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Ernst Pernicka (eds.)

***From Past to Present.
Studies in Memory of
Manfred O. Korfmann***



EBERHARD KARLS
UNIVERSITÄT
TÜBINGEN



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CINCINNATI

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From Past to Present. Studies in Memory of Manfred O. Korfmann



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Social Dynamics in Western Anatolia Between 3000 and 2500 BC

Christoph Schwall – Barbara Horejs

Introduction

For understanding and assessing changes between prehistoric periods in different regions it is necessary to consider relevant factors (i. e. the settlement structure, indications for communication and exchange/trade, organization of communities), which are pivotal for revealing social dynamics. Regarding the Early Bronze Age in Western Anatolia, the focus of this paper, a large number of research data are available for this approach. Over the past three decades, there has been increasing data provided by Turkish and international research teams to revive the general discussion initiated by M. O. Korfmann regarding socio-cultural changes during the Early Bronze Age based on his excavations results at Demircihüyük and Troy (cf. Korfmann 1983; 2006). In this regard Korfmann's scientific achievements, in particular the consideration of long-term developments and their socio-cultural significance (cf. sling and bow in southwestern Anatolia; Korfmann 1972), have made a lasting influence on the authors themselves, the Tübinger tradition on Anatolian archaeology as well as the research continuation in the 21st century.

The early 3rd millennium BC in the Aegean and in Western Anatolia represents the establishment of a new period – the Bronze Age. However, this has to be seen as the result of a dynamic development, which had already started in the previous Chalcolithic period. Already in the 5th and especially in the 4th millennia BC, it is possible to see essential socio-cultural processes which form the basis for particular dynamics at the dawn of the Bronze Age. Besides changes concerning the field of subsistence, it is clear that the integration of communities into regional and supra-regional communication and exchange systems affected the organisation of settlements in the Late Chalcolithic, especially, in the initial Bronze Age period. The beginning of the Early Bronze Age period witnesses increasing settlement

activity creating a different cultural landscape to that of former times. Particularly striking is the appearance of numerous fortified settlements in the East Aegean and in Western Anatolia. In general, the increasing number of sites probably demonstrates a demographic boom, indicated by the establishment of several new settlements. There remains the question of to what extent this developments contributed to further socio-cultural changes. In the course of the first half of the 3rd millennium BC (EBA 1) the appearance of social stratification seems to be indicated by a range of evidence types, most importantly by the increasing number of golden jewelry found in settlement and grave contexts. In contrast to the communities of the proto-urban centers of the later Early Bronze Age 2 period, no solid vertical hierarchical structures are currently attested. We argue for stable, but primarily horizontal organized societies during Early Bronze Age 1 period. These communities were influenced by dynamic changes which led to the emergence of vertically organized communities. This type of organisation was probably temporary in some communities and does not appear to have been a permanent form of vertical social organization until c. 2600 BC.

Roots of the Bronze Age: The Chalcolithic impact

For understanding the social dynamics of the first half of the 3rd millennium BC in Western Anatolia, it is necessary to take a glance at the socio-cultural developments of the previous Middle (5500–4250 BC) and Late (4250–3000 BC) Chalcolithic period (cf. Schoop 2005; 2011).

Already during the second half of the 6th and the 5th millennium BC we can trace the origins of essential socio-cultural changes. Beside the establishment of large-scale communication and exchange systems, we see evidence for the introduction of new

crafts (i. e. metallurgy, textile production) as well as the increasing distribution of finished goods (cf. Mehofer 2014a, 468–471; Schoop 2014, 429–434; Schwall 2018, 273–285). During this time we also see the cluster of the Middle Chalcolithic settlements situated in the coastal region or close to rivers accessing the hinterland of Western Anatolia (cf. Schwall 2018, 29 fig. 3). The settlements themselves show indications for permanent occupation and internal spatial organisation (i. e. Uğurlu-Zeytinlik III: has a specific workshop and storage area; cf. Erdoğan 2014, 162–163). This particular development of exploitation of new landscapes is continued and intensified in the Late Chalcolithic period, where from the middle of the 4th millennium BC, an increasing number of settlements appear in Western Anatolia and on the East Aegean islands (fig. 1; cf. Schwall 2018, 29 fig. 3). It should be noted that during this time not only the number of settlements increase but new areas of the landscape, including also remote zones inland from the coastal region, are settled and we suggest were probably cultivated, as such, in contrast to the Middle Chalcolithic it now appears that direct connections to waterways or the coast were not necessary within this new settlement strategy. This development is perhaps best explained by an intensification of communication and exchange routes, which led to a better integration of remote settlements and supply of goods to them. In line with this settling and cultivation process is the increasing evidence of specialized craft activities, intentional surplus production of food and storage facilities. Moreover, internal spatial organization can be attested by a specific use of areas within the settlements. For this case, the Late Chalcolithic settlements of Çukuriçi Höyük, a site close to the central Western Anatolian coastline, offers ideal conditions to consider these transformations in detail.¹ In sub-phase Çukuriçi Höyük Vb (ÇuHö Vb; cf. Schwall 2018, 148–159, 164–165; Schwall/Horejs 2018, 59) a distinct part of the settlement was used for the preservation, storage and processing of food. Due to the extent of this area, the presence of circular buildings used as storage facilities, drying platforms, hundreds of carbonized

