



SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM BC

MÖ III. BİNYILDA ORTA ANADOLU'DA SOSYO-POLİTİK YAPI

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SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM BC

MÖ III. BİNYILDA ORTA ANADOLU'DA SOSYO-POLİTİK YAPI

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Abstract

In Central Anatolia, the socio-economic and political organization of communities in the 3rd millennium BC includes a limited number of studies from different perspectives. These studies refer to a socio-political system in which administrative units divided into regions and provinces are administered by "local rulers", "independent princes" or "kings". It is suggested that the cities of these principalities were surrounded by walls, they were administered by a ruling class, they participated in commercial activities and the existence of an organization they controlled these, and emphasis is placed on the class society structure consisting of administrators, soldiers and merchants. As mentioned here, the social structure of the societies of the 3rd millennium BC and their relations with each other in the subject region are generally considered in a hierarchical order, and complicate to

Öz

Orta Anadolu'da MÖ III. Binyılda toplulukların sosyo-ekonomik ve siyasi organizasyonları farklı bakış açıları üzerinden sınırlı sayıda çalışmaları içermektedir. Söz konusu çalışmalarda bölgelere ve vilayetlere ayrılmış yönetim birimlerinin bağımsız "beyler", "prenler" veya "krallar" tarafından idare edildiği bir sosyo-politik sisteme atıf yapılmaktadır. Bu beyliklerin şehirlerinin surlarla çevrili olduğu, yönetici bir sınıf tarafından idare edildikleri, ticari faaliyetlere katıldıkları ve bunları denetledikleri bir organizasyonun varlığı önerilmekte ve yönetici, asker ve tüccarlardan oluşan sınıflı toplum yapısına vurgu yapılmaktadır. Söz konusu bölgedeki MÖ 3. Binyıl topluluklarının sosyal yapısı ya da toplulukların birbirleri arasındaki ilişki, burada bahsedildiği gibi çoğunlukla hiyerarşik bir düzende ele alınmakta ve farklı toplumsal modellerin anlaşılmasını güçleştirmektedir. Sosyal yapının sadece hiyerarşik düzende açıklanamayacağından hareketle, yeni

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understand the different social models. Since the social structure cannot be explained only in hierarchical order, some new approaches have been developed. Accordingly, although different individuals in the society gain priority in various activities such as religion, trade, and politics, they may not exhibit a central and hierarchical structure in power relations. In this paper, based on this approach, the socio-political structure and power phenomenon of the 3rd millennium BC communities in the region will be discussed within the socio-economic models, production and specialization, evidence of administrative practices, patterns of settlement, burial customs, phenomenon of belief and remnants of material culture pointing to social complexity, and the views that refer to hierarchical structuring in power relations will be approached.

bazı yaklaşımlar geliştirilmiştir. Buna göre toplumda farklı bireyler din, ticaret, politika gibi çeşitli faaliyetlerde öncelik kazansalar da güç ilişkilerinde merkezi ve hiyerarşik bir yapı sergileyebilirler. Bu makalede, söz konusu yaklaşımdan hareketle bölgede MÖ 3. Binyıl topluluklarının sosyo-politik yapısı ve iktidar olgusu; sosyo-ekonomik modeller, üretim ve uzmanlaşma, idari uygulamalara ilişkin kanıtlar, yerleşim modelleri, gömü gelenekleri, inanç olgusu ve sosyal karmaşıklığa işaret eden maddi kültür kalıntıları yoluyla ele alınacak ve güç ilişkilerinde hiyerarşik yapılanmaya atıfta bulunan görüşler tartışılacaktır.

Keywords: Early Bronze Age, Central Anatolia, Socio-Political Structure, Heterarchy.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erken Tunç Çağı, Orta Anadolu, Sosyo-Politik Yapı, Heterarşi.

