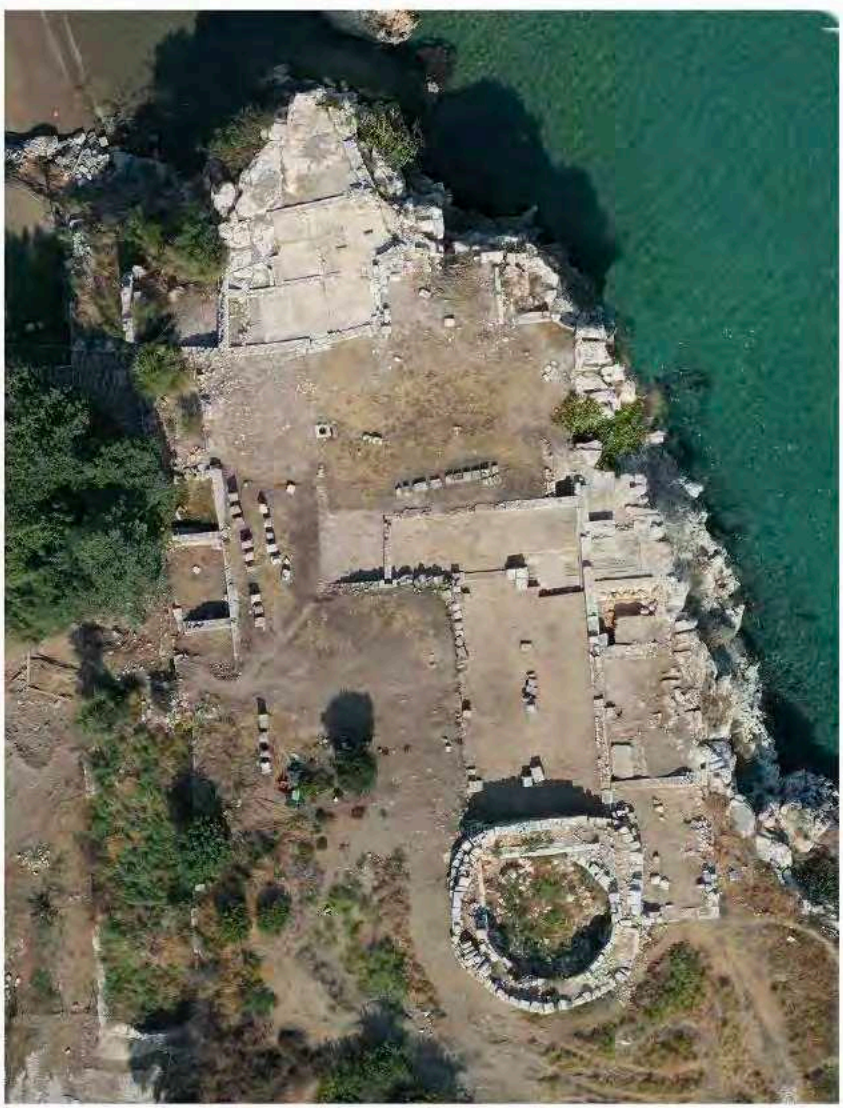
# The Archaeology of Anatolia, Volume IV

## *Recent Discoveries (2018–2020)*



**Edited by**

**Sharon R. Steadman**

**Gregory McMahon**

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# CHAPTER FIVE

# KULAKSIZLAR REVISITED: EXCAVATING THE CONTEXTS OF A CHALCOLITHIC MARBLE WORKSHOP

TURAN TAKAOĞLU

The fifth millennium BCE marble workshop site of Kulaksızlar, identified through surface surveys in the 1990s near a synonymous village close to the town of Akhisar in central western Anatolia (Fig. 5-1), has so far been the only site that may provide an understanding of how marble figurines and vessels were manufactured in prehistoric times. The site of Kulaksızlar lies about 100 km east of the Aegean coast on a sloping ground that flanks the Akhisar Plain from the east. Past surveys carried out at this very unusual site yielded surface finds composed of debris related to the various stages of manufacturing products of high craftsmanship such as the so-called Kilia figurines, conical beakers, and bowls with either straight or slightly curving sides (Dinç 1996a, 1996b; Takaoğlu 2001, 2002, 2005). The conical rhyton type, characterized by a rather elongated tapering body with two symmetrically opposed vertical lugs and horizontal perforation for suspension just below the rim, was one of the trademarks of the late fifth millennium BCE societies of western Anatolia; these vessels may have been popular among the populations of certain Aegean islands as well (Takaoğlu and Bamyacı 2018). The schematic Kilia figurine type, characterized by large heads which contrast with a thin flat body, and arms sharply bent at the elbows and pointing upwards, was another hallmark of the fifth millennium BCE in western Anatolia.

