directed the NSF-funded Berkeley Archaeologists at Çatalhöyük (BACH) Project, under the 'umbrella' of the main Çatalhöyük Project, directed by Professor Ian Hodder.

Her early research focused on lithic analysis including experimental research in use-wear on the edges of stone tools. From the late 1970s, her research has focused increasingly on the analysis and interpretation of architectural remains within the context of Household Archaeology. Since the late 1980s, this focus has broadened to include an increasingly feminist and post-processual perspective. Part of this trend has been her current activities in developing interpretive hypermedia presentations of archaeological research and teaching through the incorporation of multimedia authoring. She sees her involvement with multimedia authoring as more than a passing whim — it is the future direction of both her research and teaching.

Richard Turnbull has spent ten years working in contract archaeology in Britain, France, Peru, Turkey and the UAE. He joined the Çatalhöyük project as an excavator in 1998.

Sharon Webb graduated from the University of Sheffield after receiving a BA in archaeology and prehistory in 1994. She then completed an MPhil in archaeological heritage management and museums in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge. She has also, at various times, worked for the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, and in the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Currently she is working on a PhD thesis at Cambridge on museums as social institutions, the interpretation and representation of the past, issues of contestation, and how these are negotiated in the museum. Also of interest are the ideas non-archaeologists have about the past, and how they relate to it through the museum, and other media representation. Her interest in the Çatalhöyük project began with the site museum which forms the basis of one of the case studies for the thesis. She worked in Turkey for her own research in 1997, and was part of the team excavating the North area in 1998.

Anja-Christina Wolle joined the Çatalhöyük Research Project in 1996 as Computing Officer. Since then she has actively developed the web site, and the data base of excavation and specialist data whilst providing general computing support to project members. She studied Archaeology and Computer Science at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, and gained an MSc in Archaeological Computing from the University of Southampton. She obtained her PhD in Archaeology from Southampton, where she focused her research into the application of electronic publication and archives. In her current post her goal is to support the Project in its endeavour to publish and make accessible all of its excavation data by electronic and conventional publication methods. She has published several papers on electronic publication and archives in archaeology.

Nurcan Yalman obtained her MA degree (1994–98) from the University of Istanbul, History of Art, Prehistory Department, on 'A Contribution of Çayönü Neolithic Site to the Problem of the Earliest Pottery in Near East'. Her undergraduate degree (1987–90) was at the same university as well.

She has participated in the Çatalhöyük excavation and research project since 1994 and is currently undertaking ethnoarchaeological research within the Çatalhöyük Research Project as a freelance researcher. The outline of this research is 'Ethnoarchaeological research on the dynamics of settlement processes in order to discuss better the internal dynamics of the Çatalhöyük settlement pattern'. In 1996 she visited Cambridge to undertake library work to improve her knowledge of Theoretical Archaeology, Social Anthropology and Ethnoarchaeology. She aims to concentrate on this research as a PhD study in the near future.

Introduction

Chapter 1

Developing a Reflexive Method in Archaeology

Ian Hodder

The aim of this chapter is to situate the methods used at the site into the contexts in which we work. This contextualizing of method is one of the key struts of a reflexive method. Rather than the emphasis on universal method seen in positivist archaeology, the emphasis is on developing methods sensitive to context and problem.

Where is Çatalhöyük?

The first and simplest answer to this question (see also Chapter 8 by Ayfer Bartu) is that Çatalhöyük is in central Turkey, near Çumra in the Konya region. The East mound is largely Neolithic in date and has a range of radiocarbon dates for its 20 m sequence from 6400 BC to 5600 BC (Hodder 1996). Çatalhöyük was first excavated between 1961 and 1965 by James Mellaart (Mellaart 1967) and became of international importance because of its size and complexity at an early date outside the Fertile Crescent — i.e. outside the heartlands of animal and plant domestication in the Near East. But the importance of the site transcended these factors because of the sculpture and painting found at the site. Indeed, the site has retained a central significance despite the discovery in the last thirty years of large complex sites at earlier dates in Turkey and the Near East. It is the art which has won for Çatalhöyük this continued reknown. Mellaart understood the art to have been produced in a priestly quarter of the city and he suggested a social and political organization of some complexity.

The site was abandoned in 1965 and the present project began work in 1993. The first three years of work concentrated on the study of surface features using non-intrusive techniques. These studies *On the Surface* were published in 1996 (Hodder 1996). From 1996 the project has had three components. First, archaeological excavation has concentrated on continuing the work of Mellaart in the southwest of the East mound and it has begun to expose buildings on the north part of that mound. Regional survey has been undertaken by a team led by Douglas Baird and palaeoecological work by a team led by Neil Roberts. Second, conservation research has been led by Frank Matero from the University of Pennsylvania and his team. This has concentrated on methods for the conservation and lifting of paintings and sculpture. Third, a team led by Orrin Shane from the Science Museum of Minnesota has dealt with various aspects of the public presentation of the site, including educational programmes, CD-Rom (also produced by a team from Karlsruhe), and a visitor centre.

The context in which we work

One immediate context is the people from the local village and town, several of whom work at the site. Their interests in the site are varied, from the commercial desire to set up a shop, to the desire for labour, to the sets of local beliefs in the mounds. These latter include the idea that the ancient mounds in the Konya plain contain the spirits of the dead, which can sometimes be seen at night moving from mound to mound (for these and other local beliefs see Shankland 1996). But local communities also use the mounds of the plain (although not Çatalhöyük which has been fenced and is continually guarded) to obtain earth for making mud-bricks. The mounds are also used for picnics and leisure pursuits.

Whenever we hold a press day we get massive press coverage, in both local and national media. This is at least partly because Çatalhöyük is taught in schools and in the press as one of the 'origins of Anatolian civilization'. The exhibit about the site in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations at Ankara has recently been re-installed as a major feature.

The project caters for this national interest by developing a programme for schools. This involves local schoolchildren who come to do activities at the site. Another version is the British Airways competition in collaboration with the national newspaper Yeni Yüzyil. Schoolchildren were asked, through the news-

paper, to write an essay on the title 'Why is Çatalhöyük important for Turkey?'. Those who won the competition were brought to the site and then to Cambridge.

The nationalist emphasis has a different flavour locally. The site is located in a conservative area of Turkey in which Islamic fundamentalism and nationalism are strong forces. Many local politicians and officials are members of religious fundamentalist parties (e.g. *Refah*, now banned) or of nationalist parties such as MHP. When these politicians talk to the press at the site they drape the podium in the Turkish flag and talk of the importance of the site for the Turkish nation. But their relations with the site are often ambiguous. After all, the site is pre-Islamic and clearly pre-Turkic. In addition it is being excavated by an international team funded by international companies. But the politicians manage to twist these features of the site to their advantage and they talk of the international focus showing the importance of the site, region and nation. They talk of the gift they are making to the world. They point to the long tradition of achievement in Anatolia.

When the European Union Ambassador to Turkey visits the site, his rhetoric in front of the press is very different. In fact it is diametrically opposed to the national politicians. He talks of the contribution made by the European Union to the project and the site. He talks of the Union's interest in Turkey and in its culture. He emphasizes precisely the non-Islamic character of the site in order to argue for a secular state in modern Turkey. He argues that at the time of Çatalhöyük the boundaries between Europe and Asia did not exist, that we are all part of a common culture, that nations had not yet come into being. He links the site to Europe and to international relations and cooperation.

And then there are the sponsors. When they talk to the press at the site, they drape the podium in the logos of their companies. They have their own specific agendas. For example, a credit card company wishes to show that the obsidian exchanged at the site is the origin of the credit card. They wish their sponsorship to be used to further this idea in an exhibit in the Visitor Centre that we are building by the site. Other sponsors emphasize the scientific aspects of the project's work, or an airline company uses the images of flying vultures in the art to advertise 'flying back to the past'. A Turkish bank supports the project because the obsidian was 'banked' in hoards below the floors. In our reports to these various sponsors, different aspects of our work have to be emphasized and given prominence.

There are many other special interest groups. For example, the nearby city of Konya has long been central to the trade in *kilims* (a type of Turkish carpet). There is a widespread belief that the origins of the designs found in *kilims* can be traced in the art at Çatalhöyük. But the most important group, numerically, with which have to deal are the varied New Age or Women's Groups. Busloads of tourists on Goddess Tours of Turkey make Çatalhöyük the highpoint of their visit. Other Goddess communities visit in smaller groups or interact with the project via the Web. There are several alternative Çatalhöyük websites provided by New Age or Goddess groups. In fact there is a great diversity of groups ranging from hardline feminist, to eco-feminist, to Goddess worshippers, to women simply interested in the role of women in early times. Although for many of these groups Marija Gimbutas and James Mellaart are focal figures, there is no consensus of viewpoint.

So there are a large number of groups of people who want to tell different and conflicting stories about Çatalhöyük. We are in various ways dependent on these different constituencies (financially, administratively, politically, socially, local goodwill, etc.) and have to find ways of working with them if we want to survive. The interactions between these groups are often dangerous and threaten to undermine the project. For example, there is considerable tension between some Goddess communities and the local people as will be described below. There is some doubt about the viability of an international project dealing with pre-Islamic and pre-Turkic remains in a part of Turkey which is religiously fundamentalist and politically nationalist. At the very least, survival of the project, if that proves possible, is enhanced by a fuller attempt to understand and interact with the multiple voices which surround it.

Method: where IS Çatalhöyük?

So how should we respond to the fact that so many groups want to tell different stories about the site? One response in archaeology has been to erect barriers and to police the boundaries of the discipline. Archaeologists have increasingly faced a plethora of alternative voices, especially in a post-colonial context where archaeology is involved in indigenous rights and claims. Many archaeologists have been frightened by this proliferation of voices and have sought comfort in an authoritarian archaeological science; science as objective and untrammeled by politics. But, on the whole, this oppositional strategy has proved less successful than accommodation and compromise, as seen in the passing of the NAGPRA act in the United States.

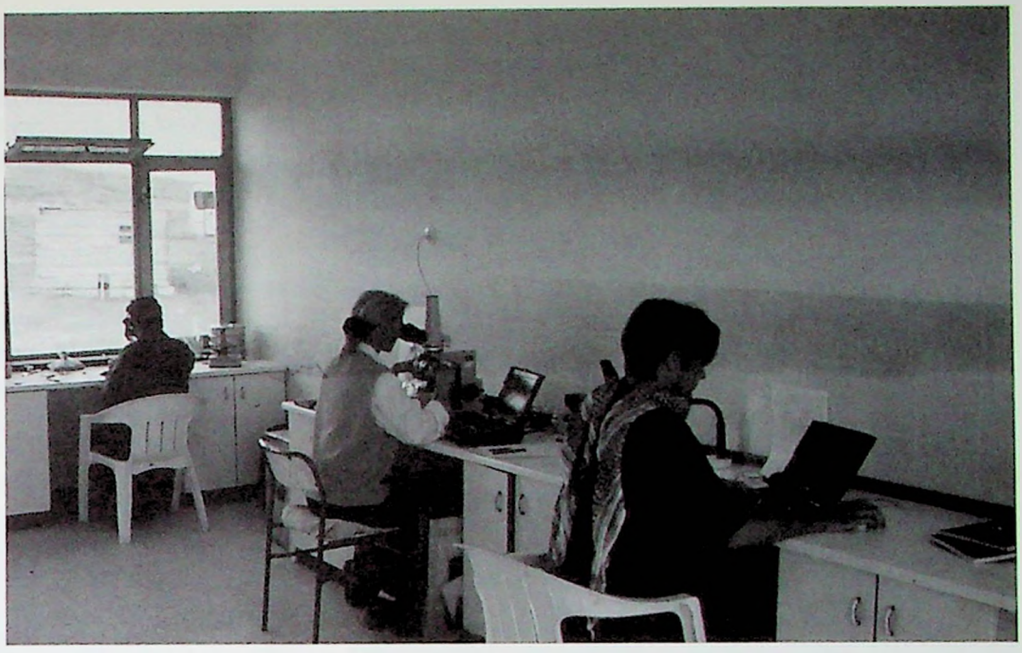


Figure 1.1. *Working in one of the laboratories in the Çatalhöyük dig house.*

Another response to multivocality in archaeology is to emphasize the presentation of the past to different communities and constituencies. And certainly, at Çatalhöyük, we have programmes for the presentation of the site and its interpretation in the Visitor Centre, where there will be multilingual displays and a community exhibit. We have obtained sponsorship funding for the experimental construction of replica houses, and the Friends of Çatalhöyük are seeking funds to build other reconstructions. The Friends have also provided a tent over part of the excavations so that they can remain open to visitors all year round. We provide panels which explain our work in the different parts of the site to tourists.

But all this emphasis on the presentation of the site leaves untroubled the ascetic and antiseptic calm of the research laboratories in the dig house. Archaeologists readily deal with multivocality at the interface between their work and the outside world. They less easily allow that outside world to interfere into the calm objective world of the scientific analysis of data. But as the outside voices increase their intensity and volume, and as they become ever more sophisticated and well-informed, this monastic desire for closure is threatened. At Çatalhöyük, the confrontation occurred early on in discussions with Goddess groups, often composed of highly articulate and well-educated professionals. They applauded the emphasis on presentation of the past, and they welcomed the idea that alternative voices would be included in the displays about the interpretation of the site. But they pointed out that if we as archaeologists handed over the data to others to interpret, a bias remained. They said that 'the data are already interpreted by you'. This statement confronts the ascetic calm of the laboratory scientist and the self-contained methods of the field excavators. It shows that alternative voices have to be included in the very construction of the data themselves. We cannot just hand over objective data to interested groups. At least some of those groups recognize that interpretation is involved in the very collection of evidence, in the laboratory itself, and at the trowel's edge.

If the project responds to multivocality simply by building a visitor centre and making a CD-Rom, then the authority of archaeological science is retained. The archaeologist acts as the guardian and interpreter who hands over knowledge to a wider world. But once we let these conflicting voices into the construction or discovery of data, the old centres of archaeological authority begin to be eroded. Archaeological knowledge becomes part of a network or flow.

We need different methods to handle this new situation and it is these we are calling a 'reflexive method'. This debate in archaeology is parallel to those in ethnography (e.g. Clifford & Marcus 1986) but the challenge in archaeology is different because archaeology bridges into the natural sciences. The focus in ethnography has been on writing. But in archaeology a critical reflexivity has to deal not just with writing but also with those aspects of method which involve scientific observation and natural science techniques — that is with the laboratory and the excavation trench.

The challenge of introducing multivocality and reflexivity in the laboratory and trench is being dealt with by taking 12 tentative steps at Çatalhöyük. These are only examples in an ongoing process of experimentation with different ideas.