Introduction

During the 19th century, the interest of archaeologists in the geographical distribution of archaeological finds¹ turned into a methodological practice of making cultural definitions by determining geographical boundaries on the material. According to the results of some excavations and surveys, it is suggested that the cultural regions distinguished on the basis of ceramic groups also represent political organization². T. Özgüç considered the Central Anatolian region as “the region between Sakarya and Kızılırmak basins” and examined the subject region culturally in two sub-regions, consisting of the north of Alacahöyük and the Central Black Sea region (the region between Kızılırmak and Yeşilirmak) and the south of Alaca Höyük-Kayseri plain³. In North-Central Anatolia (the region between Kızılırmak and Yeşilirmak)⁴, attention is drawn to the existence of a certain ethnic group here⁵, taking into account the similarities between both written sources and burial customs, and the items mostly composed of burial finds. According to many scholars, in

¹ Trigger, 2006: 211.

² Bittel, 1942: 186; Efe, 2004: 19.

³ Özgüç, 1963: 30-31, 33-35.

⁴ Özgüç, 1980: 461.

⁵ Özgüç, 1963: 37; Dönmez, 2008: 407.

Central Anatolia, administrative units divided into regions and provinces were administered by “local rulers”, “independent princes” or “kings”⁶. It is suggested that these principalities have a socio-political order in which their cities are surrounded by walls, they are administered by a ruling class, they participate in commercial activities and they control these activities, and the class society structure consisting of rulers, soldiers and merchants is emphasized⁷. Most of the time, the views that especially the commercial activities are carried out under the leadership of these political figures (rulers from Hatti) and that the metal workshops are under the control of the local rulers are gaining importance⁸. In this type of a socio-political order, the settlements such as Alaca Höyük in the north, Kültepe in the south, Alişar and Acemhöyük come into prominence (Fig. 1). Undoubtedly, only rich and qualified burial finds play an important role for the time being in commemorating the settlements famous for their “rich” tombs in the north of Central Anatolia, the center of a small kingdom or principality, and the individuals buried in these tombs as a political figure. The social structure of the 3rd millennium BC communities (Fig.2) or the relationship between the communities in the subject document, as mentioned here, is commonly handled in a hierarchical order, making it difficult to understand the different social models. However, the social formations of communities and their interrelationships with each other are too complex to be considered with a limited perspective. Starting from the fact that social structure cannot be explained only in hierarchical order; some new approaches have been developed. Accordingly, although different individuals in the society gain priority in various activities such as religion, trade, and politics, they may not exhibit a central and hierarchical structure in power relations.

Philological Documents

In the literary documents describing the victories and deeds of the Akkadian king Sargon (ca. BC. 2340) and his grandson Naramsin (ca. BC. 2260) (the compositions of Sargon “King of War”, Naramsin “The Legend of Kutha: Enemy Tribes” and “17 Enemy Kings” and “Kültepe Sargon Text”), some well-known Anatolian cities (states) such as Kargamiş, Haḫḫu, Kaniş, Ḫatti, Puruḫanda, Ḫutura and Haḫḫa,⁹ are mentioned as well as the names of Hattian rulers/political figures such as Pampa (Hatti), Zipani (Kanes) and Nur-Dagal/n (Puruḫanda=Acemhöyük?)¹⁰. In the subject texts, it is narrated that Akkadians came to Anatolia for trade, and they fought with Anatolian cities in case of disagreement¹¹. The Hittite text describing the war of Sargon's grandson, Naramsin, against “a coalition of 17 kings (in the composition of “17 Enemy Kings”)¹², including the King of Hatti and Kanesh, is important in terms of mentioning some (central) Anatolian city-states among Naramsin's

⁶ Özgüç, 1963: 32; Bittel, 1945: 26; Bittel, 1950: 272; Alp, 1948: 317; Yalçın-Yalçın, 2019: 41, 43.

⁷ Joukowski, 1996: 144; Temizer, 1986: 35- 36; Özgüç, 2002: 401-401.

⁸ Yıldırım, 2011: 462; Temizer, 1986: 35-36.

⁹ Westenholz, 1997: 110-113; Westenholz, 1998: 11.

¹⁰ Soysal, 2020: 108; Soysal, 2017: 226.

¹¹ Franke, 1995: 837.