figs and grape seeds and the lack of residential structures, we suggest that this part of the settlement was used for communal storage activities. This interpretation is backed up by the fact that the area was used in the same way in the following settlement sub-phase ÇuHö Va, dating to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age 1 period, around 3000 calBC (fig. 2; cf. Schwall 2018, 159–165; Schwall/Horejs 2018, 58). To support this suggestion of communality in the organisation of activities at the site, it is interesting to note that the Late Chalcolithic settlement ÇuHö VII, was surrounded by an impressive ditch measuring 6 meters in width and 2.5 meters in depth that is unique in Western Anatolia during this period so far.² The construction of such labour intensive settlement enclosures, whether for defensive purposes or not, needs to be seen in context of communal building activity. Indications for a hierarchical social stratification of the community living at Çukuriçi Höyük are not provided by their remains. This is probably due to the fact that no completely preserved residential structure was detected within the trenches and we are lacking any remains of a cemetery that can be associated to the Late Chalcolithic settlements of Çukuriçi Höyük. However, looking more broadly it is possible to identify social differentiation within a comparable Late Chalcolithic community from the cemetery of Ilıpınar in the Marmara region (Roodenberg 2008).

Based on the evidence presented for changing dynamics traced through the Middle and Late Chalcolithic period, different characteristics can be noted like spatial and structural factors of the settlements organization as well as specialized technological and specific economical aspects. These developments of the Chalcolithic period show a gradually socio-cultural formation process which, finally, had built up the starting point for the Bronze Age period around 3000 BC in Western Anatolia.

¹ For information about the excavations at Çukuriçi Höyük in general see Horejs 2017.

² Cf. Horejs 2014, 19–22; Horejs/Schwall 2015, 461; Schwall 2018, 166–167; Schwall/Horejs 2018, 58–59.

Dawn of the Bronze Age: The establishment of regional power

With the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (EBA 1) fundamental changes can be recognized on the organisation of the settlements. Of particular importance, is the appearance of several fortified settlements in Western Anatolia and the East Aegean (fig. 1).³ We suggest that aside from a presumable increasing need for protection, such labour intensive constructions indicate socio-cultural changes.

Taking a closer look at the spatial patterns for EBA 1 settlements, a distinct radial structure can be recognized in Western Anatolian hinterland which has been defined as *Anatolisches Siedlungsschema* by M. Korfmann based on his excavations at Demircihüyük.⁴ This settlement pattern consists of elongated rectangular or trapezoidal, partially multi-roomed dwellings (cf. Perello 2011, 126–127, 403 fig. 50), which were built close to each other following a radial alignment with a central open area. Besides Demircihüyük, this type is well known for instance from Külliöba (Efe 2003, 268–271; Fidan 2014, 18, 24 fig. 1–2) as well as from the recently conducted excavations at Hacilar Büyük Höyük (Umurtak/Duru 2014, 4–9; 2016, 148–152) being one of the largest excavated EBA 1 settlements so far. These settlements are not encircled with a separate wall, but the exterior walls of the dwellings are massive and thus enhanced to provide a fortified character.

Moving further westwards to the coastal region and the East Aegean islands, there are similarities to more eastern settlement organisation patterns, for example elongated rectangular, partially multi-roomed dwellings. The EBA 1 settlements of Yassitepe Höyüğü (Derin et al. 2016, 163–165 drawing 2) in the Izmir region and Beşik-Yassitepe (Korfmann 1988, 392–394 fig. 1; 1989a, 271, 276 fig. 1) in the