1. Every one or two days during the excavation, the laboratory staff visit the excavation areas on the site. This is possible because faunal, archaeobotanical,

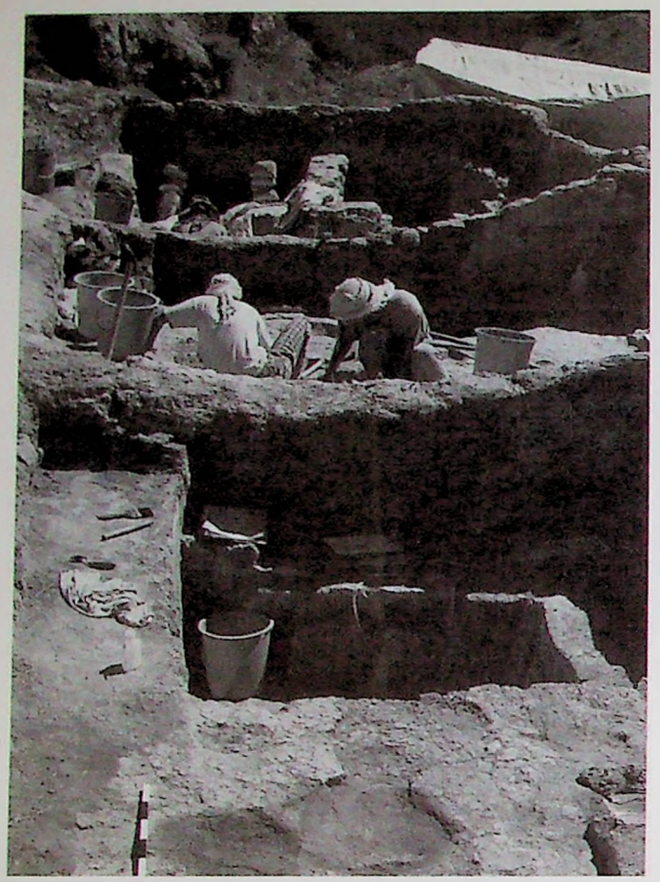


Figure 1.2. *General view of excavation underway in the South area.*

lithic, ceramic, soil micromorphological, ground stone, human remains and other specialists are present on the site during excavation. The aim of the discussions between the laboratory and field staff is twofold. From the point of view of the laboratory staff, information is gained about context. For example, it is helpful for the ceramics specialist to know if there is some uncertainty about the stratigraphical relations and dating of a layer, hearth or other context. From the point of view of the field staff, the tours by the laboratory specialists provide them with information about what they are excavating. For example, a faunal specialist might be able to recognize in the field the animal species and skeletal parts. This might help the excavator to interpret what is being excavated and thus make appropriate decisions about sampling strategies. This takes us to a second part of the Çatalhöyük methodology.

2. Many approaches in field archaeology assume, despite provisos about 'theory-ladenness', the objective sanctity of the archaeological data. As a result, sampling strategies are often developed which can be applied in a wide variety of different contexts. The codification and systematization of archaeological recording procedures have also been encouraged by the development of cultural resource management. Sampling strategies are adopted 'off the shelf', using pre-set formulae. In practice, archaeologists have a duty to be responsible to what they find. As a result sampling strategies are often changed as a survey or excavation progresses. But even the most codified of sampling strategies involves making interpretive decisions. For example, it may have been decided to excavate 10 per cent of all pits on a site, but 20 per cent of the hearths. It becomes necessary to interpret a feature as a pit or hearth before excavation. And what happens if a new category of feature is found, such as a ritual hearth? In order to avoid these difficulties at Çatalhöyük, we have replaced decisions about sampling with negotiations about priorities. When the laboratory staff tour the excavation areas, they discuss with the field staff which layers and features should be prioritized. Different members of the team argue for this or that layer or feature to be sampled more intensively (wet-sieving as opposed to dry-sieving for example). The percentages of deposits of a particular type which have been prioritized can be monitored. The priority contexts are retained in all further laboratory analysis. In this way, the sampling (prioritizing) can be related to the changing interpretation of the site and its features. It can be moulded to the particular site and adapted to the particular interpretation. But also this process ensures that all specialists look at the same samples so that for those samples studied there is the maximum contextual information available.

3. Another characteristic of many field approaches is that they assume the self-evident nature of 'the archaeological object'. For example, when trays of artefacts are brought into the laboratory from the field they are usually divided into pottery, metal, bone, shell, lithics and so on. These divisions determine how these objects are then studied and published. The artefacts are sent off to the pottery, metal, bone and so on specialists. This common archaeological procedure involves wrenching artefacts out of their context. Decontextualized they become difficult to interpret except in universalist terms. At Çatalhöyük we have recognized that this process does not help the understanding of the site or of individual object categories. The need for interaction and integration

lies behind our emphasis on having all the different types of specialist present at the site. But we have also recognized that the categories themselves are arbitrary and dependent on the scale at which we happen to work. At the microscope level small pieces of obsidian might be used as filler in pottery. They are thus not 'lithics' but 'pottery'. At the large scale, we have attempted to define 'objects' which cut across traditional categories. For example, the study of 'refuse' involves all types of materials, as do the 'objects' 'burning', 'decoration', 'food' or 'domestication'. In these ways the interactions between the different types of specialists are again maximized.

4. Another aim of the tours by the laboratory staff is to get information back to the field staff as quickly as possible. The reason for this is to discourage the idea of excavation as a mechanical process of recording objective data. Rather, the aim is to encourage the idea of excavation involving interpretation at the trowel's edge. In order to interpret stratigraphy properly, it helps to know the date of the pottery in the layers. In order to identify a floor it may be helpful to know about the degree of abrasion of pottery and bone. So, as we dig, we need to know as much as possible about what we are digging. This knowledge and our interpretations will determine the sampling strategies we use. At Çatalhöyük, the laboratory staff are thus asked to 'fast-track' the material from some layers and contexts. In other words, they look at this material quickly and feed back the results to the field staff. Other potential ways of speeding up the flow of information include digital recording and planning. In this way plots and plans could be examined immediately. Histograms and comparisons could be made immediately so that excavation can take place with maximum knowledge of what is being uncovered.

5. An integrated and fluid data base is essential for any attempt to link different participants in an archaeological project. At Çatalhöyük we have invested in a computer network so that the field and laboratory specialists can query each other's data and make comments on the provisional interpretations of their colleagues. All the different types of data, from field records to plans and drawings to measurements of lithic and ceramic artefacts to the film and diary data to be described below are available on the same data base. The separate computers are linked by a hub to one central computer to which all have access. The high degree of circuitry that is thus produced means that interpretations can always be in a state of flux, 'data' can continually be reconsidered and transformed, and conclusions are momentary.

6. However much one might want to create a fluid and flexible data base, some degree of fixity and codification is necessary. This is in order to allow comparison and in order to handle very large amounts of data. But any data base is a construct, and it is important that the user understands it as such. The user of a data base has to be able to situate it within its own context of production. In order to do this at Çatalhöyük we have reverted to the writing of a diary. This is written into the data base and cross-referenced. Thus, if a user wants to find out about layer 321, it is possible to find all the diary entries relating to layer 321 as well as the codified lists of animal bones, ceramics etc. found within it. The diary allows the user of the data base to understand what the excavators were assuming as they excavated a particular layer. It allows understanding of why the layer was excavated and sampled in a particular way. It allows the biases and preunderstandings to be explored. But writing the diary too has a beneficial effect. Other people read the entries as they are made and so the circuitry of information is enhanced. Also, the writing of the diary makes the excavator reflect on the excavation process and evaluate that process in relation to the questions that are being asked.

7. In the same way, video recording of the excavation process leads to a reflexive stance. At Çatalhöyük, the discussions by laboratory staff on the tours of the site (see point 1 above) are video recorded, as are summaries of their work by the field and laboratory staff. These video recordings are then digitized and edited into 1- to 2-minute clips which are placed on CD-Roms. The clips can be accessed by a keyword search system. Thus, it is possible to search for layer 321 in the data base and not only find the artefact and field records and the diary entries but also the video clips. These clips may show the excavator of layer 321 describing her or his work, pointing to the layer, and explaining its interpretation. This process allows the user of the data base to understand using visual information. It also allows the user to understand the assumptions and misconceptions under which the excavation was undertaken. The 'data' thus become relativized within a particular context of production of archaeological knowledge. Again, as with the diary, the process of filming itself means that information is circulated around members of the project as recording and viewing take place. Reflexivity occurs as project members are

Figure 1.3. *Investigating different modes of representation: Mark Knight and Nessa Leibhammer engaged in recording the same bins in 'scientific' and 'artistic' modes.*

asked to explain their work and assumptions before the camera.

8. Being reflexive and self-critical involve a considerable amount of energy and commitment to theoretical awareness. In practice, archaeologists may have little time for and inclination for 'navel gazing', despite the benefits derived. In addition, most archaeologists are not trained in the observation of living cultural behaviour. Thus, at Çatalhöyük, anthropologists work with us, dedicated to the study of the construction of knowledge at the site. They participate in our daily lives on the site, observing and conducting interviews. One studies the ways our interpretations are embedded within unrecognized assumptions and pressures. Another explores the visual conventions through which we see and record the site (in the form of plans, section drawings, artefact drawings, photographs and video clips, and see Fig. 1.3). Another studies the impact of our presence on the local community. The presence of people questioning assumptions has a destabilizing effect on the excavation and research teams. But a lack of stability is necessary if a critical approach is to be taken and if the project is to remain responsive to a changing world around it.

9. In order to facilitate maximum participation in the interpretation of the site from a variety of different communities, steps are being taken to place the entire Çatalhöyük data base on the Web. The aim is to provide a data base which is accessible and multimedia. This type of openness may conflict with the interests of individuals and groups with special access to the site. For example, the career paths of younger members of the project may be threatened if others have access to, and publish, primary data. Indeed, it is conceivable that alternative Çatalhöyük Web sites be set up by competing groups. However, while the rights of individuals and groups need to be protected, such concerns cannot justify the long-term secreting of archaeological information. Immediate accessibility encourages participation and engagement in the research process itself. It enhances multivocality.

10. The linearity of most archaeological narrative restricts the complexity of the stories that can be told. It also encourages the separation of evidence and interpretation. The latter is usually presented after the evidence has been set out. Hypertext, on the other hand, allows accounts with multiple pathways and incorporating multimedia. Thus a narrative account can be given and links provided between the narrative and pictures, plans, and coded artefact data. On the computer, the hypertext user can 'click' from narrative text to data base evidence in order to check the basis on which interpretations are made.

11. Archaeologists have always made plans, drawings and models of the buildings they excavate. These and other reconstructions allow hypotheses about original construction techniques to be experimented with. They also allow wider public participation in the understanding of a site. Today, the techniques of virtual reality allow greater speed and flexibility in the reconstruction experiments. The construction of a virtual world on the computer allows visualization and the experimentation with alternative reconstructions. Also, the virtual world can be made interactive so that the user can ask questions about a site and explore it from a non-specialist point of view. At Çatalhöyük the aim is for a virtual reconstruction of the site to become the 'front-end' to the data base. Non-specialist users can thus 'travel' to the virtual site and then find out about the archaeological information to a required level of detail. Virtuality allows experimentation with different ways of experiencing the site. Also, virtual reality allows us to break down the separation of 'plan' or 'architectural drawing' from 'artefact' and 'activity' (Small pers. comm.). Rather than the plan or wall elevation being seen as mere backdrops, virtual techniques can be used so that distributions of artefacts or chemical readings from floors can be placed in a three-dimensional

context which includes architecture, sculpture and painting. The underlying idea here is that the whole (the overall visual impression of patterns and relationships in a three-dimensional environment) is greater that the sum of the parts (the plans, artefact distributions, microdebitage plots, and so on).

12. At Çatalhöyük teams from different parts of the world are encouraged to excavate their own parts of the site. Equivalent recording and data systems are used, but each team uses its own traditional techniques of excavation and analysis. The assumption here is that the different teams, using different methods, will produce different results. By looking through different windows each team will see and find different Çatalhöyüks. Rather than being decried as chaotic, this diversity is welcomed since it is preferable to a single perspective and monolithic approach. The latter would produce a coherent account but that account would be based on the taken-for-granted assumptions of a particular archaeological tradition.

There are four themes underlying the 12 reflexive strategies being used at Çatalhöyük:

Reflexivity
By this I mean the examination of the effects of archaeological assumptions and actions on the various communities involved in an archaeological process, including other archaeologists and non-archaeological communities. Examples of this type of emphasis at Çatalhöyük include the work of anthropologists who study the impact of the project on the local community as well as on national and international groups interested in or visiting the site. Reflexivity is also engendered by the diary writing and video filming, since these processes encourage those on the team to examine their own assumptions. The diaries and videos also provide contextual information about the excavation process so that others can look back and critically evaluate the claims that have been made. The results of archaeological research are reflexively related to the context in which knowledge is produced.

Relationality or contextuality
The notion here is that meaning is relational. This emphasis is seen in the reflexive attempts to relate findings to a specific context of knowledge production. But the emphasis is also visible in the interrelations of contextual and artefactual information. Thus the date of a layer depends on the artefacts found in it. But in some cases, the date of the artefacts may depend on the stratigraphical relationships of the layers. In another example, at Çatalhöyük the interpretation of a building as a house rather than a shrine depends on the artefacts within it. But the interpretation of the artefacts partly depends on whether the building is seen as a house or shrine. So, usually in archaeology, everything depends on everything else within an hermeneutic whole. Our aim at Çatalhöyük has been to facilitate this circuitry, for example by having information about artefacts available to excavators as they dig contexts in a trench. The interpretation of artefact and context depend on each other and so it is necessary to have many artefact and context specialists present together on site so that information can be mutually available, especially for the excavators themselves. The aim is to be highly integrated and inter-disciplinary. Relationality also implies flexibility in the research process. If everything depends on everything else, then as I change one variable in my analysis so there are knock-on effects on all other variables. Thus the data base at Çatalhöyük is as open to change and as flexible as possible; conclusions are seen as momentary and always subject to change.

Interactivity
The aim here is to provide mechanisms for people to question and criticize archaeological interpretations that are being made, as they are being made. During the excavation process, interaction between laboratory and field staff is encouraged by the tours of trenches. The prioritizing (sampling) procedures are arrived at by negotiation between staff members. Interactivity is also facilitated at Çatalhöyük by the provision of the data base on the Web and by the provision of access routes (e.g. virtual reconstructions) that are 'user friendly'. It is also facilitated by the provision of information in diary and video form that situates the data base and opens it up for critique and alternative interpretation. The aim in the on-site museum is to have a community section in which a display about the site is constructed by members of the nearby village. In the museum too an interactive CD-Rom will be provided with hypertext and Virtual Reality components so that visitors and students can find out about the site in a non-linear way.

Multivocality
A wide range of different groups often have conflicting interests in the past and wish to be engaged in the archaeological process in different ways. The same point is often made in feminist archaeology (Conkey & Gero 1997). Mechanisms need to be pro-

vided so that different discourses can take place. For example, at Çatalhöyük different teams excavate different parts of the site and present their own 'windows' into the site. While the Web site may allow interaction with international, educated and networked groups, the local rural community is best able to interact through museum displays and visits to the site itself. In the future it may be conceivable to provide a modern shrine so that religious groups such as Mother Goddess visitors can pray at the site.

Behind the 12 strategies and 4 themes there is *one theme* which can be described as *non-dichotomous thinking*; that is the breaking down and questioning of categories and boundaries. Archaeologists have always built clear boundaries around the discipline, and in recent decades they have policed its boundaries very carefully, especially as various 'other' claims on the past have proliferated in a postcolonial and global world. In this new context, it is necessary for archaeologists to break down categories and boundaries, for example, the boundaries around the discipline, the author, around lithics, or Classical Archaeology, or faunal analysis. It is necessary to bridge the divide between archaeology as either science or humanity, as either history or anthropology, as either objective or subjective.

One clear example of this move towards non-dichotomous thinking is the breaking of boundaries around the site. The notion of 'the site' is one of the main building blocks of archaeological knowledge and archaeological authority. Archaeologists talk of 'my site'; they say 'come and visit my site', or 'what site are you digging at the moment?' There is some notion in these statements of ownership, and indeed the discipline is full of unstated rules such that individuals hold the 'rights' to dig a site or to survey a region and to publish the findings.

But at Çatalhöyük we see the site disperse. Different teams produce different Çatalhöyüks. Archaeologists and religious experience different sites, as do the different local, national and international constituencies. Different Çatalhöyüks can be visited by accessing different Web sites. Numerous people interact in the interpretation of the site so that it becomes unclear who is in and who is not in 'the team'.

So, another answer to the question 'Where is Çatalhöyük?' is to say that the one place Çatalhöyük is not is at Çatalhöyük. By this is meant that as varied groups, with their different interests and expectations approach the site, they construct different versions of it which are only partly rooted in the finds made at the physical location called Çatalhöyük. These varied interpretations are located at other sites, globally distributed. They are grounded in different locales, away from the archaeological site itself.