¹² Soysal, 2015: 259.

enemies, and outstanding for the purpose of giving information about the political formations in Anatolia. The text, which describes a great rebellion against Naramsin and the struggle of the Akkadian kings against them, has been interpreted as that various forces/administrative units in Anatolia forming a coalition based on agreement against the enemy. However, according to O. Soysal, the narrative gaps that occur as a result of abbreviations in the form of both removing and stylizing some descriptions from the text and the way the events are connected to each other have created a wrong impression and made the reader feel as if "Naramsin fought these 17 kings as if they were fighting all together in a field war, not separately"¹³. On the other hand, the possibility that the names of some cities and kings (?) in Anatolia were added to the composition by the Hittites is also emphasized¹⁴. It is understood from the philological documents that some of the events, people and places discussed in the texts written in various languages long after the period, most likely reflect the truth. However, in addition to this, unrealistic, exaggerated or modified/transformed elements can be included in the texts. At this point, with the help of archaeological data (see below), there is no doubt about the authenticity of the Anatolian expeditions of the Akkadian kings, but from a philological point of view, the political events, figures and identities in the EBA do not constitute a reliable basis for the definition and extent of political relations. However, one of the important philological results is that the peoples of Anatolia in the subject period were quite weak militarily, no matter how they were organized socio-politically. According to Soysal, this military weakness is mostly related to the complacency brought about by the prosperity achieved as a result of the trade relations with Mesopotamia, which is rich in natural resources, and should be valid for other indigenous big cities of Hatti origin in Anatolia in the Colonial Age. O. Soysal states that no military-political events were documented in the texts regarding the imperialist expansion attempts or tendencies of the subject cities against each other or extending out of Anatolia¹⁵.

Archaeological Data

In addition to the results obtained from the philological data, the results of the archaeological data about the socio-political structure of the period gain importance at this point. Archaeological data that will shed light on the administrative system in Central Anatolia are quite limited. As stated above, emphasis is placed on the class society structure consisting of administrators, soldiers and merchants, in which administrative units divided into regions and provinces in Central Anatolia are administered by "local rulers", "independent princes" or "kings". Looking at the fires seen in many settlements in the phases II and III of the EBA in Central Anatolia, it is stated that there were struggles between these political figures¹⁶. However at this point, the relation of the archeological evidences such as fire with the events such as war and conflict should be identified. Population growth, conflict and wars are issues

¹³ Soysal, 2020: 110.

¹⁴ Soysal, 2015: 257, dn. 24.

¹⁵ Soysal, 2017: 225-226.

¹⁶ Özgüç, 2002: 401.

associated with social complexity and centralization. According to the approach that deals with conflicts between communities, it is thought that the decrease in the amount of arable land in the interior areas causes the population to concentrate in a specific place and conflicts between the farming communities, and this situation leads to economic differentiation between the groups over time¹⁷. As stated above, the desire to have a say and control over mineral resources in Anatolia in the EBA or to trade them may also be a reason for wars or conflicts. This is also valid for the EBA societies. However, the fact that war includes "deadly violence" in the EBA societies is not very meaningful for us in terms of understanding the socio-political structure¹⁸. What needs to be questioned here is whether the lethal violence took place due to the "central authority" and whether it was archaeologically documented. In an order in which war takes place depending on the central authority, the groups are politically independent from each other and act in the presence of separate leaders. There are also groups organized for war. For example, in rigidly hierarchically segregated class societies, the "soldier" represents a class. This class can only be seen in a centralized socio-political order. For example, the Akkadian kings (see the lines above) have a "ready army" to send against the enemy in response to the Akkadian merchants in Anatolia for help. If the communities have not yet been separated in a rigid system or if they display a simpler/egalitarian structure, it is not possible to talk about the existence of a regular army. If conflicts point to centralized power struggles, the existence of a centralized socio-political order can be suggested. In the subject region, almost all of the settlements especially dated to the second half of the 3rd millennium BC and the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, have been damaged by fire. While the cause of the fire was attributed to wars and conflicts in some of the subject settlements, it is very difficult to make inferences about the possible causes of the fires because the excavations were carried out in a limited area and the publications did not contain detailed information¹⁹. In Central Anatolia, there are some data documenting the fire and destruction in the levels of the settlements such as Gordion and Polatlı around Ankara; Kaman Kalehöyük and Yassıhöyük around the Kızılırmak Curve and Kırşehir; Alişar, Mercimektepe and Çengeltepe in Yozgat, Kültepe and Acemhöyük in the south of the Kızılırmak Curve; Boğazköy, Alaca Höyük, Eskişar and Maşathöyük²⁰ in North-Central Anatolia²¹ (Fig. 1). Although fire disasters are not conclusive evidence of war or conflict, it is noteworthy that fires and destructions took place within a certain period of time in these settlements²². Although it is thought that the aforementioned fire disasters seen in many settlements in Anatolia may be evidence of the northern