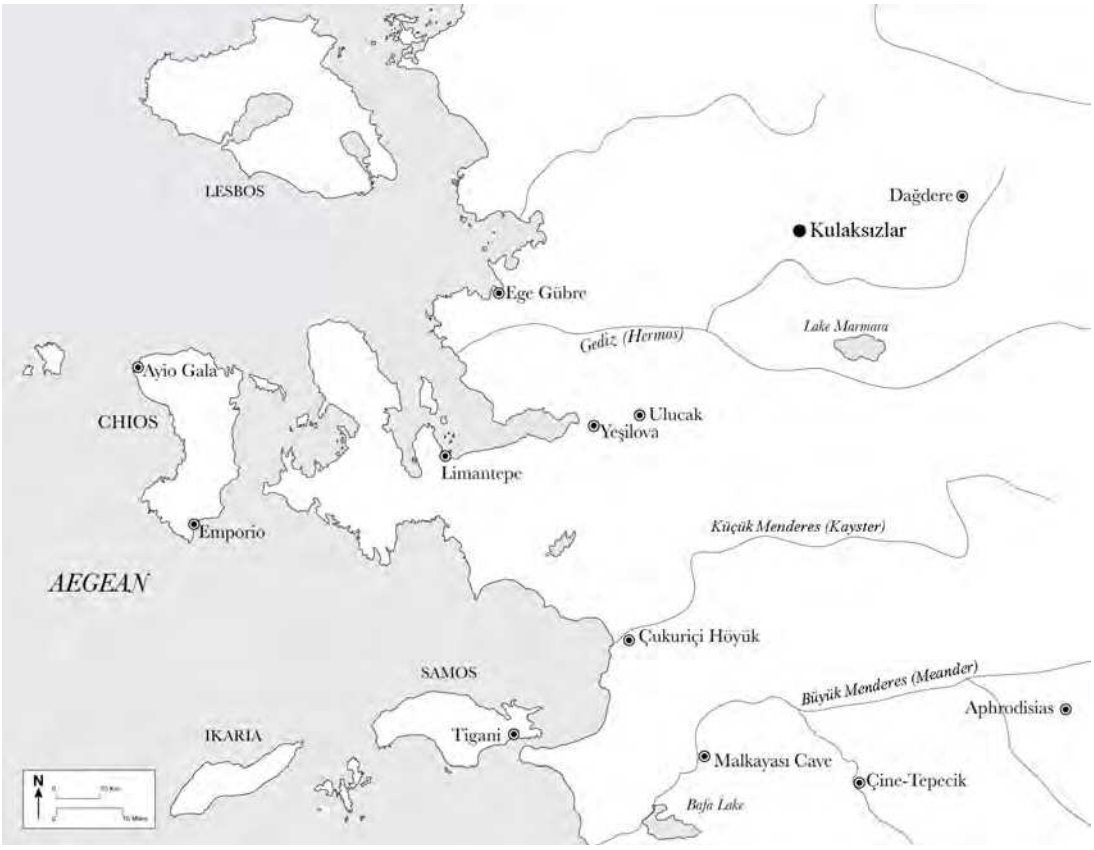



Figure 5-1. Map showing the location of Kulaksızlar and other major sites with Chalcolithic finds in central-western Anatolia.

Based upon analyses of the surface finds alone, it was argued elsewhere by the present author that marble-working at Kulaksızlar was an example of a specialized craft production carried out at the village level by a group of independent craftsmen who intensively produced the artifacts for regional exchange (Takaoğlu 2005). A general model was also offered for the marble production at Kulaksızlar based on a careful analysis of the distribution and

technological aspects of surface finds; this model postulated that pre-urban craft specialization could take a very complex form, rather than being a simple and casual activity carried out during the spare time left over from basic agriculture-based subsistence pursuits (Takaoğlu 2005). During the analysis of surface finds, Kulaksızlar marble working was considered an example of a specialized craft activity because the manufacturing debris displayed four diagnostic features: segregation of production, volume of output, little variability in the finished form of artifacts, and manufacturing techniques (standardization). The marble figurines and vessels from Kulaksızlar can be classified as precious artifacts, widely exchanged and highly valued. Movements of these symbolically important objects may have been either direct (inter-personal or inter-societal reciprocal exchanges) or indirect (middleman trade through wandering pastoralists or itinerant traders). Kilia figurines and conical vessels could have been suitable for gift exchanges on a personal or communal basis.

Despite the importance of Kulaksızlar, the site remained unexcavated for nearly three decades until 2018, when the opportunity arose to conduct a two-year rescue excavation project with the permission of the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of Turkey. The aim was to expand and elaborate the general knowledge of this marble workshop site derived from the analysis of surface finds, and to throw new light on the chronology of the site. Kulaksızlar has been among the most unfortunate archaeological sites in Turkey ever since the marble Kilia figurines came to the notice of looters and art dealers in the 1990s, if not earlier. It also suffered from deep plowing activities as much as it suffered from serious plundering. Two seasons of rescue excavations conducted at Kulaksızlar in 2018 and 2019 by the present author now allow us to address several issues requiring a clearer understanding about the marble working at Kulaksızlar. Such issues include the temporal setting of the site within the western Anatolian chronology, architectural buildings and features that could be related to marble-working activities, and the external relations of the site. Throwing light on these issues through the brief excavations at Kulaksızlar in this sense may complement and elucidate several of the poorly understood aspects of this curious site.

## DATING THE SITE

Two seasons of excavations conducted in 2018 and 2019 confirmed that Kulaksızlar was a single-period flat settlement, dated to a period between ca. 4500–4250 BCE based on radiocarbon dating (Tübitak-688, Tübitak-1341). The thickness of the cultural layer overlying the limestone bedrock ranged between 20–50 cm, depending on the topography of the site that undulates westwards towards the fertile Akhisar Plain (Fig. 5-2). As far as the areas excavated are concerned, this single cultural layer was directly covered by modern soil, pointing to the total absence of periods represented other than the Middle Chalcolithic period. This dating is important because the Kilia figurines have often been erroneously dated to the Early Bronze Age based on both their similarities to the Cycladic figurines and their status as early relics appearing in contexts of later date. Not a single potsherd that could be attributed to the Early Bronze Age was noted during two seasons of excavations conducted at Kulaksızlar.



Figure 5-2. View of Kulaksızlar showing the area of excavation, from the south.

The Middle Chalcolithic period has a distinctive pottery tradition throughout the western Anatolian littoral, which also finds close parallels with various sites of this period on the Aegean islands; Kulaksızlar was one of the few sites that first helped to define this pottery tradition in this area. The pottery of Kulaksızlar is quite homogeneous in terms of fabric, surface treatment, and shape. Although the pottery is monochrome, there is considerable variation in surface

color, which ranges from reddish-brown to various shades of grayish brown. Certain pots were seemingly finely smoothed and even burnished (Fig. 5-3). The variation observed in the surface color of these pots must have derived from the uncontrolled temperature of the firing. The most characteristic pottery type is a bowl with upraised high handles. Knob-like projections or relief decorations frequently appear on the upraised handles. This type of bowl comprises a striking 28% of the pottery repertoire alone. Mushroom handles are another common handle type for bowls used at Kulaksızlar. In certain cases, crescentic lugs or pellets are attested on either the exterior or interior of bowls just below the rim. Necked jars having vertical strap handles with knobs are also very common. Some of the jars have incised decorations dominated by chevrons, pointillé, plastic bands with vertical incisions, knobs, and relief decoration mainly characterized by bands with finger impressions. Four examples of body fragments with a spout have also been recorded, along with a large container, the latter possibly representative of similar examples to which these spouts once belonged (Figs. 5-3.16 and 5-4).