Troad seem to have a comparable alignment to more eastern sites. Also the elongated dwellings excavated at Liman Tepe (Erkanal/Şahoğlu 2016, 157–162 fig. 3–5) which have been built next to each other and against a fortification wall do not contradict the general concept of the *Anatolisches Siedlungsschema*. However, there are differences regarding the settlement structure between the inland areas in the east and the coastal regions in west with clear evidence for fortification walls in the western region (cf. Fidan et al. 2015, 67). Already the earliest settlement of Troy I was surrounded by a massive fortification wall (Korfmann 1989b; Ünlüsoy 2006, 135–137 fig. 4). The dwellings inside the citadel of Troy I consist of typical elongated rectangular units built next to each other (Ivanova 2013, 21 fig. 3; Ivanova 2016, 43 fig. 4) but do not follow the typical radial orientation of the Western Anatolian hinterland, however, this type of settlement structure is quite common for the coastal Western Anatolian region and the East Aegean (cf. Perello 2011, 406 fig. 55; 414 fig. 414; Ivanova 2013, 27; 2016, 45–46). At Bakla Tepe, the excavated EBA 1 architecture is represented by elongated rooms which are surrounded by a defensive system consisting of a fortification wall, a ditch and a retaining wall that have been partially attested in the archaeological excavations (Erkanal/Özkan 1999, 120–124; Erkanal 2008, 167). Unfortunately, due to the limited excavation area, it remains unclear if the dwellings were built against the fortification wall or not. The excavations of the EBA 1 period at Çukuriçi Höyük have shown that the mound was densely settled by aggregated mainly north-south aligned rectangular rooms (fig. 3; cf. Horejs 2016, 253–254 fig. 3). Comparable spatial organization has been attested at the contemporaneous settlement phases of Thermi I–IIIA (Kouka 2002, 238–242 plan 12, 15 and 18). At Thermi and Çukuriçi Höyük, there is limited evidence for the typical radial orientation of the settlement structures. North-south aligned houses are dominant at Çukuriçi Höyük, although the most northern rooms have a slightly more northeast-southwest alignment. Significantly, Thermi IIIA shows an area within the settlement that has been surrounded by a fortification wall with bastions (Kouka 2002, 240–241 plan 18). The outer part of this area is again densely settled by partially elongated dwellings. In contrast to the re-

³ For a compilation of fortified settlements in this region see Kouka 2002, 295; Fidan 2013, 116–117 pl. 3–4; Horejs/Schwall 2018, 534.

⁴ Korfmann 1983, 222–241. – For discussion of this settlement structure see Schachner 1999, 131–132 Ann. 344; Kouka 2002, 153–154 (with variations); Fidan 2013, 118.

Model of Transformation from 4th to 3rd mill. BC in the Central Western Anatolian Coastal Region