This idea of dispersing the archaeological site is parallel to Marcus' (1995) notion of multi-sited ethnography. In archaeology the main fear has been the loss of authority that seems to be implied as bounded categories become dispersed into networks. But in the daily practices surrounding the Çatalhöyük project, we are, willy-nilly, seeing a shift from the archaeological site as a source of knowledge and authority to the archaeological site as mediating between many sites. The archaeological authority can no longer be assumed — it has to be argued for within a diverse network. The archaeologist contributes to this network but does not dominate it.

In the practices surrounding Çatalhöyük, archaeologists increasingly act as providers or mediators. A common experience has come to be the following. A TV producer approaches the project. They wish to make a film which includes the site and the project. They want to know what we have to say on some theme, often something to do with New Age movements, the Goddess and alternative religions. The archaeologists get interviewed and are politely listened to, but the agenda of the producer is clear and cynical. Whatever the specialist archaeological perspective, the programme makers have to make a film that will attract public attention. In the editing process, the archaeological perspective is placed on an equal footing with other points of view. The archaeological view is seen as one among many. The archaeological statements may get re-interpreted within a quite different story.

We can decry this situation and lament the loss of archaeological authority. Or we can embrace such experiences as a function of the erosion of boundaries between 'high' and 'low' culture. In the latter case, the archaeologist welcomes the wider public appeal and recognizes the need to speak to different communities and to argue a case in relation to a variety of different points of view. The boundaries around the discipline are eroded, and the enclosed self-sufficiency of the archaeological academy is punctured, but as mediator and provider, the archaeologist enters into a wider debate, often full of dissonance and frustration, but in which active social engagement becomes possible.

Taking a stand

As the archaeological site becomes involved in a negotiation with many other sites, it is impossible to

try and remain neutral, objective, distanced. As one's words and as the data get taken and reinterpreted within other sites, there may be a desire to scream that 'there is no evidence for that'. But in that same desire to produce the evidence as objective, one recognizes the desire of others to do the same, from a different point of view. One recognizes that it is impossible to remain simply a service provider or a mediator. The message that is provided is not neutral — it is immediately picked up in the interests of one or other group at the expense of others. As a professional archaeologist and as a member of society one has to be responsive to the impact of one's work.

One is forced, then, to take a stand. As the evidence is taken by others to show that a matriarchy existed at Çatalhöyük, the archaeologist is drawn into an opinion, for or against. For example, in my view the evidence that we have gained at Çatalhöyük suggests not an all-powerful Goddess and a priestly élite, but daily domestic rituals and a set of beliefs and myths in which both men and women play a role. When talking to Goddess groups, many of whom have provided, or have the ability to provide, funding for the project, this alternative perspective has not always been well received. In my lectures to such groups, I have had members of the Goddess community walk out in anger. I argue that Goddess or other groups sometimes make claims that cannot be supported by any evidence. But I recognize that counter claims can also be made.

Indeed, negotiation with such groups has had an impact on our own research agendas and strategies. For example, the interests of the Goddess communities have provided an impetus to explore the role of women at Çatalhöyük. One response has been to develop a research strategy based on the analysis of ancient DNA. In a female-centred society one might expect that the inhabitants of houses would be linked through the female line. Thus as house is built above house and as family members are buried beneath the floors of the successive houses, one should find that daughters of daughters of daughters would be found. Analysis of ancient DNA should be able to distinguish such a pattern from one based on male household lineages. There are of course many difficult assumptions here (such as that those buried beneath a house lived in that house, and so on), but the example is presented to show how research directions in the scientific analysis of the material from the site can be designed to respond to questions from multiple sources and interests.

Negotiation with multiple voices is being undertaken on the project's Web site where a dialogue between myself and Anita Louise, a member of the Goddess community, has been posted. There is also the facility on the Web site to make comments and to enter into dialogue with project members. On the whole, there has been a positive response to the provision of as much information as possible on the Web site, including data files and diary entries. These are certainly read and we hope that a more informed debate may gradually take place. It is possible to provide data while at the same time taking a stand. It is possible both to mediate and to participate in debate, as long as a reflexive context is provided — i.e. as long as attempts are made to involve multivocality, reflexivity, interactivity and contextuality. It is possible to break down boundaries but still take a stand in a dispersed debate.

The impact of our work on the local communities is less easy to evaluate and is on-going. Certainly tensions have arisen. In particular, the support of Goddess communities has had a negative impact locally. There is local suspicion of some of these groups. A traditional society in which women are covered and expected to be deferential is likely to look askance at New Age feminists, naked Goddesses, and groups dancing and chanting on the mound. Many in the local community are wary of newcomers and outsiders.

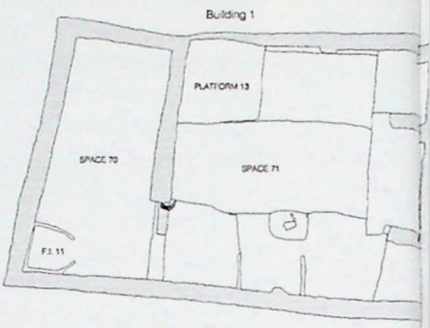
At some moments it has been important to take a stand and not to participate in Goddess events so as not to confront local feelings. It is important to respond to the local interests in the site and a community exhibit is to be incorporated into the Visitor Centre and people from the local community have been asked to make a video about their own interpretation of the site and about the work of the project. But local views have also been important in understanding the site itself. Our various ethnoarchaeological projects have depended very much on local practices in their attempts to understand micromorphological information about the use of floors etc. The local women have suggested uses for the ovens found on the site which had not occurred to the foreign members of the team.

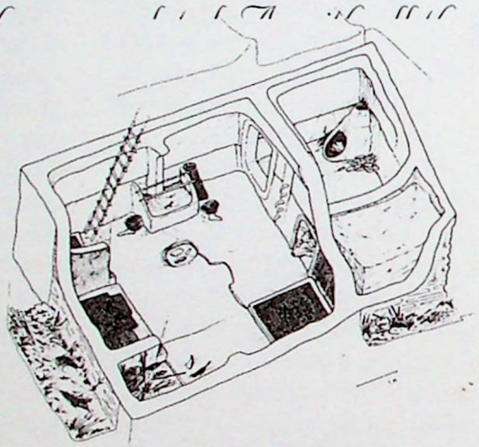
It has also been necessary to take a stand in relation to sponsors and local and national political interests. Many of these groups want our work to prove that the site is the biggest, earliest, most original, and so on. Much of our renewed work at the site has led to a 'normalization' or 'de-mystification' of some of the more exorbitant claims that have been made for it. This tendency tends to disappoint many of these groups and there is a concomitant danger of a loss of support and revenue for the project. But it is

On 11/08/97, Gavin wrote:

Arrived almost two weeks ago but the first week was taken up with the construction of the steel shelter o
and in the end a professional construction team had to be brought in from Konya to complete the job wh
building had been protected by plastic sheeting and some spoil infill and had survived very well althou
the walls a very litt last s
Naomi ha Mellaa has
working in ces to rem e ain.
I such as t nd F.37, 8 an
still taking le infant e wa
disarticula remnants of F. 38 and a lower one, beneath
mostly wor has just skeletal remains, they appea
Unfortunately F.44 has just been shown which is now being remove
moulding (F.26) and step (F.46), some still continues un
ructi ary element of th
rticu peared at the ba
ds a ims to have found
e bu ls the same, inclu
een f der F.41 - this may be one of
e the extent of the cut was never fully resolved last year, but there ar
was helping. Some of the floors from here have also been taken down ost floo
king off some of the wall plasters down -
me re-acquainted with the phasin re
and it almost certainly needs refin
ek. This is further beset by the prob
e whole building - and with othe fe
to be checked, the big problem is not so much the stratigraphic relations
relationships are crucial. Moreov ich a
year some on site interpretations u think
whether it is over-emphasising dis 's one o antages of a mai









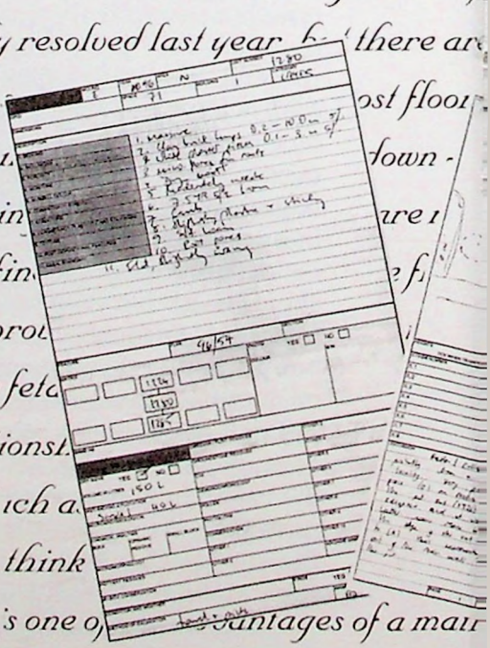
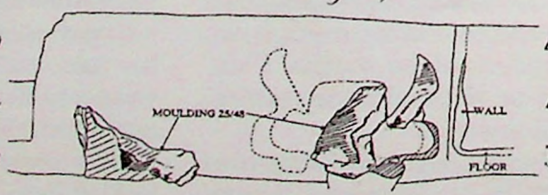
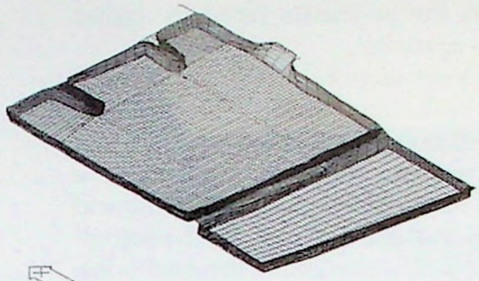



Figure 1.4. *Photomontage: Building 1 representations.*

Ruth's area, just adjacent to the North; unfortunately, this took a m



hap

began on the North area just o

he p.

aps a little too damp as a thin fi

e D. who, as last year, will onl

had and Charlotte. At the moment this is a good size as we are

then begin the removal of the architectural features of Building

layers below. Less burials than I thought were remaining which was a relief although they are

, F.40 another double infant b removed last year, disturbed/

burials (F.29) under platform e team has been up helping and

rly solid but are extremely brittle suffered much over the winter.

Charlotte; also some skull fragmen f the fill for F.44 under the wall

suggests t ial which perhaps F.44 has cut.

, we have fairly conclusive evidence of at least one burial like this; after the

mation with its head lying well south of F. y floor

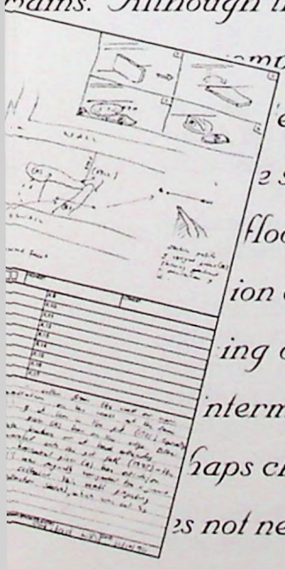
corroboration; my worry is that more may want is

s under platform F.13 are being fairly rc early,

earliest under the platform and has a greenstone pendant associate n F.37

ree groups/individuals at least, one of which has now come out. Na arlotte

mains. Although then, most ed on the burials, remove



mpleted mor these. In terms of the interpretive issues surrounding

ed out. Th r Building 1 was done in almost a day by Roger and

e studied m onjunction with the drawn sections, something which

floor units) stratigrap isually

ion of the bur eeds to be t needs

ing or broad urials and ct floor

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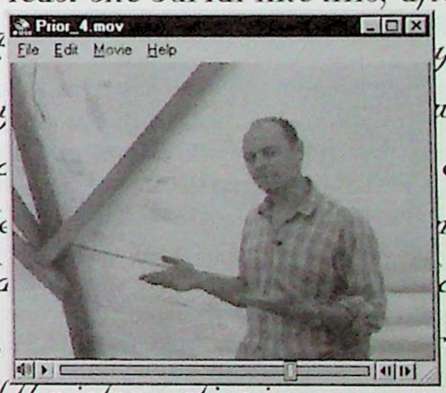
haps check Roger's diary?). Beyond this, ther elf and

es not need phasing. Having said that, there are ding 1,



necessary to take a stand and point to alternative ways in which the site can be seen as appealing. In doing so, the interests of sponsors and political groups can be catered for, in partnership rather than opposition.

So we cannot simply act as neutral mediators — providing a service to varied communities so that they can access the past. Rather, it becomes necessary to accept that our 'mediation' involves a particular perspective which has to be negotiated in relation to other perspectives. The aim has been to provide mechanisms so that others can engage in a debate. But such a process means that we have to enter into the debate ourselves. We cannot impose an authority based on an objective science. Rather, we have to argue an authority in terms of a well-informed understanding of the data. We have to recognize that that understanding is better informed if opened up to alternative voices. But we also have to act as members of society, aware of the conflicts and tensions between diverse perspectives, and aware of the benefits and dangers of specific uses of the past. We have to take a stand as archaeologists and as members of society, but we can do so in an inclusive and non-confrontational manner.

Conclusion

The archaeological site at Çatalhöyük does have an impact on diverse communities in the present. It mediates between these various groups and individuals and their constructions of the past. The archaeological site at Çatalhöyük is one site among many Çatalhöyük sites and it is dispersed into those sites, not existing independently of them. Yet the archaeological site impacts on the diverse communities which are networked to it. By breaking down boundaries, and by involving people in the construction of data, people's experience of the world changes. The archaeologist is involved in an on-going negotiation, one that penetrates into the laboratory and into the trench. It does seem possible to argue for a certain authority but be involved in a plural, multivocal debate. It does seem possible to break down boundaries, and move to networks and flows, without losing impact and purpose.

Postscript: the 1999 season

This book describes mainly the early seasons of excavation at Çatalhöyük from 1995 to 1998. During this time the methods discussed in this volume were experimented with. But during 1999 a six-month season took place, prompted by the need to evaluate potential damage to the lower levels of the site caused by a dropping water table. A team of 20 professional archaeologists, half field and half laboratory, were recruited. During this long season, the methods which had been developed in previous years became a routine and the problems faced in earlier seasons were not as apparent.

The aim of the long season in 1999 was to reach natural at the base of the mound in the South area, which involved the excavation of about six metres of stratigraphy and much shoring. The season was a success not only in reaching the base of the mound and keeping within budget, but also methodologically and communally. The success of the methodology is probably largely attributable to the use of a smaller and wholly professional team so that the close interaction between specialists in different fields was easier. Individuals had enough experience to cope with the integration of large amounts of information and with the detailed recording and sampling.

Continuity over six months resulted in efficiency and team stability, and familiarity lessened inhibitions in group discussion and interaction. The process of excavation, recording and interpretation was familiar to everyone. Methodologies were adopted with relative ease, and time was not needed to train students.

With a smaller team and more computer terminals, field data entry was more efficient allowing quicker data querying. This was possible as with more than one competent excavator in an area individuals were able to spend time in the laboratory on paper and computer work. Video records were made by a trained excavator who had closer contact with daily activities in the trench and was better equipped to know what was archaeologically important both whilst filming and editing.

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Chapter 10

Faultlines: the Construction of Archaeological Knowledge at Çatalhöyük[1]

Carolyn Hamilton

On 29 August, 1996, Shahina Farid, supervisor of the South area of the Çatalhöyük excavation, drew the attention of the various teams and specialists conducting a tour of the progress of the excavation to three instances of faultlines on the east walls of spaces 106 and 108. Reflecting the earlier discussions of the excavators as they first uncovered these features, she speculated as to whether the faultlines were the result of an earthquake or of bricks slumping, possibly because they were still moist when removed from their moulds and first placed on the walls.