Figure 5-3. Fragments of bowls (1–8) and jars (9–16) found along with marble objects.




Figure 5-4. Large container with a spout towards the bottom.

The Middle Chalcolithic pottery of Kulaksızlar has identical parallels (see Table 5-1) with phase III (in revised site chronology) at Yeşilova in Izmir, which has radiocarbon dates of 4340–4230 BCE (Derin and Caymaz 2018: figs. 51.6–51.7; Derin 2020: 2). Similar pottery is also at home at Liman Tepe in the Izmir region, which provided dates ranging between 4600 and 4200 BCE (Tuncel and Şahoğlu 2018: figs. 53.9–53.11). The recently excavated Troadic site of Gülpınar has also yielded examples of the same pottery tradition in phase III, which also has similar radiocarbon dates (Takaoğlu and Özdemir 2018). Phase IV at Çine-Tepecik also belongs to this horizon, since, in addition to the pottery of Middle Chalcolithic character, this important site, which is situated on a strategic location near one of the tributaries of the River Meander, yielded a series of examples representing marble Kilia figurines and conical rhyta (Günel 2018: figs. 55.3–55.10). Likewise, Malkayası Cave in the Latmos Mountains also produced pottery of Middle Chalcolithic character, along with fragments of marble Kilia figurines (Peschlow-Bindokat and Gerber 2012: figs. 40–45). Moreover, similarities also exist between the pottery of Kulaksızlar and several sites on the eastern Aegean islands such as Emporio on Chios and Tigani on Samos, Kalythies on Rhodes, and Vathy Cave on Kalymnos. Thus, it is safe to place the occupation of Kulaksızlar temporally in the ca. 4500–4250 BCE range, falling roughly in the second sub-period of the Middle Chalcolithic (Table 5-2).

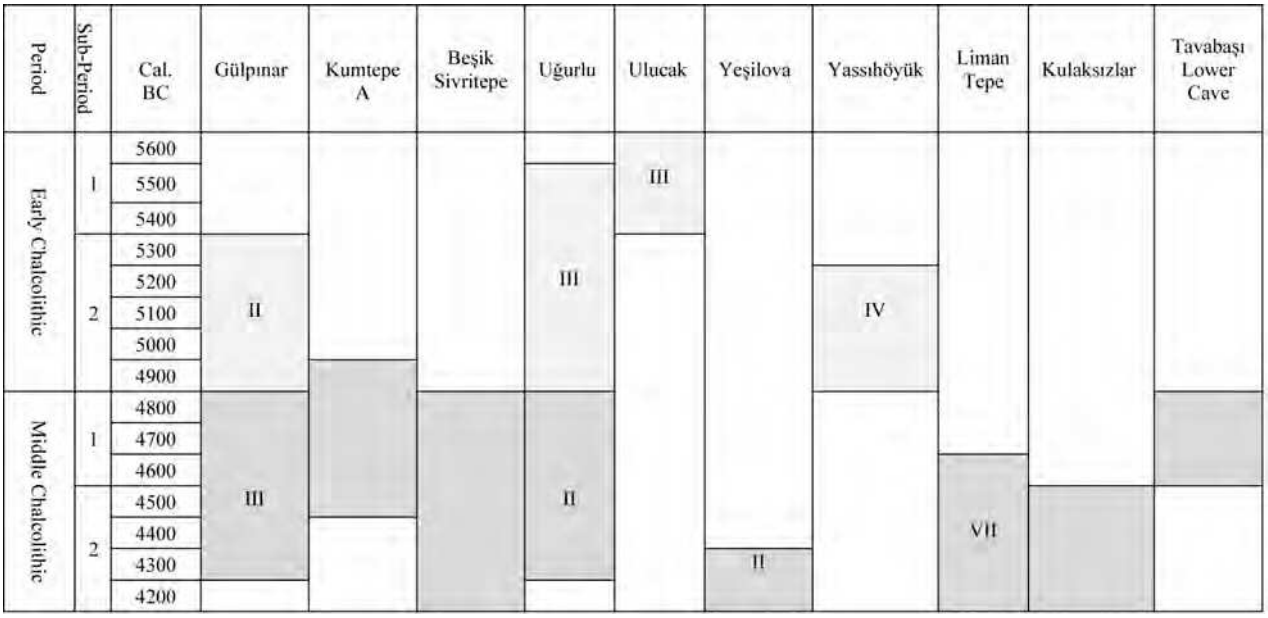



Table 5-1. A tentative chronological chart of the western Anatolian littoral during the Early and Middle Chalcolithic periods based on C14 dates from the excavated sites.

| Laboratory Reference | Nature of Sample | Location | Date (BP) Uncalib. | Calibrated Date at 2σ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tübitak-1341 | Animal Bone | Structure C | 5609 ± 31 BP | 4498 - 4360 BCE |
| Tübitak-688 | Animal Bone | Structure A | 5448 ± 31 BP | 4351- 4249 BCE |

Table 5-2. Two radiocarbon dates from Kulaksızlar.

As a result, marble working at Kulaksızlar could be viewed as a phenomenon of the Middle Chalcolithic period, a significant stage in western Anatolian cultural history that witnessed significant changes and transformations in most aspects of socioeconomic and cultural life, including an increase in population and settlement numbers, appearance of new settlements in places other than alluvial plains, developments in marble and copper-working technologies, the appearance of new pottery forms and styles, and a rise in the degree of cultural interactions and long-distance exchange.

## LOCI OF MANUFACTURE

The homogeneity of the surface pottery assemblage and manufacturing debris, resulting from the various stages of marble figurines and vessels recorded throughout the surface of the site, was previously used to hypothesize that Kulaksızlar was a short-lived flat settlement and that production took place simultaneously in several different loci during the time of the site's occupation. This theory needed to be tested with data derived from excavations. As far as the areas excavated are concerned, at least three sectors of architectural features, separated from each other by empty spaces, have been noted at Kulaksızlar. Among them, Sector 1 was excavated in 2018 and 2019, while Sector 2 has been kept in reserve for future archaeological studies. The field of Sector 3 appears to have been severely damaged by the plowing activities of farmers during the last decades.