Early Bronze Age 2
around 2500 BC

fortified proto-urban trade centers

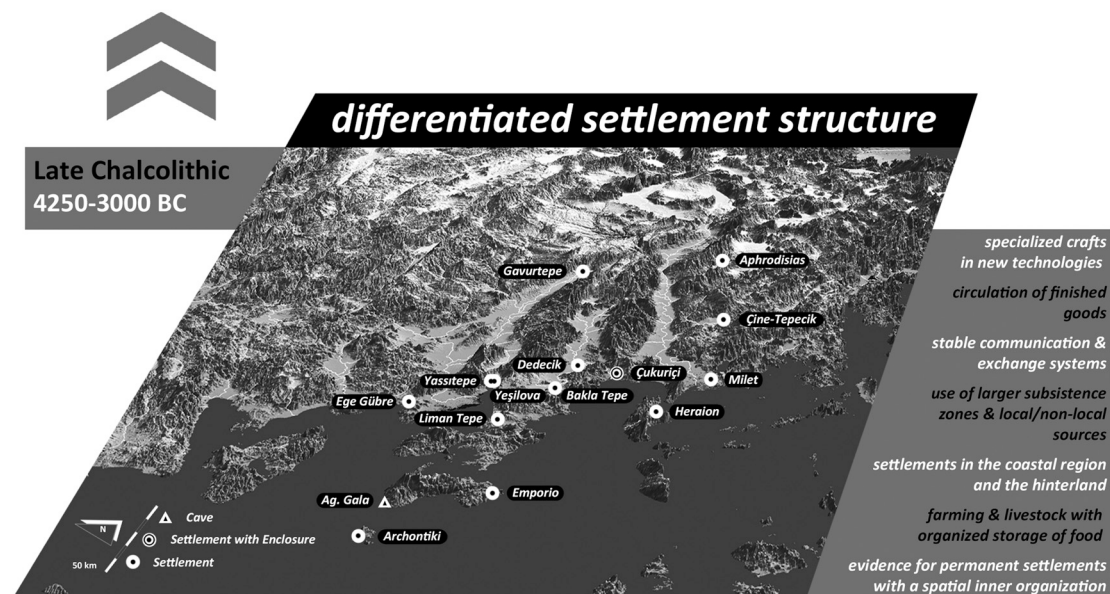
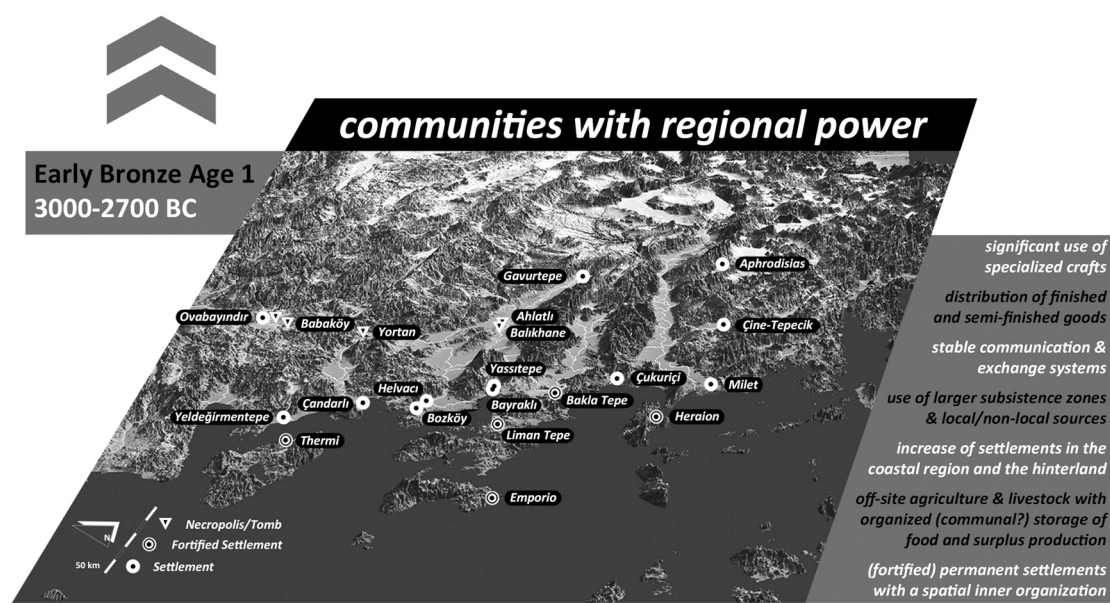


Fig. 1: Model of transformation from the Late Chalcolithic to developed Early Bronze Age 2 period (after Horejs 2014, 33 fig. 12; Schwall 2018, 284 fig. 116).



Fig. 2: 3D reconstruction of the Çukuriçi Höyük Va storage and drying area within the settlement dating to the dawn of the Early Bronze Age 1 around 3000 BC (picture: OREA/7reasons Media GmbH).

gion in the western Aegean and on the Greek mainland fortified settlements with this alignment are quite uncommon in Early Helladic I (Ivanova 2013, 27; 2016, 46) but seems to appear slightly later in Early Helladic II contexts (i. e. Lithares; Tzavella-Evjen 1984, folded plan).

Regarding the questions of the socio-cultural conditions in EBA 1 period, M. Ivanova (2016, 46) has suggested an interpretation based on the ›[f]orm and arrangement of the »row houses« at Troy I and other contemporary sites. Due to the uniformity of the dwellings' appearance she suggests a kind of egalitarianism. Initially, this interpretation seems to point to the right direction but the fortified area within the settlement of Thermi IIIA seems to more clearly contradict the idea of an egalitarian community. This short summary of the different spatial and organisational concepts of EBA 1 settlement systems suggests that social groups were more complex at this time and highlight the need for us to reassess more simplistic generalizations for this dynamic time period. This is additionally supported through examination of other archaeological materials that demonstrate the complexity of the social dynamics between 3000 and 2600 BC.

A good example are balance weights deriving from EBA 1 contexts in Western Anatolia and the East Aegean, which have recently been discussed by B. Horejs (2016), as well as evidence of gold objects dating to this period. As favoured by Horejs (2016, 262–263), based on the results of her excavations of the EBA 1 metallurgical center Çukuriçi Höyük, a heterarchical system for the social organization of the settlements can be assumed. In this context, early gold objects which have been found in settlements and burials are of particularly interest: Beşik-Yassitepe (gold *Lockenring*: Korfmann 1987, 264; Sazcı/Korfmann 2000, 94–95 fig. 3), Eski Balıkhane (gold ear plugs: Mitten/Yügrüm 1971, 193–194 fig. 7a–b), Çukuriçi Höyük (gold sheet beads: Mehofer 2014b, 21, 94; Horejs/Schwall in preparation), Gavurtepe Höyük (gold necklace, bracelets, ear plugs: Meriç 1993, 356, 361 fig. 4), Liman Tepe (gold band: Erkanal et al. 2003, 425, 435 fig. 3) and Thermi (gold leaf fragment: Lamb 1936, 165). Interestingly, all objects are personal adornments indicating a beginning social stratification of the community. Considering this, the fortified settlements and the inner fortification of Thermi IIIA becomes understandable and supports the assumption of a formation of