¹⁷ Young, 1972: 830-837; Wossink, 2009: 34-40.

¹⁸ Erdal, 2011: 81-82; Ekmen, 2013: 29-30.

¹⁹ Özgüç, 1963: 33; Massa, 2014: 96, 117, Fig. 2.

²⁰ Gunter, 1991: 2; Lloyd-Gökçe, 1951: 29, 54; Omura, 2017: 529; Omura, 2010: 361; von der Osten, 1937: 208; Özcan, 1993: 378-379; Ünal, 1974: 127; Özgüç, 1963: 35; Kulakoğlu, 2017: 219; Öztan-Arbuckle, 2013: 279; Bittel, 1970: 33; Koşay, 1938: 25; Özgüç-Temizer, 1993: 613-628; Emre, 1979: 2.

²¹ Öztan, 2014: 142; Öztan-Arbuckle, 2013: 280; Erdal-Özdemir, vd., 2017: 105-106; Koşay, 1938: 69.

²² Massa, 2014: 95.

expeditions mentioned in the written documents related to Sargon and Naramsin²³, this is not considered possible for the reasons we have listed above. Contrary to Mesopotamia, the theme of war is not seen in the depicted works of art in this period in Anatolia. In fact, the theme of war was not included in Anatolian descriptive art for a very long time²⁴, and moreover, it was not used lovingly. However, it is stated that a figure on a pottery fragment (Alişar III pottery) dated to the EBA²⁵ in Alişar (Yozgat) depicts a warrior holding a spear in one hand and a sword in the other²⁶ (Fig. 3). Although it is not known for certain whether the figure is in a war scene, the fact that he carries weapons suggests this possibility. Considering the possible central location of Alişar in the EBA, this description becomes even more important. Although it is difficult to say with certainty, the fact that even the small (0.1-1 hectares) settlements in the inner regions of Central Anatolia were surrounded by fortification walls (see the settlements mentioned in the above lines) the decrease in the number of settled communities in a certain time period²⁷ and the abandonment of settlements, mostly by a fire, may be related to the aforementioned events and phenomena. However, the construction of the fortification wall may also be related to economic and political control rather than war²⁸. Similarly, not every fire disaster can be associated with war and external threats²⁹. On the other hand, the reasons for the abandonment of settlements may not be related to political power struggles alone. There are also opinions that a sudden climatic change may cause turmoil and collapse on the communities in the region during the EBA II-III transition. However, the point we should mention here is that this point of view is mostly based on the paleo-climatic³⁰ and systematic survey data³¹ obtained from the settlements in the south. On the other hand, there are studies in the opposite direction showing the increase in the number of settlements during the climatic crises in the south of Central Anatolia³². Both survey data and paleo-climatic studies carried out in Central-South Anatolia point to the existence of an environmental pressure in the region during the subject period. In addition, the increase in rangelands³³ may also be a sign that the socio-economic livelihood strategies of the communities in the region have changed. Even though it is thought that the subject environmental pressure may trigger wars

²³ Özgüç, 1986: 45.

²⁴ Neve, 1982: Taf. 38 a-b.

²⁵ Schmidt, 1932: 201.

²⁶ Schmidt, 1932: 201. Pl. V/b419a.