In much the same way as excavation uncovered these faultlines, so too investigation of the Çatalhöyük project, i.e. of the various activities, methods and dynamics by means of which archaeological knowledge of Çatalhöyük around 6000 BC is produced, reveals interesting faultlines, the causes and implications of which this chapter sets out to explore. Just as Farid drew the touring group's attention to the on-site discussions of these structural features as they emerged, so too does this chapter explore the explanations offered by project participants of the project faultlines as they emerged. In so doing the chapter seeks not simply to account for those faultlines, but to understand the recursive relations between them and the way in which features like the structural faultlines, are observed, discussed, affect and are turned into archaeological knowledge.

Methodology

This preliminary chapter is based on a limited (one month) period of fieldwork, conducted in the middle of the 1996 excavation season. Further fieldwork was undertaken in 1997. While two areas were cleared in 1995, and limited digging begun, the real work of excavation only commenced in 1996. In part, this limited endeavour serves as a pilot study to assess the feasibility and potential value of a longer term project on the production of archaeological knowledge conducted over an extended period of time and in greater depth.

The study is part of the broader concern at Çatalhöyük to develop greater self-reflexivity within archaeological theory and methodology. Indeed, since the late 1980s, considerable attention has been paid within archaeology to the recognition that archaeological practice is always socially and politically situated (Wylie 1994; Pinsky & Wylie 1989; Gero 1996). Close empirical analyses of the conditions under which specific assumptions or forms of practice arise have begun to be undertaken. The Çatalhöyük excavation takes this in a new direction through exploration of what might constitute a postprocessual field project. Effectively the challenge is to consider how greater reflexivity about the way in which archaeological knowledge has been produced in the past can inform, change and improve, or benefit, current practice. These points frame the Çatalhöyük project and underpin my study.

This challenge is currently also being taken up in other projects. On the basis of an examination of what she calls conventionalised narratives, Joan Gero (1996), for example, argues that the routinized accounting for field methodologies ultimately distorts what is done on site. She goes on to suggest developing alternative narratives for accounting for field practice, new (and yet largely untried) ways of revealing what was actually archaeologically undertaken, to produce greater insight into how knowledge is 'in fact' constructed and to emphasize the role of archaeologist as knowledge-producing agent. This present research project is similarly concerned with how archaeological knowledge is constructed, but more importantly also seeks to review how new and

experimental methodologies, implemented in response to the recognition of the constructed nature of archaeological knowledge, work. What does an explicitly reflexive and interactive methodology facilitate, and what are its limitations, its sticking points and sites of abrasion? In short, what happens on an excavation where the idea of 'objectivity' is not effortlessly invoked, where scientific procedures are constantly investigated for their poetics and politics, and where more, or at least as many, 'brownie points' are gained for exposing an assumption as a 'find'? How is knowledge produced by archaeologists occupied with postprocessual concerns?

Once operationalized, this study quickly expanded its reflexive ambit from being an attempt by a non-archaeologist to document and analyze procedures and developments within the Çatalhöyük project, to a situation where occasions of interaction between this researcher and the archaeologists created conditions in which the archaeologists were able, and in some instances obliged, to reflect on their daily practices. These occasions fed into broader processes of reflexivity built into the heart of the Çatalhöyük project. In short, the present study does not simply document and analyse developments at Çatalhöyük but also contributes to their shaping.

As such, the study emphasizes in new ways the participant part of the deployed methodology of participant-observation. It involves the studying of not a physically distant and culturally remote society, but the anthropologists' closest kin, archaeologists, many of whom have some training as anthropologists and honed understandings of the powers, implications and limitations of an anthropological gaze as well as the capacity and opportunities to challenge the ethnographer's authority. It is furthermore not an instance of applied anthropology seeking to find solutions to problems, and yet is a case where intervention cannot be withheld. A spin-off of this project will be an assessment of the implications for the broad project of ethnography of this particular exercise in participation.

While the study is in part an ethnography of the production of postprocessual archaeological knowledge at Çatalhöyük and hopefully in the long-run will yield a fine-grained analysis of archaeological practice, it is explicitly not conceived of as an ethnography of the archaeologists at Çatalhöyük. In other words, the full extent of social relations at Çatalhöyük is not the object of study nor is the research method confined to participant-observation.

Deconstructionism, historicization, detailed contextualization and performance analysis are other strategies utilized in diverse combinations. The materials on which this chapter is based were derived from a mixture of informal interviews, analysis of various texts produced by and about the project, in addition to the participant-observation from within the project by being a working member of the project, not as an excavator but as a notebook specialist with the (non-archaeological) brief of doing this particular exercise. The study thus refuses disciplinary or methodological containment as part of its own explicit research strategy.

The present study, an exercise in meta-reflexivity, is itself one device among a host of others built into the Çatalhöyük research project designed to encourage reflexivity, and as has already been suggested, came also to facilitate a degree of interaction among participants. The linkage between reflexivity and interaction is not inevitable, but has been, in other areas, actively structured into the Çatalhöyük project.

In the next section of the chapter I will briefly summarize some of the devices built into the Çatalhöyük project to facilitate interaction and reflexivity. I will rely on the fact that other chapters in this volume have already begun to introduce these features. To extend the metaphor with which I opened this chapter, I liken these pioneering devices to the mud-bricks moulded *in situ* at Çatalhöyük some nine thousand years ago. I will not be focusing on those devices which have been entirely successful — the bricks that have held their shape. Rather, I will focus on the faultlines of the project: I will try to distinguish between methodological 'bricks' which might be thought to have 'slumped' once *in situ*, and those which have been forced out of alignment as a result of structural rupture or contradiction. I will try to account for why some courses 'slumped' and others 'ruptured', and finally and most tentatively, I will seek to assess the significance of the slumpings and ruptures for the methodologies being developed at Çatalhöyük. The focus of this first, very preliminary paper on faultlines was suggested by the work of the French literary theorist, Pierre Machery. The central idea that I adapt somewhat loosely from his approach to textual analysis is that rather than examining a work, or a set of practices, for their continuities, successes or failures, it is often useful to seek rather the points of rupture or contradiction and try to understand why they are present, to see what they say about the matters in hand. This seemed also a way of being able to say some things about a body of research that I must emphasize is as yet in a very early stage.

Moulding the building bricks of a postprocessual methodology

A variety of devices can be identified at Çatalhöyük which constitute the moulds for the bricks that might eventually be built into a postprocessual methodology for archaeology. The excavation diaries kept by the project director, supervisors, and others provide a daily account of the evolving logic of the excavation, its successes and errors, and its suggestiveness. The recording on film of daily occasions of excavation and interpretation also hold out enormous promise for encouraging and facilitating a reflexive approach to the activities of interpretation involved in the processes of excavation and in the generation of the data on which archaeological analysis is based. The imminent integration of the video material into the project's on-line and publicly accessible data base will place it at the heart of the research exercise alongside the data regarding ceramics, faunal remains, lithics and so on.

The data base itself is founded on a commitment to providing specialists in various sub-fields ready access to each other's material and working interpretations, and thereby creating possibilities for breaking out of forms of explanation and analysis limited by the horizons of the various specialities and for thinking critically and innovatively about the conventions of the sub-disciplines.

Another device structured into the field project is the attendance by the on-site but lab-based specialists of regular tours of the excavation areas. These are designed to keep the specialists up-to-date and familiar with developments in the excavation areas and to provide the excavators with rapid feedback on what the laboratory people are discovering.

The location of a social anthropologist in the nearby village of Küçükköy (see Chapter 14, this volume) opens up for consideration the implications and effects of the Çatalhöyük project on the village and vice versa. Tours and discussions of the site, specially laid on for the local Turkish workers employed on the project, similarly provide an opportunity for consideration of the nature of this mutual impact, and begin to recognize the diversity of knowledges about Çatalhöyük. Acknowledgement of popular knowledges and appropriations of Çatalhöyük, including the concerns of Mother Goddess cultists who visit the site, are thus not ignored because of their lack of scientific underpinnings. A variety of local, visitor and tourist needs of the site already show signs of affecting the development of the site, and the notion of a purely scientific project untouched by the pressures of public, popular and sometimes rival needs and interpretations is eschewed.

A still greater degree of multivocality is invited within the project. Discrete aspects of the project operate with relative autonomy; separate teams with different research agendas are invited to excavate, and diversity of participation and interpretation is emphasized. Mid-season in 1996 at least ten nationalities were present at the site. A storytelling session held in the middle of the season underscored the commitment to multiple interpretations of Çatalhöyük.

Conservation, public presentation of a site and the availability of data often come years after an

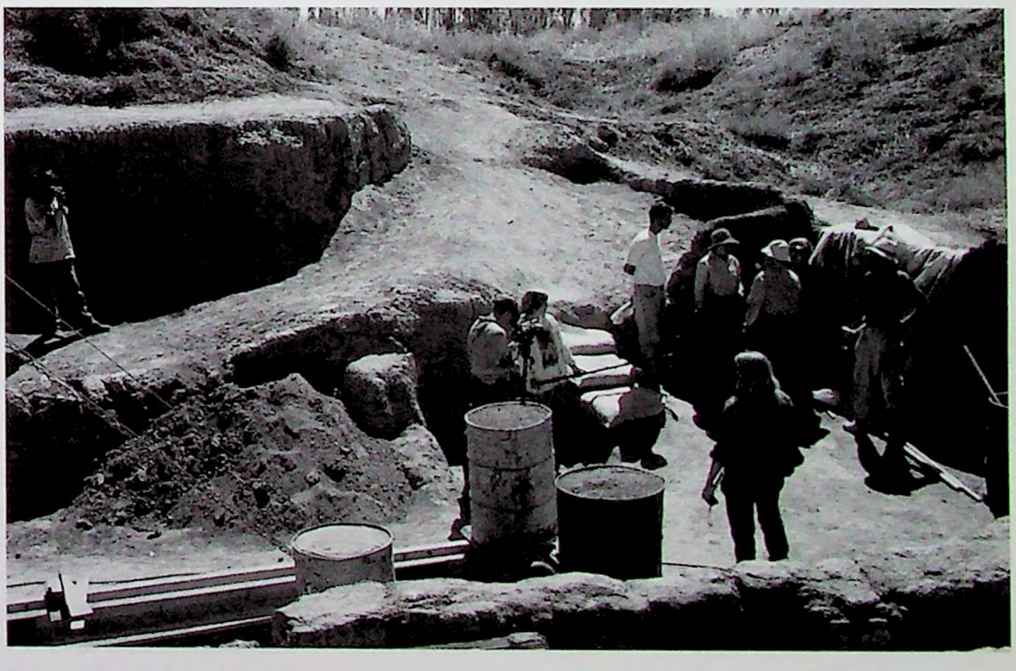

Figure 10.1. *Çatalhöyük 1996: James and Arlene Mellaart discuss the 1960s excavations with conservator Connie Silver. Ian Hodder and Carolyn Hamilton listen in while the Karlsruhe team film the group. The whole is being photographed by Shahina Farid, while Orrin Shane who took this photograph captures the entire scene.*[2]

excavation is completed, but at Çatalhöyük these features are moved up in time to proceed in step with excavation. A local journalist spent a week on site obtaining a close-up view of its progress and contributed to putting knowledge of Çatalhöyük up-front for the public at an early stage in the history of the excavation. The 'Friends of Çatalhöyük' actively promote public interest in and knowledge of the site.

In short then, the project is characterized by a range of features implemented to promote open, non-authoritarian and multivocal interpretations, wide interaction, and a high degree of reflexivity, and designed optimally to create a setting for a recursive relationship between data and theory enabling innovative thinking while shifting ownership of knowledge of Çatalhöyük out of the hands of the archaeologists currently at work on the project. Investigation of how these features worked in practice in the 1996 season revealed, however, a series of faultlines, indicating that they were not implemented without some form of slumping, and even minor earthquakes. Some of the resultant faultlines are the focus of this chapter; others await long-term assessment.

It is a premise of the approach adopted for this research that these features of the project, and the project as a whole, are fundamentally shaped by the multiple contexts of Çatalhöyük. But, just as object and context on site shift in relation to each other and to the interpretive framework applied to them, so too in the postprocessual methodology of Çatalhöyük are the faultlines and their contexts mutually constitutive.

The multiple contexts of Çatalhöyük

The primary context of the current Çatalhöyük excavation is that constituted by the previous excavation of the site by James Mellaart in the early 1960s (see Chapter 7, this volume). Mellaart's reports and his book emphasized the preservation at Çatalhöyük of what has come to be regarded as an example of 'advanced civilization', a centre of artistic achievement and elaborate ritual. From the point of view of the public, Çatalhöyük became something of a household name in the 1960s while amongst archaeologists it achieved renown not only for its art and rich symbolism, but also for its significance for the understanding of early villages, processes of urbanization and the development of 'complex societies'. Mellaart's excavation was terminated in 1965, following a series of controversies which surrounded this excavation and other of his projects. These included the so-called Dorak Affair in which Mellaart fell under suspicion of having appropriated jewellery finds from Dorak; a scandal over the illegal sale of antiquities by workmen at his Hacilar excavation, and finally a further uproar concerning problems at Çatalhöyük. The current reopening of the site has demanded that due attendance be given to this legacy and to guarantees regarding the conservation of the finds.

Indeed, the location of the site in Turkey where strict regulations pertain regarding excavation permission, monitoring of excavation, storage and the removal of finds constitutes yet another of Çatalhöyük's contexts.

The Mellaart legacy is by no means confined to the perception of problems around his handling of significant finds. Perhaps more important for the current excavation is the way in which Çatalhöyük became fixed in the popular imagination and thereby set up all sorts of preconceptions, expectations and potential assumptions around the present excavation. As one participant in the project commented, 'Çatalhöyük is almost of mythical significance.' As such there are substantial demands on Çatalhöyük emanating from the Mother Goddess cultists, tourists, museologists and others.

At the same time, the archaeological significance of Çatalhöyük exerts its own pressure. As a high prestige site regarded as especially significant in the emergence of 'civilization', its reopening made it the object of widespread academic attention. The Director commented on how its status made it possible to attract the best people in various fields to work in the project. All participants remarked on what an extraordinary thing it is to work on such a site. One consequence of its status is that everyone concerned with the project brings to it both high expectations and deep commitment. They show themselves to be especially motivated to do the best possible job, with the greatest care, the best methods and the latest technology. A huge range of specialists and highly experienced field excavators congregated at Çatalhöyük — numbers in excess of what any of the participating archaeologists are accustomed to — eager to participate in this exercise. As one participant commented, 'At Çatalhöyük there are more specialists per square metre dug than anywhere else.' As much as many were eager to work at Çatalhöyük so too were other Near East archaeologists perturbed by the prospect of the prestigious Çatalhöyük site being excavated by archaeologists with no experience in Anatolian, and limited involvement in Near Eastern, archaeology.

The contested development of the school of

postprocessual archaeology constitutes yet another context of the present project. An often repeated remark made of the postprocessual archaeologists is that the theory may not be good to dig with; effectively, the Çatalhöyük excavation is made to test the proposition that postprocessual theory can generate better archaeology. This test-case status exerts particular pressures on the excavation that demand consideration.

The final, but perhaps the most important, context is that of funding. The Turkish government was motivated to reopen the site at Çatalhöyük primarily because of the extent of this particular project's intention to invest in the excavation process the latest methods and the best specialists over a projected 25-year period, but, more importantly from the point of view of the Turkish authorities, the project's commitment to develop the site and to present the site to the public early on during the excavation, and to do so in a sophisticated, well-capitalized way.

These commitments, which gave access to the site, in part dictated the scale and shape of the project, and the amounts of funding needed. The demand from the Turkish government for high calibre research matched with the concern of the participating archaeologists to treat this particular site with the maximum care. Other than bodies like the British Academy, funders are not typically committed to the scientific excellence of the process of an excavation, but rather to the value for themselves of the results of the excavation. What constitutes in their eyes 'results' at Çatalhöyük is in part a product of expectations created by the sensationalism of what Mellaart found, and the need for products which resonate with the understanding and the demands of the public at large. In short, the funders are looking for spectacular material finds in the realm of art and architecture, finds which can be preserved, unveiled for journalists and generally shown off.