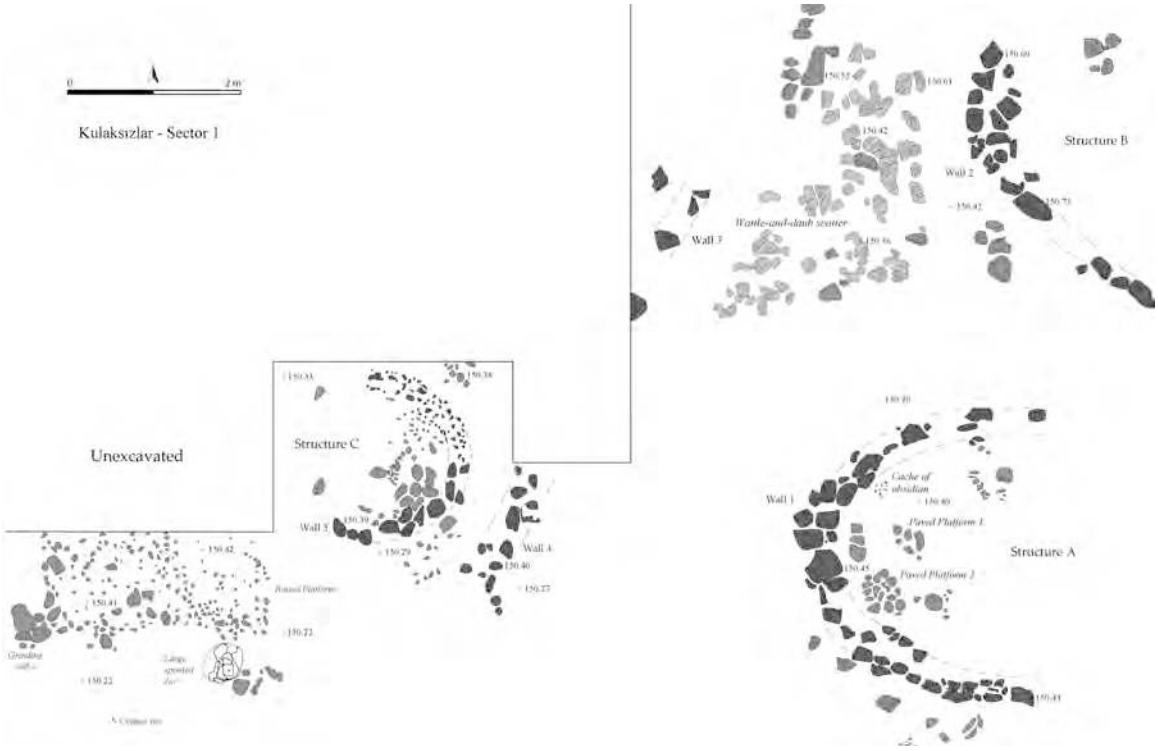



Figure 5-5. Partial plan of Sector 1 where workshops are clustered.

In Sector 1, marble working seems to have been carried out in isolated small U-shaped enclosures, though other forms of architectural features such as raised stone platforms were also used in open spaces around them (Fig. 5-5). It is unlikely that these enclosures were used as living units since one end of the building was open, and the majority of finds from their interiors and immediate surroundings consisted mainly of manufacturing debris related to the production of figurines or vessels. It can easily be deduced from the analysis of pottery and marble working-related finds that these buildings were contemporary and do not represent different time periods of occupation.

The most notable architectural feature of Sector 1 is probably a small U-shaped enclosure lying on an east–west axis, named Structure A (Fig. 5-6). Only a single row of foundations of this 3.5 m long and 2.8 m wide building has survived due mainly to the intensive field-plowing and tobacco cultivation of the land until two decades ago. The

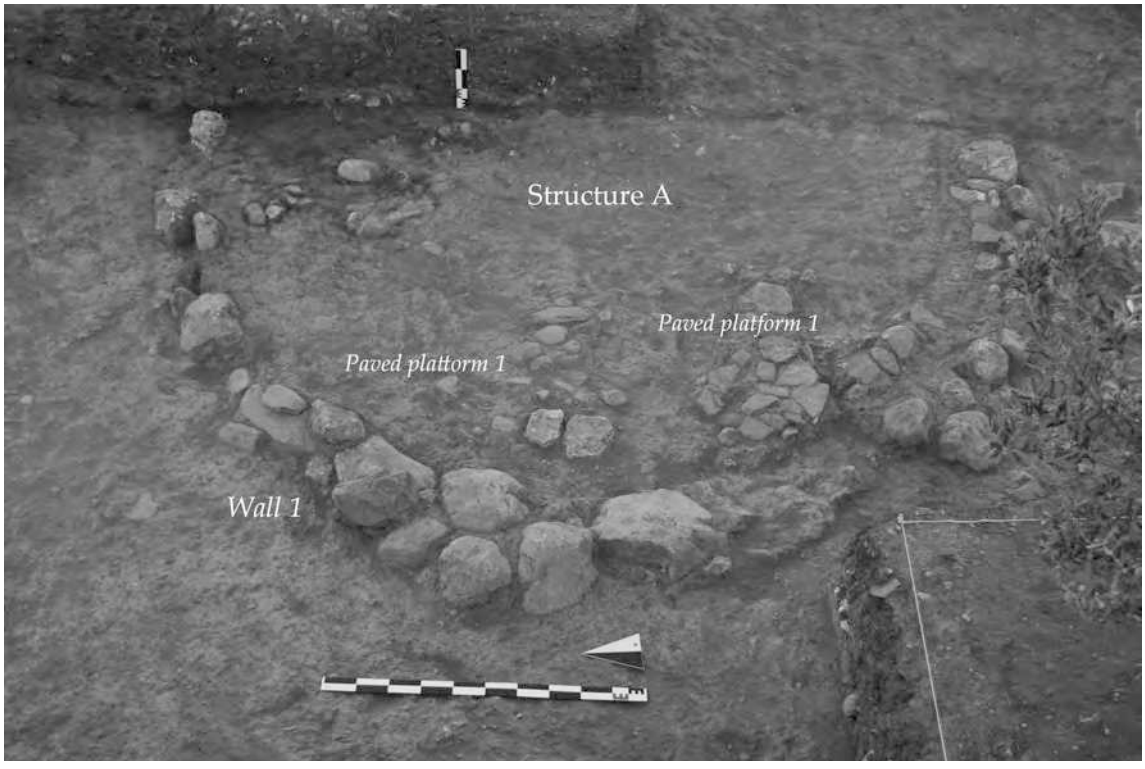



Figure 5-6. View of Structure A from the west.