²⁷ Mellaart, 1963: 236; Bahar-Koçak, 2004: 36; French, 1970: 142; Baird, 2001: 273; Allcock-Roberts, 2014: 48, 40, Table 2; Matessi-Dalkılıç-D'alfonso, 2018: 1107-1108. Sudo-Yamaguchi-Kontani, 2017: 228; Güneri, 2005: 47; Kontani-Sudo, vd., 2014: 99; Ökse, 2005: 43-44; Arıkan-Yıldırım, 2018: 579-580, 582, Fig. 11.

²⁸ Clare-Rohling, vd., 2008: 71.

²⁹ Stevanović, 1997: 334-337; Verhoeven, 2000: 52-53; Clare-Rohling, vd., 2014: 71; Massa, 2014: 91.

³⁰ Woldring-Bottema, 2002: 26; Roberts-Allcock, vd., 2016: 357, 359; Dean-Jones, vd., 2015: 170; Fontugne- Kuzucuoğlu, vd., 1999: 585-586; Şenkul-Köse, 2018: 74, Şek. 2; Kashima, 2008: 256, 262-263, 261, Fig. 5c.

³¹ see. fn. 26.

³² see. fn. 26.

³³ Woodbridge-Palmisano, vd., 2019: 734,738-739.

and conflicts, the scarcity of the settlements excavated in the region and the inability to adequately illuminate the chronological, dimensional and hierarchical contexts of the settlements and rural landscapes³⁴ in the surveys leave these questions unanswered. For the northern part of Central Anatolia, "Hatti core region", there is no research yet documenting a sudden climatic change or a sudden decrease in the number of settlements³⁵. It can be said that the social transformation seen in the mentioned time period in the southern part of the Central Anatolian Region is also seen in the communities within the Kızılırmak Curve. Pollen analyzes in the subject area reveal a significant shift pointing to high crop cultivation, possibly as a result of increased food supply, as well as a trend towards deforestation, which is thought to be caused by human intervention³⁶. However, most of the settlements, especially in the Kızılırmak curve, were also inhabited during the MBA and this situation was interpreted as "regardless of the causes of the fires and destructions, the settled people recovered quickly"³⁷. As well as political power struggles, conflicts and adverse climatic conditions, there are various available opinions that explain the reason for the decrease in the number of settlements as the fact that the migrations at the end of EBA II caused the destruction of settlements in the region³⁸ or a relative decrease in the number of settlements occurred as the rural population moved to central settlements³⁹. Contrary to the archaeological findings, which show a limited but strong possibility that there was war and turmoil among the political formations mentioned in the EBA in Anatolia, philological evidence does not yet fully support these findings on a secure basis (see above lines). Therefore, all these uncertainties and dilemmas make the definition of a central political power based on "war" or "conflicts" insufficient in Central Anatolia. For this reason, social structure and socio-economic organization forms should be evaluated from various aspects in order to understand the socio-political order. Social structure and organizational forms are also related to the degree of complexity of communities. When describing the complexity of societies, the concepts of social class and stratification should be questioned⁴⁰. Archaeological evidence regarding social hierarchy and administrative practices, and settlement types and settlement size may be partially decisive in defining this complexity. Interpretation of burial practices and rituals also becomes important when social complexity cannot be determined by data in a settlement⁴¹. Evaluating various characteristics of society such as social complexity, administrative practices, settlement patterns, size of settlement and material cultural remains, Ö. Çevik states that the social transformation in Central Anatolia can best be described as a centralization process, and that urbanization takes place in Southeast and Eastern Anatolia⁴². According to Ö.

³⁴ Massa, 2014: 98.

³⁵ Arıkan-Yıldırım, 2018: 579-580, Fig. 9A-B.

³⁶ Woldring-Bottema, 2002: 19; Neil-Eastwood, vd., 2011: 158; Asouti-Kabukcu, 2014: 176.

³⁷ Massa, 2014: 96.

³⁸ Mellaart, 1963: 236.

³⁹ Massa, 2014: 97; Çevik, 2007: 134.

⁴⁰ Tainter, 1988: 23.

⁴¹ Wright, 1994: 68.

⁴² Çevik, 2007: 131-133, 137.