The next section of the chapter identifies some of the faultlines of the project. I will confine my discussion to three examples, though there are a host of others that could be discussed.

The faultlines

The data base, much-vaunted as a device for interaction, manifested its own faultlines. Participants considered themselves to be under too much pressure to consult through the data base each other's material, the excavation diaries, or even the basic excavation documentation — the unit sheets. This, together with technological hitches, led to the marginalization of the data base in the 1996 season. Furthermore, discussions around the data base, in part but not exclusively facilitated by my research enquiries, drew attention to the way in which the structure of the data base continued to constrain participants within set categories and actively inhibited the interrogation of categories which a postprocessual and contextual approach hoped to facilitate. To some degree, the data base insists on constituting objects and delimiting them from contexts in a manner at odds with the project's emphasis elsewhere on the need for provisionality on this question.

But as much as the data base which was designed to facilitate openness imposed its own new constraints, it must be noted that this tension did not pass unnoticed, but became an object of attention. No one was complacent about the data base. This building brick may have slumped and lost something of its intended form but it was nonetheless a solid aspect of the emerging methodology. What I mean here is that for all that the data base restricts interaction, and may in some respects be reinforcing categories, it was also the focus of anxiety over precisely these features. Let us take another example: the video footage designed to promote reflexivity about on-site interpretation in data gathering.

Entering of filmed clips on the data base initially proved time-consuming and lagged behind daily filming. A need for substantial editing emerged, both at the level of the performance actually committed to film and also subsequently in the photographic lab in discarding footage prior to entering it into the data base. Editing demanded daily decisions as to what was 'important' and what was not. This appeared to compromise the potential of the filmed material to capture aspects of the interpretive process on site which the participants were not conscious of or may have deemed 'unimportant'. In other words, the directing and editing imposes and conceals precisely the kind of interpretive closure that the videoing seeks to reveal.

We can take this point one step further and argue that the videoing and finished works produced by the film crew for public presentation which already present the site to the public through selective use of daily footage and virtual reality reconstruction constrain the visual interpretation and imagining of the site.

But again these constraints, working to exactly the opposite effect of the project's aims, began, in the course of the 1996 season to be revealed, partly through my investigations, and through a host of other developments. As with the data base, the way

in which the videoing constrained interpretation as much as it opened it up began to be actively discussed. Likewise, sensitivity began to develop to the range of visual conventions operationalized at Çatalhöyük — in plans, cross-sections, photographs, footage and so on — and to how these conventions themselves constrain both interpretation and the public presentation of the site.

In contrast to my first two examples, my third and final example does not take up a feature designed to facilitate a postprocessual methodology, but a feature introduced to speed-up the excavation, the division of the team broadly into two categories, so-called 'diggers' and 'specialists' (field staff or excavators, and laboratory staff).

One of the most substantial faultlines to manifest itself was initially conceptualized by the project participants as a 'tension between diggers and specialists'. In order to facilitate the sophisticated processing of excavated material on site, professional excavators experienced at speedy contract archaeology were employed to dig, and a range of specialists taken on to handle the finds in on-site laboratories. Where ideally a postprocessual methodology might seek to ensure maximum interaction between the various participants, this structural arrangement potentially enforced segregation. A further range of devices was implemented to counteract any such tendencies, including regular tours of the excavation by the lab-based personnel and the introduction of elaborate sampling procedures designed to provide the lab-based specialists with a wealth of contextual information.

Some three weeks into the season, the specialist tours of the excavations were criticized by field staff for being time-consuming. Laboratory staff demands on field staff were deemed by the latter to be intolerable. In particular, the field staff claimed that the number of samples which they were required to take was so large that it affected adversely the capacity of the excavators to do their job, that of digging. Every time the excavators recognized a new unit, they were obliged to plan it, take spot heights, fill out a unit sheet, take a bulk (flotation) sample from the centre of the unit, an archive sample, and on occasion an average sample, a residue sample, pot sample, a photograph and a host of other possibilities depending on the particular character of the unit (see Chapters 2 & 3). In addition, certain of the excavators expressed frustration about being stalled in their excavation of a space while they waited on specialists to complete particular operations, such as the taking of sections or sampling of bricks. The intensity of the sampling procedures implemented at Çatalhöyük had the spin-off effect of making excavation with a section or in metre squares especially onerous and time-consuming. What emerged then was that the demand for scientific excellence and for the detailed information needed for contextual archaeology seemed to be putting a strain on the desired goal of interaction. The camera crews, frequent public, funder and promoter tours of the site and the demands of this research exacerbated the excavators' sense of 'wasting valuable time'.

The anxieties of the field staff were summarized in the often heard claim of 'being slowed up'. This claim was initially most vocal from excavators working in the South area. A number of factors contributed to its manifestation early on in this setting. The first is that the major part of the season was spent removing Mellaart's in-fill and digging spaces already excavated in the 1960s. For the most part this meant working through large amounts of material that came to fill in buildings and spaces after their periods of human occupation. This contrasted sharply with developments in the North area, which was, from the start, a pristine excavation, and which quickly reached floors, platforms, burials and other interesting features. Where extreme meticulousness seemed warranted in the North area, speed was prioritized in the South area. The detailed sampling procedure was thus perceived as more onerous and possibly even less rewarding in the South area.

The culture and habitus of the individual excavators fed into this division. Where in the North area, only one of a team of on average seven excavators, worked regularly as a contract archaeologist and the area supervisor was a research archaeologist, the South area was supervised by a professional contract archaeologist and at least four of the team of on average eight excavators worked regularly as contract archaeologists. Contract archaeologists are accustomed to working competitively with tight deadlines and under strict financial constraints. This, it would seem, developed in them a confidence and professional ease about rapid dismantling. An associated tendency appears to be a reliance on thinking through the trowel and with the materials as they are encountered in the field. It could be observed in the South area that excavators often invited each other to comment on current developments in the excavation, asking a colleague to come and 'have a look', and then moving over to accommodate the person trowelling in the area in question. The 'contract archaeologists' were expert in reading the emerging plan [stratigraphy] and at feeling their way

around the units being excavated. Characteristically their processes of interpretation were immediate, commonsensical and typically concerned with interpreting relatively gross features and changes.

For the most part, the contract archaeologists favoured excavation in plan over section or in squares, though a minor exception to this needs to be noted. Those 'contract archaeologists' who also carried other portfolios within the project (such as a responsibility for pot sherd processing), did not manifest the same degree of concern with excavating in plan rather than with a section. This suggests that the resistance to sections and to excavating in squares was in part an effect of the intensity of sampling which increased dramatically with excavation in squares or with a section, but was also a consequence of how the confidence of the excavators was established and maintained when pressures for speed were exerted. What emerges is that excavators who rely for their interpretation of a site solely on the emerging logic of the stratigraphy suffer a loss of confidence when a section or squares intervene in their maximal reading of the space in plan. This is expressed most strongly in their stated fear of being 'misled by the section' in the one case, or being unable to link up the squares in the other. As Farid put it in her excavation diary entry of 9 September 1996, '. . . a section can inform on the events in one particular location through time but 5–10 cm further in, the storey [sic., but a great slip for the stratigraphically-concerned] will change, and also sections rarely solve problems over a wide expanse of area'.

The opposite position was held for the most part by research archaeologists, and was most manifest in the North area. In contrast to the contract archaeologists' interpretation through trowelling and feel, the research archaeologists emphasized 'seeing' and 'cleaning'. Characteristically their processes of interpretation were deferred, 'scientific', relatively detailed, even micro, in scale, and concerned on occasion to explain what did not endure as remains, or what might be absent.

As with the data base and the video footage, these faultlines generated their own highly productive spin-offs. Professional excavators and laboratory specialists alike were constantly forced to reconsider their own practices and investigate their assumptions. In all three instances, a condition of destabilization prevailed that might be considered the heart of a methodology concerned to promote reflexivity and interaction. While to a certain extent all three examples evidence the effects of funding and speed imperatives, those effects are the most threatening and potentially deleterious to the productive tension between the professional excavators and the laboratory specialists.

Çatalhöyük is under considerable pressure from the Turkish authorities and the funders to show results quickly and make spectacular finds, to make the findings accessible, and to present the site to the public. The data base and the videoing service these demands as much as they do the new methodology. The division of the team into professional excavators and lab-based specialists was a huge concession to the need for speed and finds, but had the effect of causing a situation of profound interrogation of archaeological practice by both the professional excavators and the specialists. However, one month into the season in 1996, the effects of the project's mode of operation — the emphasis on detail and meticulous sampling and taking of thin sections — on the rate of excavation was evident. The project director reflected the pressure exerted as a result of this realization in his entry in the excavation diary of September:

> I sometimes wonder whether modern archaeology is possible — there is such an enormous disjunction between the scientific requirements and expectations and the public (or private) purse . . . The people with big money want so much more than microdetail — e.g. reconstructed rooms, museums and car parks. To do that we need to move earth. But we aren't.

Within a week excavation in metre squares which had been implemented in the North area since the beginning of the season was abandoned in favour of excavation in plan. Excavators in the South area were given the go-ahead to judge for themselves when sampling according to the system would impede them, while on-site decisions were taken as to how much variation of deposit could still be accommodated within one unit number. The ideal system was foregone in favour of what was 'realistic'. At much the same time other forms of detailed recording implemented either the previous season or at the beginning of the 1996 season were abandoned. Detailed documentation of lithics became grosser; at one point flotation dropped from 40 litres to 20 litres; while the specialists concerned with faunal remains also contemplated ways of speeding up their procedures.

Where the tension between the two approaches was important early in the season in guaranteeing the co-existence of both logics, towards the end of the season funding and time constraints began to compromise the specialists' situation and to tip the

balance in favour of the professional excavators. Financial pressures and the need for speed which follows therefrom is common to most excavations. At Çatalhöyük, the special significance of the site and its particular contexts exacerbated this situation considerably.

Chapters 2 and 3 discuss how this deeper-lying structural contradiction played itself out over the later seasons. From one point of view yielding to the pressures of funding and immediate presentation of finds appears to run the risk of sacrificing the scholarly imperatives of the excavation and the need for painstaking academic research. From another point of view these pressures force the asking of hard questions about the social role of academic enquiry. They ask anew what the purpose of excavation is, what the public responsibility of archaeologists is, and why public money should be committed to an enterprise like the Çatalhöyük excavation. What may in fact be signalled here is a need for review of what the status of university-based archaeology is in relation to society at large, a question which goes to the heart of the issue of the social and political situation of archaeological practice.

Some of the faultlines which I have identified and the attendant if productive condition of destabilization must be recognized as also being points of structural weakness, that may threaten aspects of the enterprise. My suggestion here is that the methodology being pioneered at Çatalhöyük may need to move beyond attempts to promote interaction and reflexivity to think creatively about how to cope structurally with these weaknesses. My point here might perhaps be best illustrated with reference to the commitment to making data immediately publicly available. While data-accessibility is highly desirable for all sorts of reasons, that accessibility runs the risk of affecting adversely the participation of young scholars on the project. The use of the data base and the project commitment to making data widely and immediately available on the internet mitigate against the perennial problem within the discipline of archaeology of researchers sitting on material from unpublished sites for years. The engagement of a variety of different teams in the site, albeit in different areas, further disperses control of interpretation out of the hands of a single powerful director and into the hands of a number of senior archaeologists.

In so doing an informal convention is disrupted. Graduate student labour has long been an important resource in academic excavations which are typically cash-strapped. The 'deal' usually takes the following format: graduate students process excavation data for the team leaders who then pull together overall interpretations. In return the graduate student stakes out a specific area for close attention and earns — by dint of many hours of lab work and seasons of excavation labour — privileged access to the relevant data which then become the basis for a PhD thesis. There is an implicit acknowledgement in this arrangement of a graduate student's need to take time to learn with a body of research material. By making data immediately available the Çatalhöyük project removes this period of protected access from the apprentice archaeologists and indeed runs the risk of allowing their labour to be exploited without due recompense. Even recently qualified younger archaeologists, juggling heavy junior teaching loads and the pressures of tenure track demands, who do not have research money to allow them time off to write up findings rapidly, are disadvantaged by the system. In short, the commitment to data-accessibility may weight participation in the project in favour of professionals employed to dig thereby unintentionally concentrating interpretation in the hands of a few senior archaeologists. The guild basis of archaeology is thereby challenged, which may or may not be a good thing. Either way, it is likely to cause considerable upheaval and the material conditions of participants' existence would benefit from structural attention before they erupt into social crisis. This last point indicates that structural contradictions are not confined to the different circumstances of contract and academic archaeologists, but occur in a host of other locations, such as in differences of status among academic archaeologists.

Conclusion

What then do we make of the faultlines which have been identified in this chapter? From the point of view of structural strength, faultlines are points of weakness. If the aim at Çatalhöyük is to produce a research structure with a strength set in stone, able to withstand all pressures and pulls, then the emerging project is flawed. From a position which is concerned with process and change, faultlines signal points of rupture and shift. If the production of knowledge is viewed as a process, and if the aim of the project is to be responsive to change, the faultlines are a guarantee of flexibility, contingency, provisionality and multiplicity. But structural resilience albeit in a more tensile form remains important and demands attention. It is probably essential in ensuring that a condition of destabilization remains productive and does not tip over into despair or demotivation.

Note

1. This chapter is a slightly modified version of the paper presented at the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) conference in Liverpool, December 1996.
2. Figure 10.1 first appeared in an article by Ian Hodder in *Antiquity* 71 (1997).

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 11

Rendering Realities

Nessa Leibhammer

In 1997 Ian Hodder and Carolyn Hamilton, one of the anthropologists at the site, identified a need to study the artistic conventions at work in archaeology with particular reference to the Çatalhöyük project. With this brief in mind I visited the site in 1997 and 1998. This chapter, which is a result of those visits, hopes to show how images do not only serve to illustrate texts but, in themselves, shape knowledge in ways of which the viewer, as well as the illustrator, is often not aware. It also seeks to argue for a parity of discourse between the textual and the visual since assumptions made about pictures are often not thought of as critical.

During 1997, while at the site, some team members expressed the feeling that they experienced a sense of loss when recording information according to 'scientific' conventions. Hodder also noted that the 'scientific' drawings did not capture the often powerful 'atmosphere' of Çatalhöyük. My brief was then broadened to include the generation of my own images of the site which are of an 'interpretive' and aesthetic nature and which complement the more 'scientific' recordings generally produced.