stone foundation of this building was laid directly upon the limestone bedrock, which is about 40–50 cm below the surface level. There are some indications of a superstructure, including traces of postholes identified in several locations adjacent to the outer faces of the foundation wall in the form of slight indentations for the positioning of wooden posts. A scatter of lumps of clay that appear to represent the wattle-and-daub wall-building technique was identified in the space north of Structure A and west of Structure B. Some of these lumps of clay preserve impressions of twigs and split planks. These lumps do not show a pattern, suggesting that they resulted from a collapse.

Two small platforms created by a pavement of small flat stones rest in front of and inside the apsidal end of the building. Nearly one hundred marble fragments representing the various stages of conical rhyton manufacture were found both around these stone-paved features and in areas just outside the apsidal end of the building, some of which are illustrated in Fig. 5-7. Most of these fragments belong to pieces broken during the hollowing out of their interiors.




Figure 5-7. A preform of a conical rhyta (1) pointed bases (2–5), and rim fragments (6–9), broken during the hollowing out of the interiors found in Structure A, Grid J 18, q4.

Nearly two dozen sandstone drill-bits of varying diameters have also been found along with these marble waste by-products related to conical rhyton manufacture (Fig. 5-8). Over a dozen obsidian artifacts from Melian and central Anatolian Göllüdağ sources were found in a cache adjacent to the northern wall near the stone-paved platform inside the enclosure. The finds recovered both from the inside and just outside the apsidal end of the building seem to indicate that this specific area saw activity focused on the production of marble conical rhyta.

Part of another enclosure (Structure B) was identified to the east of Structure A with a single row of stones. Again, due to extensive plowing in the past, most parts of this building have disappeared from the archaeological record. The scatter of lumps of clay belonging to a superstructure employing the wattle-and-daub wall-building technique could be related to Structure B.

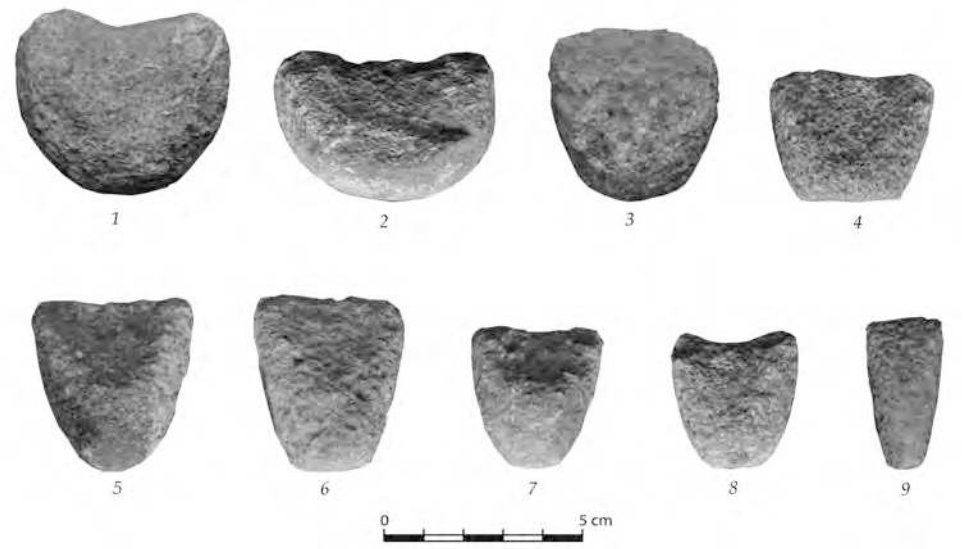



Figure 5-8. Sandstone drill bits of various diameters used to hollow out the interior of conical rhyta from Structure A.

Part of another enclosure (Structure B) was identified to the east of Structure A with a single row of stones. Again, due to extensive plowing in the past, most parts of this building have disappeared from the archaeological record. The scatter of lumps of clay belonging to a superstructure employing the wattle-and-daub wall-building technique could be related to Structure B.

The foundation of a third enclosure exists nearly 5 m west of Structure A (Fig. 5-5). This building, named Structure C accordingly, yielded numerous unfinished fragments of Kilia figurines, broken mainly during the formation of their delicate necks, indicating that the production of Kilia figurines took place in another building near those focused on the manufacture of conical rhyta (Fig. 5-5). The remaining stones and the footprint of the foundation indicate that this structure was also U-shaped. It seems that an area of the interior adjacent to the apsidal end was paved with flat stone slabs, most likely forming a place for marble working. A series of fragmentary preforms of Kilia