Çevik, the process of centralization in Anatolia, including the ruling elite behind the fortification walls and the rest of the population still engaged in full-time agro-pastoral production, perhaps handicraft production; in other words, is a "vertical transformation" that creates a social divide between the two segments of society. Ö. Çevik states that the process in question is not a "horizontal transformation" in which the urban population benefits from the hinterland or the ruling elites exploit the rural population, as in urbanization, and that the "city-state" cannot be a "political model" in Anatolia in the EBA⁴³. Undoubtedly, the social structure in Central Anatolia cannot be handled only in hierarchical order. In other words, as Ö. Çevik stated, it is quite difficult for now to define a socio-political structure in which settlements are separated in the form of core and periphery⁴⁴, with a strict hierarchical system, as in Mesopotamia in Central Anatolia. This situation may also be related to the fact that the available data do not make identification possible, but studies conducted in Central Anatolia do not document the existence of a defined exploitation order between the center and the hinterland, or between the ruling elite and the rural population (see. below lines). Socio-political complexity in communities is directly related to the development of the central economy. Centralized economies are characterized by the control over production, consumption and the redistribution of resources by a limited and privileged group of people⁴⁵. The studies show that certain economic models played a role in the rural landscape of Anatolia in the EBA. The most important of these is the subsistence economy. In Anatolia, livelihood strategies were largely shaped within the framework of pastoral and agricultural practices. Although archaeological data related to rural and nomadic communities of Anatolia are quite limited, according to the Assyrian Trade Colonies Age and Hittite texts and ethnographic studies, communication-interaction between nomadic and settled communities; the direct trade between these communities of products such as meat, cheese, milk and wool, and the exchange of grain and miscellaneous foodstuffs, or the trade of goods produced in remote areas and acquired by nomads at other times of the year, should have included issues such as grazing land, campsites, and access to water⁴⁶. However, E. L. Hammer et al. states that although animal husbandry was an important asset and commercial resource in complex societies during the Bronze Age, there is little direct evidence of the existence of large-scale nomadic pastoralism in Anatolia with communities moving long distances seasonally⁴⁷. While the Hittite written sources refer to the vital importance of wool production in the mixed agricultural economy of the Hittites⁴⁸, the zooarchaeological studies show that pastoral economies with a focus on cattle breeding were organized locally in the EBA, depending on settlements, nearby summer pastures, and permanent water sources. This situation is associated with the undeveloped multi-regional pastoral mobility

⁴³ Çevik, 2007: 137-138.

⁴⁴ Bintliff, 1996: 248- 249.

⁴⁵ Atıcı, 2005: 119.

⁴⁶ Hopkins, 1996: 21.

⁴⁷ Hammer-Arbuckle, 2007: 229.

⁴⁸ Beckman, 1988: 35.

in relation to the politically fragmented image of Anatolia as well as its environmental factors⁴⁹, and gives an impression that is quite compatible with the socio-political order, which is not fully centralized in the economic sense. On the other hand, Hammer et al. sees the increasing importance of cattle breeding closely related to the rise of complex and hierarchical policies in the EBA and MBA. Since cattle were "a source of both food and labor" as well as symbols of "wealth" for the elite⁵⁰. In Central Anatolia, especially in central settlements where more complex socio-economic structure is seen, such as Achemhöyük, cattle breeding have an increasing importance in the EBA⁵¹. In settlements such as Kaman-Kalehöyük, where political centralization was weaker in the aforementioned period, small cattle such as sheep and goats are the dominant groups in the fauna. Archaeozoological studies at Kaman Kalehöyük document the existence of a household-based economy and production rather than a centralized and specialized production and distribution model of livestock. L. Atıcı refers to a weaker political centralization by assessing the spatial organizations in the settlement, and related to this, envisions a decentralized and self-sufficient economic model in Kaman Kalehöyük⁵². T. Ökse expresses the existence of an order compatible with today's settlement model for the Sivas region as well. According to T. Ökse, plateau settlers were mobile farmers and pastoralists who were part of the population of lowland settlements, or vertical nomads between the plains in winter and the highlands in summer⁵³. The studies in Central North Anatolia, on the other hand, are insufficient to explain pastoral livelihood strategies in the EBA. The studies carried out in the region reveal that Delice Valley communities have a self-sufficient agriculturalist-nomadic economic model and show the characteristics of "transitional societies"⁵⁴ between more egalitarian or simple and complex societies, mostly organized as tribes or principalities⁵⁵. Archaeological evidence emphasizing the importance of cattle breeding in Central-North Anatolia is known from the settlements and cemeteries in and around Alaca Höyük. Alaca Höyük emphasizes the significance of cattle breeding especially for the elite class with its metal sculptures representing cattle in its elite tombs, and cattle bones associated with sacrifices and feasts⁵⁶. In the south of Central Anatolia, the information about the pastoral life around the central settlements is quite limited and/with its diversified economic models; it draws a slightly different view from the north of Central Anatolia. If the three-stage production model for the mining industry in the EBA and the central role of Kültepe in this model are accepted⁵⁷, it brings to mind the availability of agricultural product stock that can supply agricultural production in its hinterland at the end of the EBA or the dependent farmer groups that can adapt to the subject model in an agro-