Diversity and difference

Visual images produced by both early and current phases of the Çatalhöyük project take many forms. They range from measured drawings of excavated layers, executed in fine black line, to 'artistic' reconstructions of what life might have been like 9000 years ago rendered dramatically in Baroque techniques of chiaroscuro (see Fig. 11.5). This range is not surprising since, as Hodder notes, 'archaeology . . . brings together the "softer" humanities and social sciences with the "harder" physical and natural sciences' (Hodder 1992, 11). Although this diversity exists, different types of rendering currently occur in very separate settings. The 'scientific' illustrations are used to illustrate finds, plans, sections, elevations and to create maps and charts while the more 'aesthetic' images are produced for the public and are found in museum displays, magazine articles and on the web-site. A fusion of these two 'types' of illustration occurred in 1998 when John Swogger, an archaeologist and the site artist, produced a number of drawings of what Çatalhöyük, and the people who lived there in the past, might have looked like (see Chapter 12). He also drew a series which de-

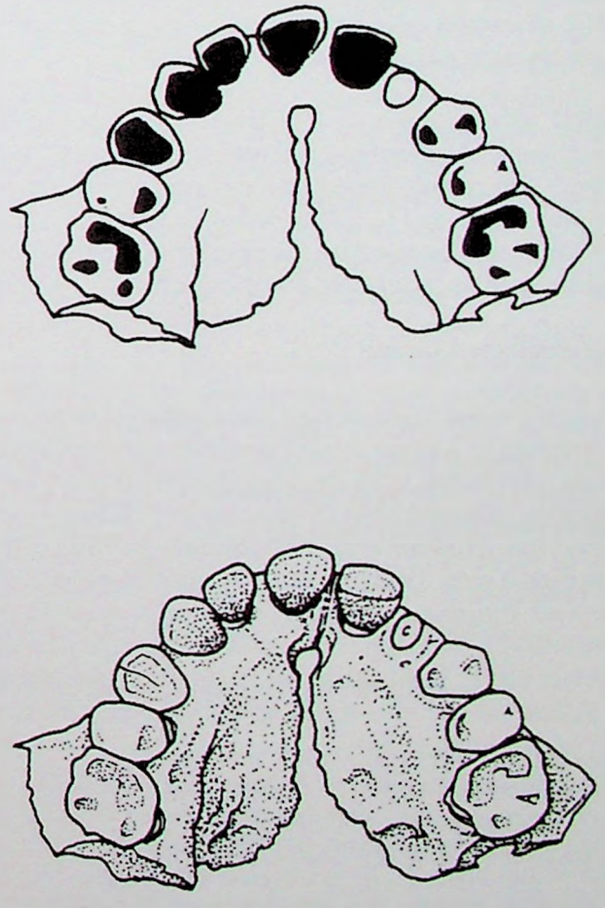

Figure 11.1. *Drawing showing tooth-wear patterns on a male adult. (Published in Çatal News 5, 1998, 19.)*

Figure 11.2. *Tentative reconstruction by John Swogger which illustrates what sort of activity might have caused the tooth-wear patterns shown in Figure 11.1.*

picted how change in use over time affected the structure and appearance of one of the spaces. These images are closely based on evidence and data from the site (e.g. Fig. 11.2). It is yet to be seen how these drawings will be used by the project — whether they will be seen as 'scientific' or interpretive.

The neglected image

Postprocessual archaeology has subjected its textual recordings to a great deal of analytic scrutiny. While issues which deal with the way text constructs meaning from material objects have been extensively explored (see Hodder *et al.* 1995; Shanks & Tilley 1994; Bapty & Yates 1990), visual images have not yet received the same amount of attention (see Molyneaux 1997). As Topper comments, *scientific* illustration has either been taken for granted or ignored. In an article on the epistemology of scientific illustration he comments that:

> (f)or several decades, art historians, psychologists, philosophers, and other theorists have been directing much effort towards understanding the nature of visual imagery. Nevertheless, a reading of this literature reveals that little has been directed towards the study of scientific illustration. (Topper 1996, 215)

While illustrations of a diagrammatic nature are recognizable as 'artificial' conventions used to convey information, realistically rendered images assert themselves in the viewer's perception in a different way. Moser points out that less diagrammatic and more 'realistic' reconstructions which illustrate 'scientific' texts:

> achieve much in the way of convincing us that they are a reasonable explanation of the data, because they make use of a range of icons and symbols that draw on our own human experience. They are fundamentally different from other types of archaeological illustration — such as stratigraphic sections, models or diagrams — in the sense they are presented in a naturalistic format that is a highly familiar form of representation. (Moser 1996, 213)

Visual theorists Bryson, Gombrich and Mitchell have written extensively on the nature of images, yet little of this has spilled over into archaeological theory. This is particularly evident with regard to Neolithic archaeology, which lacks a suitably refined and differentiated language of representation capable of speaking about images and the way they codify information in very particular ways.[1] This chapter seeks to develop an understanding of how images create meaning not just explicitly through their iconology[2] but implicitly through their very construction. The chapter will only touch on a few aspects of this vast area of study. It will look at the 'scientific' renderings of plans, sections, elevations, isometric projections, finds and the Harris matrix as well as the use of the photograph as archive. The more 'aesthetic' reconstructions as seen in the *Illustrated London News*, in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, in virtual reality renderings and my own drawings will also be discussed.

Absence of the original and the importance of the image

Material evidence is the foundation on which the understanding of Neolithic, or any other, archaeology is based. Unfortunately the researcher cannot always have this evidence close at hand and furthermore, once excavated, the evidence undergoes disruption. The mud-brick structures of Çatalhöyük are particularly problematic since, as the site is excavated, the archaeological contexts are destroyed. Not only are they destroyed but the finds are removed to museums displays and storerooms.[3] The recording and documenting of evidence by the excavation team becomes critical as primary material on which to base further research. The visual images, no less than

the written documentation, are crucial to the generation and interpretation of theory about the site. The potency of the reproduction is obvious — the 'presence' of the original archaeological object is superseded by its textual and visual rendition. This rendition remains pervasive through the successive replications of the site.

The imperfection of the image

Unmediated access to the 'real' or 'original' object or context through illustration cannot exist. Forms of illustration that are thought of as recording 'fact' or 'knowledge' are always encoded by pictorial convention. The knowledge that they encode is made visible through conventions and techniques, which shape the very nature of that knowledge. The impossibility of achieving isomorphism (an exact replica) applies to all images but the degree of accuracy and the percentage of fact will vary considerably depending on the modality used, the skill exercised, the amount of information available and the kind of information selected in the rendering of a particular image.

Photographs, realistically-rendered images and virtual reality constructions, in particular, have a way of seeming self-evident and sufficient, concealing their status as signs. In a discussion on the nature of images visual theorists Norman Bryson and Mieke Bal hold that:

> the modernist no less than the humanist discourses are constructed in such a way as to prevent realization that when we confront works of art, we enter the field of the sign and semiosis. (Bryson & Bal 1991, 184)

No image has a special claim on reality — no image can 'possess reality or the truth' and, since no 'perfect' reality exists 'out there', no 'perfect replication' can be produced (Bryson 1983, 6). Once it is accepted that no illustration, even those that are 'rendered realistically', has any 'special' relationship to nature and the truth, and that *all* images operate within a system of signs and symbols, then it becomes easier to discuss these as meaningful/meaning-full constructs which interface between the viewer and the world.

Making meaning with marks

The study of technical processes used in the construction of images is an area that seldom receives concentrated attention. In a chapter entitled 'The Essential Copy' Bryson points out that:

> [b]esides the codes of the real, there are codes specific to the material signifying practice of painting; codes which cannot be mastered, so to speak, simply by inhaling the atmosphere of a given culture. To approach the image from the sociology or anthropology of *knowledge* is to risk ignoring the image as the product of *technique*. If the concrete nature of technique is overlooked, analysis of the image falls into immediate simplification; only its semantic or iconological side is noted. (Bryson 1983, 16)

Artistic conventions deliver specific information — what they do or do not contain can be measured by comparing them with other codes and conventions but more arguably by comparison with the original physical entity. An archaeological line drawing of a ceramic vessel appears very different to, and carries a different set of information from, a painting of the same vessel in the style of a seventeenth-century Dutch master. Each artist uses a unique mark and each medium and aesthetic convention will determine possibilities of representation. The features and relationships the pencil picks out will be different to those of the brush or the pen, the artist always 'seeing' the motif in terms of the medium.

No technique or style existed as a 'natural' way to illustrate the world and its objects. Artists develop styles and techniques as vehicles to communicate information. As the nature of the information changes so will the styles and techniques used. A new medium can also change visual languages and thus the possibilities of depiction. It has been suggested that the development of oil painting in the fifteenth century was responsible for the sumptuous style of Late Gothic and Renaissance realism. The oil medium enabled the depiction of glowing light and the nuanced tones of things in the world such as flesh, fabric, fur and metal in intense detail not previously possible (Gardiner 1959, 356). Gombrich makes it quite clear that the artist, no less than the writer, needs a vocabulary to render an image. For the artist this vocabulary is manifest in their graphic techniques and aesthetic style. It is possible to draw attention to the way information is included and excluded by studying these conventions.

Compression, inflation and exclusion

In *Envisioning Information*, Tufte (1990) writes extensively on the translation of three-dimensional evidence into two-dimensional information. Speculating on the 'loss suffered' when three-dimensional data are 'compressed' onto a two-dimensional surface, Tufte sees this as both a necessary and a strategic loss (Tufte 1990, 13–14). Information is only workable in a format that is usable and practical such as a

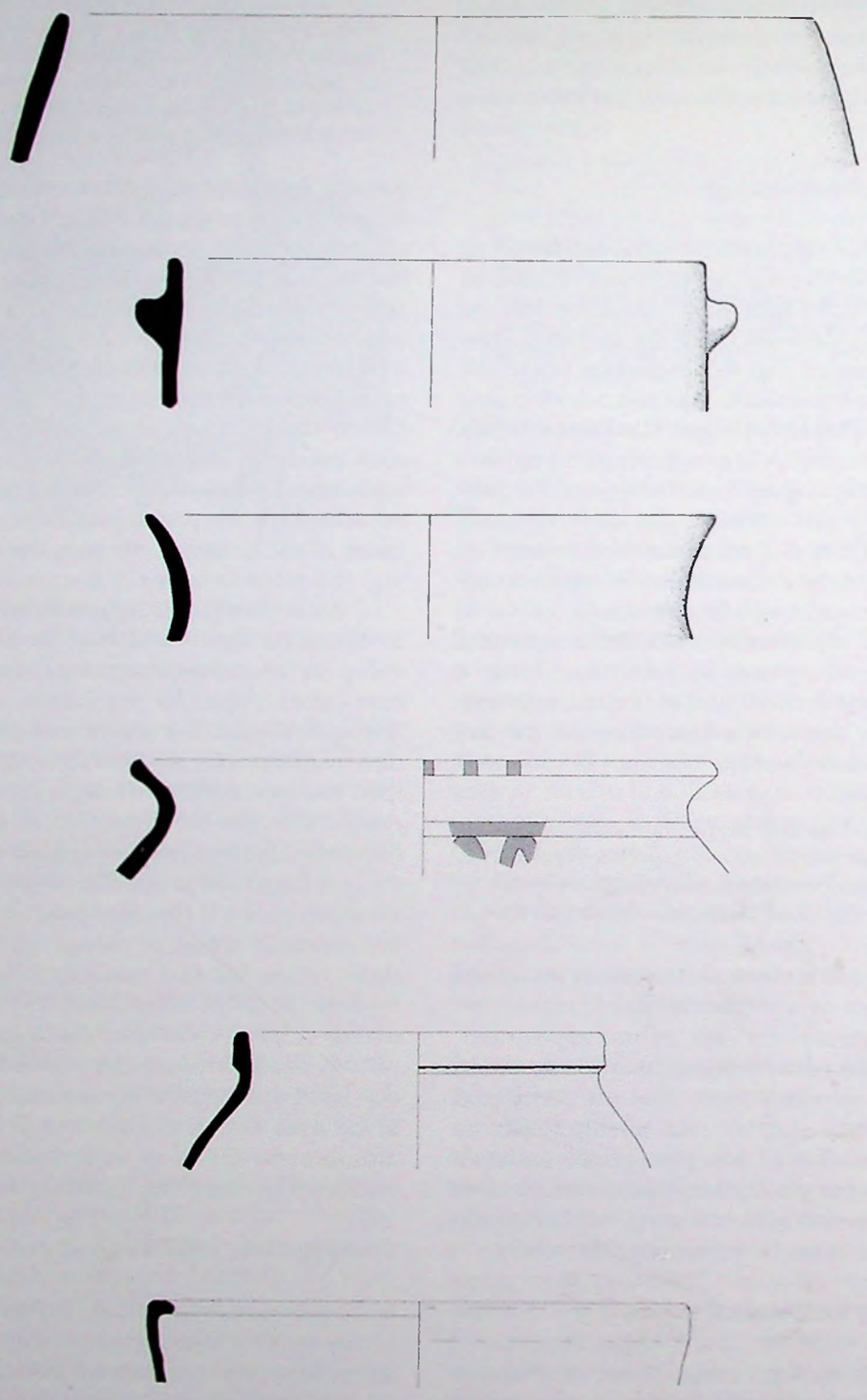

Figure 11.3. *Example of 'scientific' drawing which illustrates handmade and wheelmade forms Çatalhöyük West. (Published in Hodder 1996, 165.)*

flat sheet or screen. Illustrations of very large originals can be reduced in scale and very small originals (even microscopic ones) made large. Another consideration is that an illustration cannot capture the entire 'presence' of the original since this would constitute the recreation of the original. Diagrammatic rendering thus begins the process of shaping and selecting information so that it is 'easier' and 'clearer' to work with. 'Compression' is not always necessary — some archaeological procedures structure evidence so that it approximates the format of the drawing and, therefore, does not undergo volumetric distortion when fitted onto the page format. In rendering sections of the site the archaeologist draws information from a two-dimensional original. The single plane of data — the cut down through exposed layers of the site — is used to plot information across a two-dimensional surface.

Recovering volume

A viewer can recover a sense of volume from a section in two ways. Firstly, the viewer was present at the time of excavation and has a memory of the area beyond the section cut. But memory in this case is not useful for scholarship since it is personal and not available for general sharing. Alternatively the section is viewed together with the appropriate plan enabling a sense of the spatial form of the area to be recreated. This occurs through active mental imagining on the part of the viewer — the reconstruction of those parts that occupied the space between the plan and the section. This 'filling in' of data needs a viewer who is versed in the codes of representation.

Consider how much detail, how much latent evidence, is eliminated in this selective process. Both plan and section are determined and 'designed' by the archaeologist, who selects the sections to plot, who cleans the area and selects what to exclude and what to include in the recording. External factors such as humidity and prevailing light condition also affect what the archaeologist can see and thus what is recorded. These all impact on what information is available for study and what never features in the data base.

But the practice of archaeology is about sampling — it deals with partial information — if it did not it would be impractical. It must be borne in mind that specific diagrammatic configurations such as plans, sections and elevations deliver specific details about a site leaving out a plethora of information not considered important and thus addressing only very selective sections of the site.

Depicting time and space

None of these diagrams engage the complex way three-dimensional shapes of actual sediments and remains interlock with each other at all points of their surface area. The concept of geological time is also implicitly present in sections and elevations — what is below is perceived as being earlier in time, following the principle of sedimentation. To counteract this rather linear concept an alternative system of recording — the Harris matrix — was developed, a system which gives the archaeologist the capacity to include a more accurate reflection not only of the stages of the site deposition but also the sequences of excavation. Fundamental to the construction of this matrix is the concept of the archaeological unit. The boundaries of discrete archaeological elements are decided by the excavating archaeologist who records each one on a separate unit sheet. Each sheet is unique and is given a number, which is part of a sequence. Archaeological features such as bins, walls and ovens are made up of many units and are each given a feature number.

The Harris matrix allows the excavating archaeologist to plot the association of these units with each other and record their archaeological sequences in the underground three-dimensional puzzle. Not only does the Matrix develop a convention by which a third dimension — 'space' — can be indicated but it also allows a fourth dimension — 'time' — to be introduced. Hammond writes that:

> [t]he idea of a stratigraphic diagram which was procedurally rigorous, forcing the excavator to account for every defined context in a spatial and chronological relation to its neighbors (Hammond 1993, foreword).

Although the element of 'time', and change over time, is considered significant and methods are devised whereby its presence and effect can be shown (as in the Harris matrix) other areas of visual rendering practise a systematic excision or 'freezing' of time.