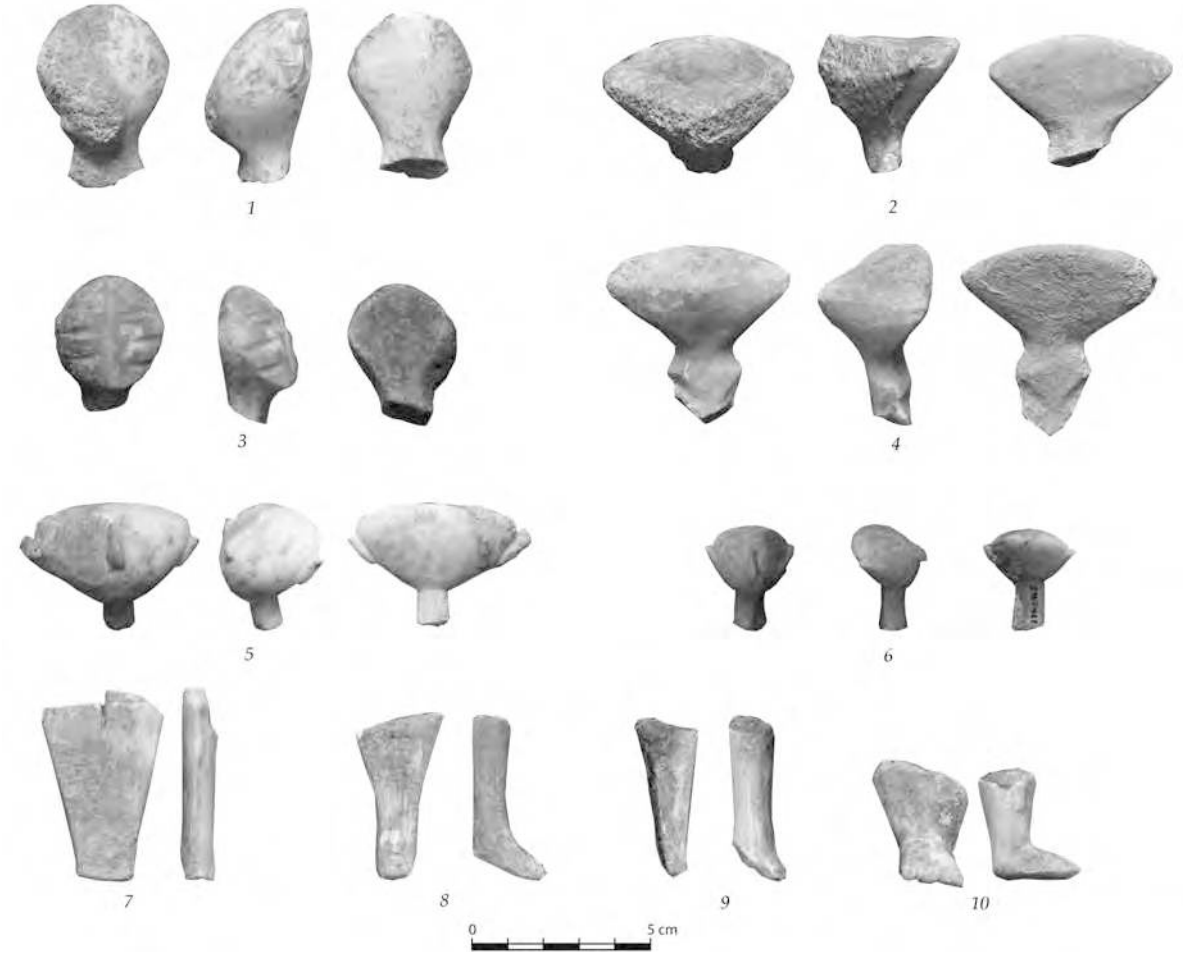



Figure 5-9. Fragments of nearly finished Kilia figurines broken off at the neck (1–6), or at the waist (7–10), from Structure C and its surroundings.

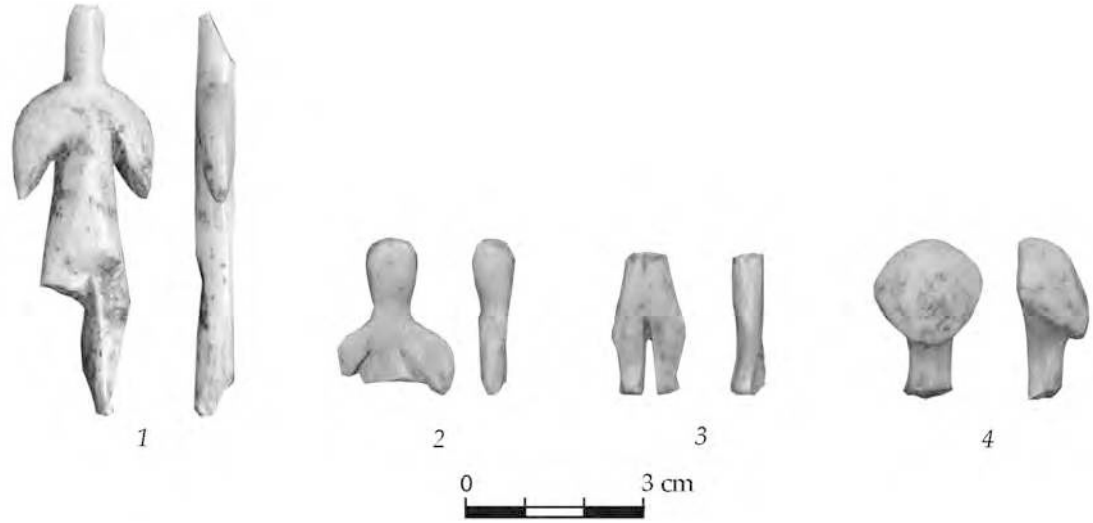



Figure 5-10. Fragments of nearly finished miniature Kilia figurines.

figurines, as well as nearly finished figurines broken during the refinement stage of manufacture, were found here (Figs. 5-9 and 5-10). The lack of tools other than several abrasives made of sandstone, emery, and pumice in this area could indicate that this small building was where the last stages of Kilia figurine manufacture took place.

A kind of platform lined with small stones also exists at the western end of Structure C. A flat grinding stone slab was found on the southwest corner of this platform. Several sandstone drill-bits, as well as over two dozen marble rims, bodies, and base fragments of conical rhyta broken during manufacture, were found in front of this platform. A preform of a complete conical rhyton was also recorded above this platform, along with additional broken fragments.