⁴⁹ Hammer-Arbuckle, 2007: 229.

⁵⁰ Arbuckle, 2014: 277.

⁵¹ Arbuckle, 2013: 57.

⁵² Atıcı, 2005:120, 124, 126.

⁵³ Ökse, 2005: 42.

⁵⁴ Service, 1975: 303.

⁵⁵ Ünar, 2020: 381.

⁵⁶ Koşay, 1938: 79; Özgüç, 1948: 93, 122; Yıldırım, 2011: 16-17.

⁵⁷ Yener-Kulakoğlu, vd., 2015: 608-609.

nomadic economic system. The surveys carried out in the region show the existence of a three-layered settlement hierarchy around Kültepe, which supports the subject economic model⁵⁸. A similar dependent organization is also suggested for the Göltepe mining settlement and its surroundings⁵⁹. However, this partially dependent economic model does not reflect an order in which the urban population benefits from the hinterland or the ruling elites exploit the rural population, as Ö. Çevik states. Considering that the management of the "large agricultural lands" around the "large settlements" in the plain is difficult within the framework of dry farming activities in Anatolian communities, where their livelihood strategies are primarily determined by environmental factors⁶⁰, the increasing needs of complex societies have to be met through pastoralism and advanced agricultural practices, and this new economic order must also have laid the groundwork for economically specialized settlements that mediated access to metal resources. All these findings, which enable us to predict different economic models, draw a view that is compatible with the multi-part political structure of Central Anatolia in the mentioned period, as stated above.

The socio-economic and political structure of complex communities or the relationships between communities are often discussed in a hierarchical order. Starting from the fact that the social formations of societies cannot be explained only in hierarchical order, some new approaches have been developed and it has been suggested that early societies can be organized in a heterarchical order⁶¹. Heterarchy describes both social structure and situation, representing a hierarchically unorganized yet complex society⁶². The subject concept represents an understanding that prevents the central and hierarchical structure in power relations, although different individuals in the society gain priority in various activities such as religion, trade and politics. Joyce C. White points out the evidence emphasizing cultural diversity differs from settlement to settlement, differences in burial rituals, differential participation in trade, cultural diversity resulting from horizontal differentiation of community units, an economy based on household production, the economic specialization of community units, and the distribution of goods through competitive processes not controlled by a single monopoly center, a system of social status achieved through personal achievement, and resolution of conflict and strategies of political centralization in the form of alliance formations that are open to periodic bargaining⁶³ can be seen in the form of a social organization in a heterarchic structure. Administrative structures and settlement plans, which are seen as institutional reflections of the hierarchy, are important in terms of understanding the socio-political conditions of the EBA. Although a direct link between any layout and any form of social organization is not accepted, it is

⁵⁸ Kontani-Sudo, vd., 2014: 98.

⁵⁹ Yener, 2000: 83.

⁶⁰ Santamaria, 2015: 120.

⁶¹ Ehrenreich-Crumley, vd., 1995: 1-4.

⁶² Ehrenreich-Crumley, vd., 1995: 4.