The timelessness and authority of the scientific drawing

'Scientific' drawings, which strive to record accurately aspects of an object or site, present themselves as enduring and absolute. Renderings of particular categories of archaeological artefacts, such as finds or architectural structure, fall under this visually selective convention. Outlined with a single, unbroken, black line on a white surface — the drawings leave no scope for either the imagination or the eye

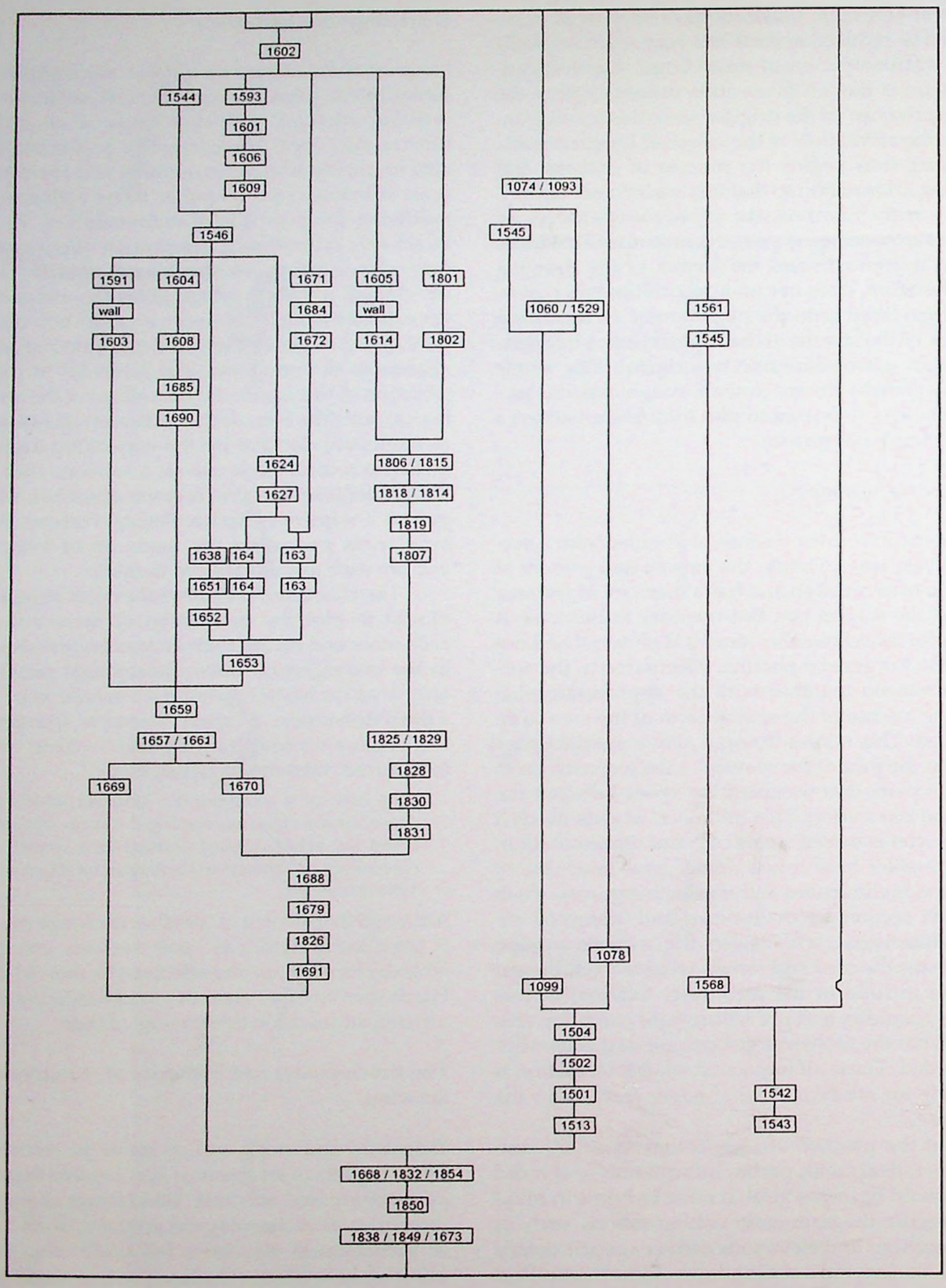

Figure 11.4. *Section of Harris matrix from the South area showing relationships between units.*

to engage the dialectic process of vision between beholder and object. In fixing the image a sense of timelessness, of completeness and factual accuracy is imparted. The linear depiction of a ceramic sherd does not encourage much imaginative interaction between beholder and image.

In contrast, the technique which artists such as Leonardo da Vinci, Rembrandt and Van Gogh used to evoke a sense of volume, movement and the shifting vision of a beholder is one where the edges of objects are neither clearly defined nor of a consistent thickness but are broken, varied and multiple. The eye can never really 'fix' the edge of an object firmly. Bilateral vision keeps the eye and the object engaged in a continuous assessment of the position and appearance of the object in space — each eye 'seeing' the object slightly differently and from a different point. The (one-eyed) viewpoint of archaeological drawing becomes evident in this passage from a manual on drawing finds. It instructs that:

> [i]t is useful, from the start, to develop the habit of keeping your right eye (if right handed) directly over the point of the pencil, and moving along with it. It is very easy to misjudge the position of the outline, even on relatively flat pieces, due to the distortion caused by perspective or the angle of view. (Griffiths *et al.* 1991, 97)

The high contrast rendering of black ink line-drawing further enhances the 'unquestionable', authoritative presence of the illustration. The clarity of the image is embodied not only in the polarities of black on white but also in the thinness and singularity of the line — it appears to have no margins for error. But, however 'thin' the line, it has a 'thickness'. In actuality this thickness of the line gives it two edges. Where radical accuracy is necessary the edge (being two surfaces of a black line) becomes ambiguous. Which is the true surface? Rather than mark the surface of the object or the edge of space — it delineates the point at which these two surfaces meet — between the object and the non-object.

In order to highlight the manner in which different modalities of renderings encode different sets of information it is useful to contrast the style of scientific rendering with the artistic 'styles' of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artists such as Cézanne (1839–1906) and Monet (1840–1926). These artists were inspired by nineteenth-century discoveries regarding the nature of light and the complexities of human vision and experience.

Obsessed with exploring the action of human visual perception, many works by Cézanne depict the edges of objects as diffuse and multiple, re-enacting the shifting and unsecured gaze of the viewer. As the beholder seeks to understand and grasp the painted form in Cézanne's work she re-enacts the process of visual comprehension in physical space[4] where the edge of an object is seldom precisely defined. Compared to a scientific rendering of a find, a painting by Cézanne would engender a greater sense of three-dimensionality of both the object and the context in which it is placed. Much more of the 'visual noise' around the object is captured by such a painting (or drawing). In contrast the 'scientific' linear drawing seeks to offer constancy and clarity — no uncertain edges, no doubt, no ambivalence and constant space and time. There is always loss and gain in translations; clarity of information means absence of complexity.

Monet, less concerned about the nature of edges and more about the passage of time, painted a famous series depicting the effect of changing seasons and transient light on haystacks in a field. The painted haystacks are defined in strokes and swatches of colour — colour which moves from the cold blue and yellow of a winter day to the fiery orange red of a summer sunset. In creating this series Monet stressed the importance of seeing the series as a whole and implied that to isolate a specific moment in the life of an object was to deny an aspect of the experienced world — the passage of time.

Light, shadow and the academic text

A further aesthetic convention, shadow, is used to imply the presence of time and space as it appears in the physical world. But many archaeological drawings assume a constant shadow — one resulting from a single constant light source positioned at the top left-hand edge of the page. Griffiths and Jenner write that:

> [l]ight for illustrative purposes is conceptual; it should not be confused with the real illumination which may fall on the artefact . . . if you attempt to represent the light and shade as it really looks the drawing will end up looking confused (Griffiths *et al.* 1991, 100).

This abstract field, used in the academic text, is the site of clarity and constancy as opposed to the transience and complexity of lived experience.

The corollary of the presence of shadow is the presence of a light source, a source that could be conceptual, natural or artificial. In 'scientific' drawing a conceptual source is used to facilitate clarity and re-enacts an idealized situation. The use of either of the other two demands that the image be perceived as existing in a physical realm. Artificial light (such as a lamp, candle, etc.) assumes the pres-

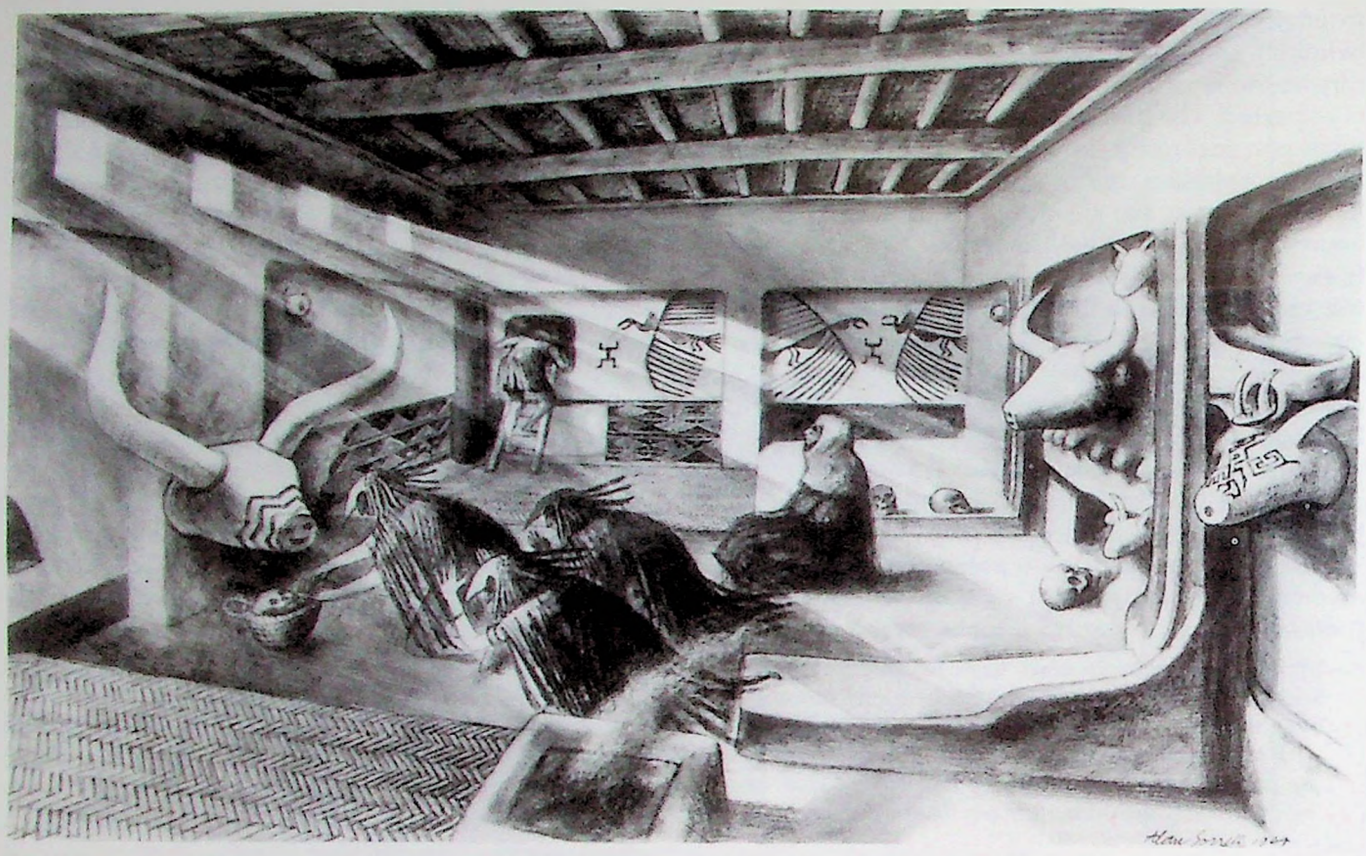

Figure 11.5. *'In the dawn of religion: a reconstruction of a funerary rite, nearly nine thousand years ago, at Chatal Huyuk in Anatolia' by Alan Sorrel.* (Illustrated London News, *May 9th 1964, 728.)*

ence of human technology and thus human presence and natural light (the sun or moon) give clues as to the time of day or night. Thus with no shadow to mark the time, no context or the implied presence of people to locate it in a physical domain — the image exists in the context of the white page, in the context of academic authority.

Evoking 'other' presences

The 'fixing' of shadow in 'scientific' renditions is generally accepted without question. Why is this convention significant and what does the presence of shadow mean for the image? From a purely practical point of view shadow adds the illusion of three-dimensional volume to the two-dimensional image on a surface. But it does not only do this. In aesthetic discourse light and shadow can be used to evoke 'mood' and 'presence' in an image. Rosenblum discusses the use of light in the work of van Gogh showing how particular light can imbue a work with quasi-religious overtones. He writes that:

> Van Gogh's search for the supernatural in the world of the natural gave his interpretation of light, whether solar, lunar, or artificial, an aura of mystery that seems to have more to do with the magical light of Friedrich and Turner than the empirically examined light of the French Realists and Impressionists. (Rosenblum 1983, 91–2)

In 'fixing' the shadow according to an accepted 'scientific' convention archaeological drawings seem to imply that only the clear light of reason is present — no taint of the transcendental, no vicissitudes of the personal, no mood or emotion to effect the documenting and recording of these artefacts.

The black-and-white Mellaart drawings, which reconstruct the appearance of the interior spaces, as excavated during the earlier phase, utilize the high contrast convention of architectural or scientific drawing. Rendered isometrically the features are lit by the artist with an intense contrast of black against white. Light floods in, bathing the interior and casting crisp shadows. The effect of the rendering convention results in surety, having the scientifically

desirable effect of brightly-lit architectural features accessible to the investigating gaze.

This is a very different light to the one which illuminates the scene illustrated in Figure 11.5. Included in this scene are mural images that depict vultures attacking headless humans; sculpted bulls' and goats' heads loom large, bathed by dramatic beams of light. Four figures kneel facing a large bovine head and the beams of light. A scattering of human skulls and a smoking fire add 'atmosphere' and drama to the scene.

Not only do the motifs of the image imply a particular kind of event, the chiaroscuro style of rendering, which models form in deep shadow and intense light, obscures edges and creates mystery. The light (and shadow) in this image is clearly not the descriptive light of the previous paragraph — one which seems to assists the 'scientific' gaze — it is a particular Baroque technique which was used to suggest the presence of spirituality and the non-natural or supernatural. By manipulating conventions drawn from Western aesthetic practice the artist has left the beholder with a distinctive 'impression' about the nature of religious practices in Çatalhöyük 9000 years ago, one of animism, idolatry and mystery.

The 'code-less' fantasy

Archaeologists, quite clearly, do not believe that section drawings and elevations capture the full 'reality' of a situation. The enormity of the archive and the ongoing collection of data indicate that, at Çatalhöyük, no complacency exists about 'having discovered the truth'. But the use of particular visual codes and conventions, particularly those drawn from the 'realistic' style, can impart a sense (to those not versed in visual conventions) that some images are 'code-less' and thus occupy a position close to an original. The quote from Moser in the introduction of this chapter draws attention to the fact that archaeological representations can be made to appear realistic when they have little purchase on the truth. It is largely in the aesthetic (re)constructions of what Çatalhöyük may have looked like in the past and in the use of the photograph as a record of the site and the finds that the discourse of realism becomes particularly significant.[5]

Photography

Photographs are used at the site as a complementary record for the archiving of most aspects of the excavation. The photograph is a quick and easy way of capturing data — much faster than any hand-rendered image and, possibly because of this, it is used extensively as a method of building inventories. Because the photograph captures a veracity of appearance with the subject photographed they are valued as satisfactory substitutes for the original. It is clear that the photographic image is believed to capture something close to the 'truth' at a given moment. Mitchell describes how:

> [t]he photograph, like its parent notion, the mental impression, enjoys a certain mystique in our culture that can be described by terms such as 'absolutely analogical' and 'message without code' (Mitchell 1986, 61).

Because of this belief the photograph is able, ultimately, to stand in for the absent thing, either lost through excavation, or made inaccessible by distance or museum policy.