A nearly complete large two-handled container with a spout towards the base was found in a collapsed position in front of this raised platform. Similar large jars have often tentatively been linked to churns used in dairy products, such as the conversion of fatty milk into butter. The spout is thought to have served as an outlet to remove overpressure, while the mouth of the jar is closed by a piece of leather. Although residue analysis conducted on this large container at the archaeometry laboratory of Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University unfortunately did not provide any evidence regarding its use in milk-related production, the possibility remains that it may be associated with tasks linked to marble-working. The location of this large container, capable of holding 50 liters of water, near the stone platform around which numerous waste by-products related to conical rhyton manufacture were found, leads one to consider that it may have been utilized in certain production activities related to marble working (e.g., to hold water which aided in the operation of the sandstone drill-bits during the hollowing out of the vessel interiors). A copper pin was also found near this jar, which will be mentioned below.

A rich assemblage of stone tools encountered in the excavated areas alongside the waste by-products of marble working indicates that the craftsmen of Kulaksızlar developed complex procurement strategies to obtain raw materials for the tasks for which they were intended. Sandstone was brought to the site to produce drill-bits; emery and pumice for abrasives; basalt and gabbro for axes and hammers; obsidian, flint, jasper, and radiolarite for chipped stone tools; and andesite and schist for grinding stones. This diversity in the raw materials used was something that made the craft production here remarkable. The coexistence of different types of stone within the circumscribed area in which Kulaksızlar was located played a major role in the development of craft production at the site. Nevertheless, the raw materials were gathered not only from those found naturally in the immediate environment of the site but also from distant locations as far as the Cycladic islands to the west and central Anatolia to the east.

## EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE SITE

The products of the Kulaksızlar marble workshop were distributed both on intra-regional and inter-regional levels. Several sites in central western Anatolia have already yielded marble objects that can be traced to the Kulaksızlar workshop. The marble finds of Kulaksızlar origin found at the site of Dağdere could be considered an archaeological manifestation of intra-regional exchange between the settlers of Kulaksızlar and other settlements located around it during this period (Takaoğlu 2017). Such discoveries as Dağdere clearly show that not only sites on the alluvial Akhisar plain, but also other sites located at high elevations on the mountains encircling the plain, demanded and valued the marble products of Kulaksızlar. The products of Kulaksızlar were also part of an inter-regional network including an exchange system that covered most parts of western Anatolia from Beşik-Sivritepe in the western coast of the Çanakkale region in the northwest to the Karain Cave in the Antalya region to the south during the Middle Chalcolithic period.




Figure 5-11. Selected examples of obsidian artifacts from Melos (1–8),
and the central Anatolian source of Göllüdağ (9–10).

It would appear from the recovery of excavated exotic artifacts that Kulaksızlar was also part of a larger inter-regional network of communication during this period. For instance, among the excavated 360 chipped stone artifacts, 62 are of obsidian; 52 pieces originated in Melos, and for 10 pieces the source was Göllüdağ in central Anatolia. Two of the Melian obsidian pieces are represented by cores, while the remaining ones are mainly blades and flakes (Fig. 5-11). Several routes probably existed simultaneously for the spread of Melian obsidian. One of them followed a land-based route along the Büyük Menderes (Meander) River. The high amount of Melian obsidian recorded at Miletus I indicates that the site played a key role in contacts between the Cyclades and inner western Anatolia as early as the Late Chalcolithic period. Due to its important location at the mouth of the Meander, Miletus may have also been

responsible for the distribution of Melian obsidian arriving by sea to inland sites located along the Meander River valley, indicated by their large percentages at Çine-Tepecik, Beycesultan, and Aphrodisias (Niemeier 2000: 125–27; Kouka 2014: 53, 2019: 239). The site of Çukuriçi, located in a tributary valley of the Küçük Menderes (Kayster) River, also played a major role comparable to that of Miletus in the transmission of Melian obsidian by sea (Schwall et al. 2020: 15). The Melian obsidian likely reached Kulaksızlar through another land-based route following the Gediz (Hermos) River basin, as finds from sites such as Liman Tepe and Bakla Tepe indicate. The recovery of marble conical rhyta fragments at Liman Tepe, and the head of a marble Kilia figurine at Ulucak, verifies that this route was in operation as early as the late fifth millennium BCE (Tuncel and Şahoğlu 2018: 523; Ö. Çevik, Pers. Comm.).

Other than the obsidian evidence, several ground stone artifacts excavated at Kulaksızlar may also have import at the site. One of them is a miniature jadeite axe (Fig. 5-12). The beveled edge of this finely polished miniature axe shows some scars from use. This piece presumably originated in the Cycladic island of Syros, one of the best-known sources in the Aegean. Jadeite axes of possibly Syros origin were reported at the Neolithic site of Çukuriçi near Ephesus in the Izmir region (Schwall et al. 2020). A network of communication in Melian obsidian was already operating as early as the Neolithic period in western Anatolia, and the discovery of jadeite axes of Syros origin at Çukuriçi now demonstrates that this network may have also included artifacts made of jadeite. This raw material from Syros was evidently in continuous demand from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age (Sørensen et al. 2017). The recovery of both obsidian from Melos and jadeite from Syros at Kulaksızlar could be evidence of the continuation of such a prevailing network of trade in the late 5th millennium BCE.




Figure 5-12. Miniature jadeite axe.




Figure 5-13. Fragment of two broken mace heads of black and beige *porphyry* (1–2).

Two examples of a mace head of black and beige *porphyry* excavated at Kulaksızlar also deserve mention here (Fig. 5-13). This type of stone mace head, with a perforation in the middle, would have originally been affixed to a wooden shaft. The closest parallel for these two stone mace heads from Kulaksızlar was surprisingly reported at Sardis during the excavations of the Roman era Wadi B Temple, although it was viewed as an object from earlier times mixed in deposits of the Roman stratum (Greenewalt 2007: 746, fig. 12). In terms of raw material, the close similarity between the two mace heads from Kulaksızlar and the one from Sardis is intriguing. Although typologically comparable mace heads are particularly common at Early Bronze Age Anatolian sites as symbolic items signifying authority, there is no reason to argue that the Kulaksızlar and Sardis examples could not be early in date. Stone mace heads made their first appearance in Anatolia as early as the earliest phases of the Neolithic period, albeit in small numbers. The Kulaksızlar examples of Middle Chalcolithic date could be imports acquired through an exchange, perhaps in return for marble objects locally produced at the site.