Fig. 3: 3D reconstruction of the Early Bronze Age 1 (ÇuHö IV) settlement (picture: OREA/7reasons Media GmbH).

communities with regional power based on individuals or groups with local influence. In general, these structures were still influenced by dynamic changes and thus we have to deal with communities which possibly evolved a temporary vertical organisation system in the EBA 1 period.

Consolidation of the Bronze Age: the formation of proto-urban centers and the rising elites

The socio-cultural development in the early 3rd millennium BC had lasting effects on the following EBA 2 period. The appearance of societies with regional influence and thus power have laid the foundation for the gradual formation and consolidation of hierarchical structures.

At the latest, around 2500 BC again profound changes can be traced on the structural basis of the settlements in the Aegean and Anatolia. Extended proto-urban centers surrounded by impressive fortification systems like for example the settlements of Troy II (Ünlüsoy 2006, 136–142), Liman Tepe V (Erkanal/Şahoğlu 2012, 219 fig. 1), Thermi V (Les-

bos; Kouka 2002, 245–247 plan 30) or Palamari II (Skyros; Romanou 2015) are detectable in Western Anatolia and the Aegean. In addition to the increasing settlement size, the appearance of ›special purpose buildings‹ (Çevik/Sağır 2016, 267) is striking and seems to have functioned either for communal purposes or was related to people owning a special position within the settlements' community. This picture is attested for Western Anatolia (i. e. Megara buildings of Troy: Ünlüsoy 2006, 140–142) as well as on the Greek mainland represented by ›corridor houses‹ (i. e. Lerna; cf. Wiencke 2000, 213–311; Maran 1998, 193–197; Çevik/Sağır 2016). Crucial for the assessment of the social organization is the introduction of control mechanisms (writing, sealing and weighing) as pointed out by L. Rahmstorf (2012, 312–316). In this context, especially, the impressive supra-regional distribution of balance weights from the Aegean to the Indus region is astonishing (cf. Rahmstorf 2016, 30 fig. 2,3). Rahmstorf (2012, 316) assumes that ›independent traders were the most important agents in the dissemination of this knowledge [and the groups of traders have] an external but limited range of social power‹. For that reason, he suggests a heterar-

chical rather than hierarchical society especially for the mid and later 3rd millennium BC (Rahmstorf 2012, 316). The model of mobile traders' networks seem to fit to the general assumption of long-distance trading networks which have been proposed by several scholars for the East Aegean-Anatolian region of the second half of the 3rd millennium BC.⁵ However, the increasing evidence of gold objects and the new phenomenon of hoarding precious materials which accompanies the appearance of proto-urban centers and trading networks, points to emerging social inequality. This is impressively shown for example by the gold ›treasures‹ from Troy (cf. Sazcı 2007) as well as the hoard from Poliochni on Lemnos (Bernabò-Brea 1976, pl. 240–252) and Eskiyaşar (Özgüç/Temizer 1993) in central Anatolia which have all been found within settlements (for the general development see Kesskin 2011, 148–149).

Having a closer look at the different components of the hoards, evidence is provided to trace a new vertical social stratification, most likely an elite group. The majority of the precious gold objects are represented by jewelry, therefore, it can be suggested that not all people of the community were wearing these personal adornments and a kind of hierarchical structure of persons or different groups within the society must have been existed. This assumption

is supported by distinct objects (i. e. *Lockenringe*, quadruple spirals, flat winged disc beads) which are part of all assemblages from Troy, Poliochni and Eskiyaşar. For this reason we would like to propose a kind of ›social code‹⁶ which is expressed by distinct personal adornments of rising elites, which are situated at important trading nodes of a far-reaching network, from the EBA 2 onwards.

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In particular we would like to thank the editors of this commemorative volume, which allow us a posthumous appreciation of Manfred Osman Korfmann's outstanding achievements. His influence on the German as well as Turkish research on the Bronze Age cannot be overstated.

⁵ Kouka 2002, 295–302; Şahoğlu 2005, 342–343 fig. 1; Rahmstorf 2006, 81–82 fig. 18; Efe 2007, 61 fig. 17a; Kouka 2008, 276–279; Ünlüsoy 2016, 399–401.

⁶ Cf. the suggestion of Hansen for a code of elites (Born/Hansen 2001).

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