The perception that a photograph in some way captures 'reality' is a pervasive concept. Yet the photographic image is not always able to make particular distinctions that may be needed. On the 1997 excavation I noted that Peter Andrews of the human remains (taphonomy) team systematically photographed the burials *in situ* for his records. In addition to this he drew a sketch of the bones in the same position. This was done because, in his view, the photograph was not able to depict certain essential aspects of skeletons. For example it could not clearly differentiate different individuals in the same burial. Where the actual 'field' is messy or unclear a drawing must be made which is essentially a selective 'map' of the site — inclusions, exclusions and focus all being determined by what information needs to be yielded.

(Re)constructions of the past

Realism as a stylistic convention is based on a belief that a stable entity called the 'real' world exists and that it is possible to observe it and render it in aesthetic form. When reconstructions of the past are created these rely on the genre of 'realism' to produce a convincing image of what the past (might have) looked like. Veracity to conventions of light and shadow, depth of vision, perspective, details of environment and images of things we know well from our own experience such as sky, plants and landscape combine to convince the viewer that what is depicted is the 'real' thing.

An artist's interpretation of what life at Çatalhöyük could have looked like in the past hangs in the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.

Threatening clouds gather darkly to the right, overshadowing the mood of the scene. Vultures hover here expectantly, waiting for the corpse (which is being transported on a bier) to be left outside the settlement. A distant, erupting volcano adds drama to the presence of death and impending calamity. None of these phenomena appear to disturb the daily routine of people who are shown going serenely about their daily chores of skinning animals, carrying water and burying the dead.

We, the viewers, recognize the icons chosen for depiction (family groups, houses, vultures). Not only do these images refer to our life experiences but also to those phenomena which we have seen in books and films (volcanoes, corpses on biers, vultures hovering). All these are within our range of knowledge and experience and all are rendered in a realistic style. This scene is largely constructed in the artist's imagination yet appeals to the canons of 'realism' make it believable. With only fragments of information a realistically rendered image which abides by the canons of western representation, and the norms of the familiar, will be convincing.

Seductive images and the public domain

The virtual reality images of Çatalhöyük generated by the Multimedia Project based at the Hochschule für Gestaltung Karlsruhe are seductive and dramatic (see Chapter 18). The lustrous back-lighting of the computer screen allows the image to glow and 'live', enhancing presence . Wall surfaces are smooth, edges are sharply defined and mysterious lighting filters in. Interior atmosphere is powerfully dramatized by bulls' heads with needle-sharp, elongated horns dominating the space and casting multiple shadows on the walls (Fig. 11.6).

Advanced computer technology allows for the creation of much more technically sophisticated images than those generated during the Mellaart period. The images produced are seamless and enticing, inviting the virtual traveller to traverse the smooth silkiness of a finely pixellated surface. But the question is raised whether these images advance knowledge about the site beyond the scope of the earlier Mellaart reconstructions or whether they fix the assumptions of these earlier interpretations more firmly in the viewer's imagination?

The virtual reality images have their register in the graphics generated by animated films of the most sophisticated genre. Virtual reality production relies on the same software as that used to create animated cartoons. Not only does archaeology use resources from the film industry, the animated film industry borrows from archaeology. In the production of *Moses, Prince of Egypt* the animation team based their

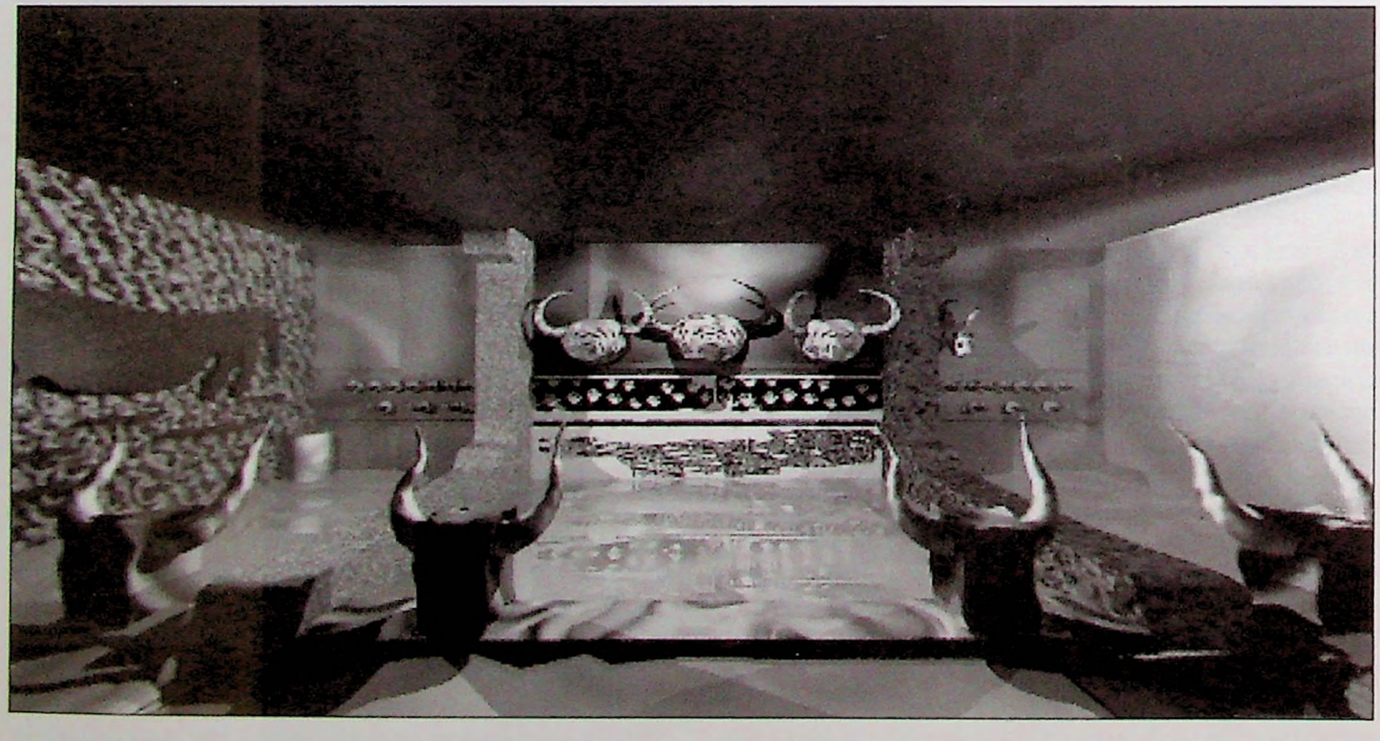

Figure 11.6. *Virtual reality image of Çatalhöyük 'Shrine' E VI 8 produced by the Hochschule für Gestaltung Karlsruhe.*

reconstructions of ancient Egypt on the drawings of a British Egyptologist. Thus a close relationship exists between these two seemingly diverse areas of image production. This would explain the suitability and appeal of the virtual reality images as a public front to the graphic dimension of the project. Where these images have a powerful appeal in the public domain the more introspective images of the personal interpretation address a different sensibility.

Artistic rendering — a personal interpretation

Using graphite and coloured pencil I drew a series of interior wall surfaces from the South area of the excavation (Fig. 11.7). The graphite and coloured pencil medium is the antithesis of the smooth surface of the virtual reality image and it avoids the homogenizing authority of the single, decisive, black line of the classical archaeological drawing — the assured mark

Figure 11.7. *Drawing of Wall 66, Building 2, Space 117 rendered according to 'artistic' convention by Nessa Leibhammer. This is the same wall as depicted in Figure 11.8.*

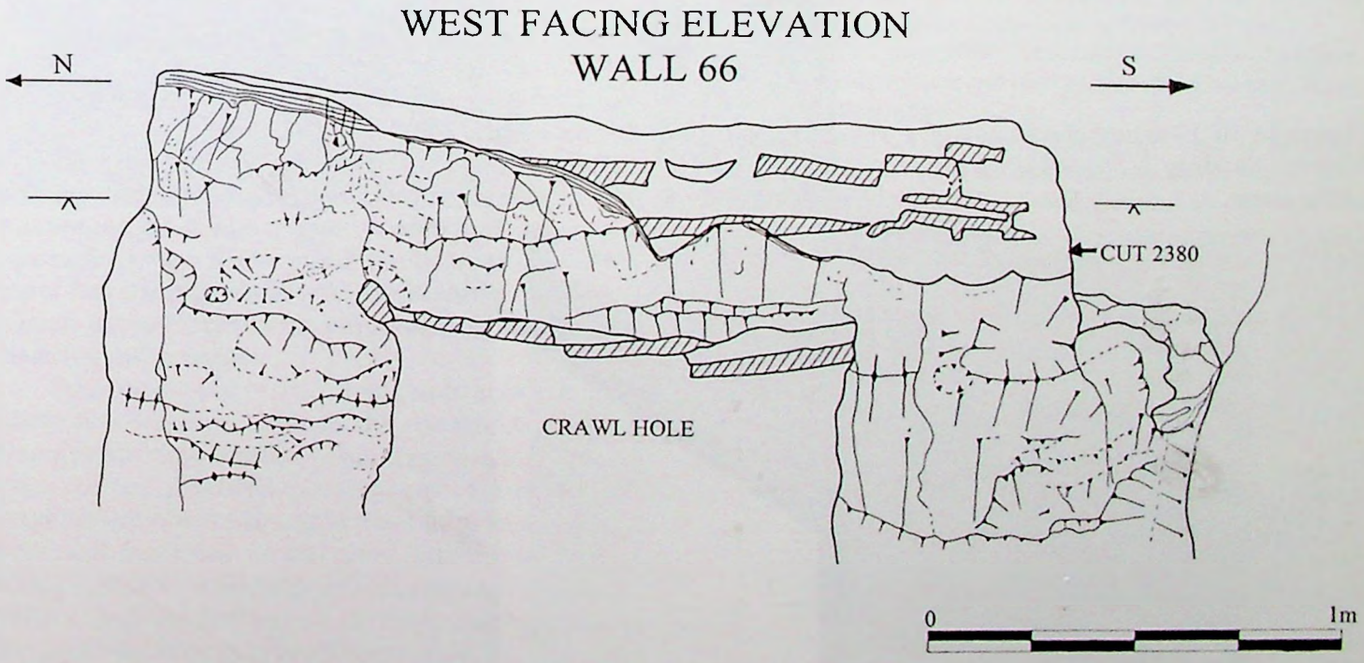

Figure 11.8. *Drawing of Wall 66, Building 2, Space 117 rendered according to 'scientific' convention by John Swogger.*

Figure 11.9. *Drawing of a section of Wall 79, Building 2, Space 117 by Nessa Leibhammer.*

Figure 11.10. *Drawing of a section of Wall 93, Building 2, Space 117 by Nessa Leibhammer.*

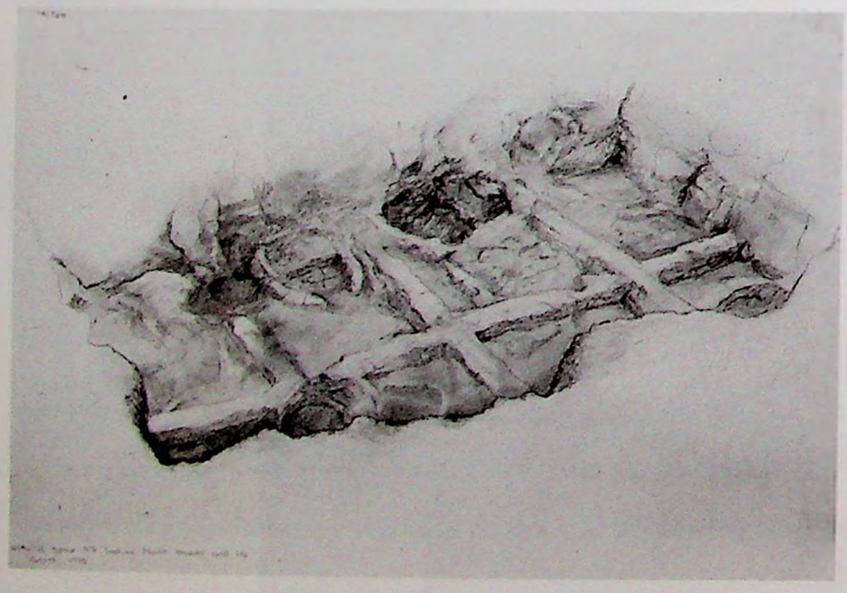

Figure 11.11. *Drawing of Space 117 from above, looking south towards Wall 79, by Nessa Leibhammer.*

of the non-negotiable. Each surface is slowly built up with a series of lines — diffused and broken — which search, seeking to discover. The searching quality of the mark allows the viewer to respond creatively — adding their own 'interpretation' to the drawn surface — filling in where ambiguity is present since the marks do not over-determine the viewer's response. Each drawing took about three and a half days to complete so that what is drawn is also a compound experience of observation over time. I drew not only what I saw at a given moment but also what I knew and learnt about the subject as I was exposed to it. Some drawings included soil from the site rubbed into the paper as background colour — investing the image with the presence of 'original' material.

The drawings are personal and interpretive. Another artist working at the site would produce an entirely different set of drawings not only in terms of style but in choice of subject matter, scale, selection of viewpoints, responses to light, use of medium and many others. Furthermore the drawings capture a set of information different to those usually selected by the conventions of modern archaeology. They record what the latter would consider visual 'noise' e.g. the baulks left for micromorphology sampling, animal holes, roots, cracks, scatterings of unswept soil.

Conclusion

Images are important because they come to replace the original objects and contexts in scholarship and in the public domain. They are rendered according to conventions, which codify the information. Anyone seeking to understand and use the images must know and understand the visual especially when the original is not available. This paper has sought to show how meaning and information are encoded and embodied in certain archaeological images.

Postprocessual archaeology embraces interpretation as a seminal factor in the construction of archaeological knowledge. This approach creates a space for the production of images of a more personal nature not confining archaeology to the visual canons of most mid to late-twentieth century practices. 'Artistic' renderings enrich the archaeological archive, but the full extent of their contribution to the Çatalhöyük project is still uncertain. We the makers of an archive do not know what future generations will ask of it. It is therefore our responsibility to make it as rich as possible.

Notes

1. See *The Cultural Life of Images* by Molyneux (1997) for discussions on other areas of archaeological illustration.
2. Iconology is the study of the symbolic meaning of icons or images.
3. Storerooms are often inaccessible and a large majority of the team are not based in Turkey making it difficult for them to visit museum displays on a frequent basis.
4. I hesitate to use the term 'real space' as defined by perspectival conventions. See Mitchell (1994, 31) for a discussion on perspective as ideology.
5. It is not in the scope of this chapter to engage fully the phenomena of realism as a historical moment in the figurative arts but it should be noted that it was never a constant theme in aesthetic production but was a dominant movement in Euro-American arts from 1840 to about 1880. Its aim was to 'give a truthful, objective and impartial representation of the real world, based on meticulous observation of contemporary life' (Nochlin 1976, 13). Realism is thus defined as a movement in the arts and should not be thought of as free from conventions embedded in aesthetic discourses. It should also not be confused or conflated with the concept 'reality' which raises a plethora of philosophical issues which cannot be dealt with here.

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Towards reflexive method in archaeology: the example at Çatalhöyük

The aim of the volume is to discuss some of the reflexive or postprocessual methods that have been introduced at Çatalhöyük in the work there since 1993. These methods involve reflexivity, interactivity, multivocality and contextuality or relationality. The methods themselves are described, as are the difficulties of introducing them. Some of the potentials and implications of these approaches are discussed. The three sections of the volume deal with the integration of interpretation at the point of discovery — in the excavation and in the laboratory; with the problem of representing the past in a contested and multivocal context; and with presenting the past to local and global audiences and participants.

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Cover photo:
Investigating different modes of representation: Mark Knight and Nessa Leibhammer engaged in recording the same bins in 'scientific' and 'artistic' modes.

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