Other products may have arrived at Kulaksızlar through trade. One copper slag and pin excavated at Kulaksızlar indicate that copper was also recorded at the site (Fig. 5-14). Although archaeological evidence for copper is rare in western Anatolia during the Middle Chalcolithic, its presence is known to us from several settlements such as Uğurlu III on Gökçeada (Imbros), Kumtepe A, Gülpınar III, and Liman Tepe VII (B. Erdoğu, Pers. Comm.; Gabriel 2006: 356; Güder et al. 2021: fig. 2; Tuncel and Şahoğlu 2018: 524–25). The four copper tools from the Middle Chalcolithic phase III settlement at Gülpınar are known to be arsenical copper containing 1% arsenic. The copper was obtained by heating and smelting the sulfur-bearing polymetallic ore, which is a more complex metallurgical process than the collecting and smelting of oxide-containing ores. During roasting and smelting, much of the arsenic was lost, and only 1% of it remained in the metal. The lack of evidence of either slag or crucibles for smelting at Gülpınar suggests that the metal of the tools might have been brought in as rod forms with rectangular cross-sections to the site, where they might have been shaped by applying heating-forging-annealing cycles to obtain tools with the necessary

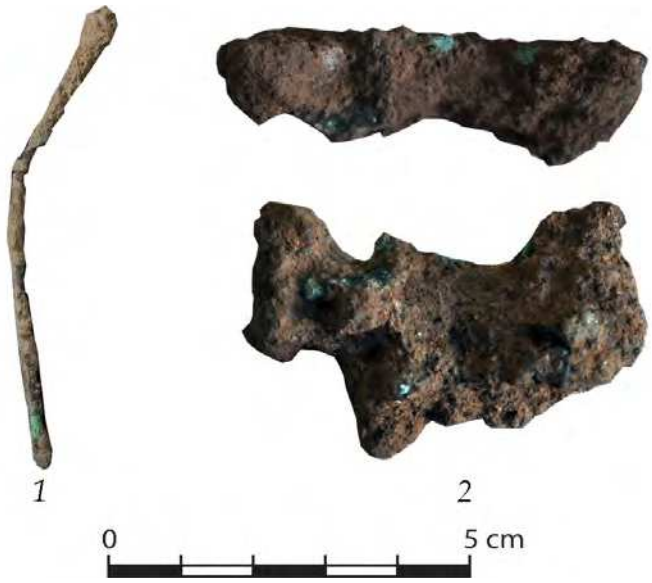



Figure 5-14. Copper pin (1) and a copper slag (2).

mechanical properties. The recovery of slag at Kulaksızlar may imply that either actual smelting took place at the site or that the slag was introduced to the site as a resource so that it could be subjected to a secondary process.

The two copper examples from Kulaksızlar have not yet been subjected to archaeometric analyses to determine if any relationship exists with the copper artifacts found at other Middle Chalcolithic sites such as Gülpınar III, Kumtepe A, Uğurlu II, and Liman Tepe VII. Despite the rarity of copper artifacts in western Anatolia, the available data may be accepted as evidence for on-site copper-working during this period. Because it requires a specific skill and knowledge, copper-working may have been a specialized activity that could be undertaken by itinerant craftsmen. The relative complexity involved in producing copper objects, combined with the lack of local copper sources in every part of western Anatolia, implies that there was some mechanism by which the technology (specialists and resources) arrived at the settlements.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the most significant contributions of excavations conducted at Kulaksızlar is that now it is possible to date the site and its remains to ca. 4500–4250 BCE, which in turn allows us to place the marble figurines and vessels found at sites other than Kulaksızlar into this sequence. One needs to consider that there may have been other marble workshops producing conical rhyta in this period. There are indications that another workshop specializing in the production of conical rhyta might have existed somewhere in northwestern Anatolia (Takaoğlu and Bamyacı 2018).

The discovery of different spectra of imported artifacts made from exotic raw materials such as obsidian from Melos and the central Anatolian source of Göllüdağ, as well as jadeite, *porphyry*, and copper, confirm that Kulaksızlar was part of a well-developed intra- and inter-regional network of exchange during the last stages of the Middle Chalcolithic period. These exotic objects may have been part of the trade network that facilitated the movement of precious marble figurines and vessels of the Kulaksızlar workshop in western Anatolia and beyond. It would be wonderful to consider these exotic items as exchange objects obtained in return for marble figurines and vessels if there were also additional material culture datasets attesting to wider external relations. If the marble objects were manufactured for a non-economic purpose at Kulaksızlar, then one may expect that they were transported far from their place of production through an inter-societal or inter-individual exchange to regulate social relations, although this assumption needs archaeological demonstration.

It is also possible to picture where the marble working activity was taking place from an architectural point of view. A series of small U-shaped enclosures and their related features such as stone-paved platforms and raised stone platforms, discovered during excavations, appear to be related entirely to marble working. As far as the areas excavated are concerned, the architecture at Kulaksızlar is virtually devoid of finds which would attest to domestic life, such as ovens, hearths, bins, and storage and cooking vessels. Noteworthy exceptions are the animal bones. Nearly 380 animal bones recorded during the excavations may be closely related to diet. Among the faunal assemblage composed of cattle, sheep and goats, red deer, and fallow deer, cattle (72%) was the most common animal at the site. Several trial trenches opened in close proximity to production areas sought evidence regarding dwellings of craftsmen and their families as well as aspects of domestic life. Most of these trial trenches, unfortunately, yielded only scatters of potsherds, manufacturing errors of marble figurines and vessels, and the tools used to produce them. This may indicate that dwellings were most likely situated in one of the unexcavated areas in the vicinity of the production areas.

The site of Kulaksızlar can be viewed as an important site demonstrating what categories of archaeological evidence to expect when encountering a production site focused on the production of figurines and vessels in the archaeological record. Kulaksızlar in this context may constitute a reference in certain respects for those future archaeologists who will discover and excavate those undiscovered marble workshops located in the Cyclades.

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