⁶³ White, 1995: 104-105.

accepted that social factors can affect layouts⁶⁴. There are a limited number of settlements located in the south of Central Anatolia, such as Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Konya Karahöyük and Alişar, among the important settlements where the social models and social transformations, which are moving towards centralization and becoming more and more complex, are reflected in the architecture. In the north, on the other hand, indicators of social complexity have to be explained rather by cemetery data. In a region where environmental factors and livelihoods are diversified, factors that cause differences in subsistence economies will naturally result in the emergence of different socio-economic organization forms. Lehner et al. mentions the development of second-stage processing areas in the mining areas in the EBA. According to Lehner et al., Along with increasing urbanization, significant livelihood diversification through pastoralism and improved agricultural practices has helped create a social environment in which economically specialized settlements have emerged, mediating access to metal resources. In regions where natural resources are limited and geography naturally limits communication and interaction (eg, rural areas in the north of Central Anatolia), it is expected that the existence of politically polycentric and economically autonomous settlements will be more prominent. A more egalitarian structuring can be thought of in the regions in question where communities whose livelihood is based on agriculture and animal husbandry and settlements specialized in these areas (eg wool, weaving, agricultural production, etc.) are not separated by a rigid socio-economic system.

The excavation data at Alişar, in the south of Central Anatolia, do not provide sufficient evidence to understand the general settlement organization. For the first time in citadel, a fortified settlement was established from the 10th building level⁶⁵. No structure with a special function could be found in Alişar. In the "citadel" area during the Copper Age, a part of a large building, probably, with a stone floor, was unearthed. Apart from this, no structure that could have an administrative or other special function has been defined in the subject area⁶⁶. Although the studies conducted on the EBA in Kültepe reveal more descriptive data on the general settlement organization, the relationship between the possible ruling elite and the public could not be understood since the studies in the EBA were concentrated on the "hill". On the other hand, the settlement's fortification wall has not yet been identified. However, it is thought that there must have been an important settlement around a city with such large administrative buildings during the EBA III period⁶⁷. Although the studies are continuing, it is understood that there has been a transformation in the direction of social organization in Kültepe since EBA II. Despite the architectural remains from EBA II are limited, large buildings that adopt the Anatolian settlement model have begun to be seen in Kültepe⁶⁸. Although the Anatolian model is adopted in architecture, the dimensions of the building and

⁶⁴ Eslick, 1988: 12.

⁶⁵ von der Osten, 1937: 110.

⁶⁶ von der Osten, 1937: 112-116.

⁶⁷ Ezer, 2014: 20.

⁶⁸ Kulakoğlu, 2017: Fig. 6:A.

the cultural inventory⁶⁹, which documents the closer relations between Anatolia and especially Kültepe, and Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, show the effects of an economic system based on trade on the community from this stage on. However the main transformation and centralization manifests itself in all facilities in the EBA III. In the mentioned period, we encounter a settlement that differs from the Anatolian model in all building levels, starting from the 13th layer. While it is known that some of these structures are administrative buildings or outbuildings, some of them are defined as temples⁷⁰. As a result, there are data that can be described as an institution with a different function and can be interpreted as an increase in the tendency of centralization. The EBA levels in Acemhöyük have not been studied in a large area. For this reason, although its exact size is not known, there are findings indicating that the settlement spread over a large area towards the end of the EBA III⁷¹. The wall ruins have been encountered from the level XI (EBA II). The wall, of which 60 meters was exposed, leaves no doubt that it was built for defense purposes, with a width of 5.5 meters⁷². Another proof that the wall was built for defensive purposes is that the main body was built with a bevel. Moreover, as an indication of war/conflict, the skeleton of a person who died as a result of injury in the area in front of the fortification wall, along with a large number of slingshots and a bronze spearhead around it can be shown (see. above). The most striking structure of the EBA for now is the rectangular planned building measuring 13x6.50 m, of which function has not yet been determined⁷³. In Konya-Karahöyük, where the excavation data are quite limited, remains that are thought to belong to a city wall, with a foundation width of 1.5-3.0 m, were unearthed in Level V, which is dated to the EBA III. In addition to the limited information on the general layout, no significant structure has been identified that can be definitively associated with the remains thought to be a fortification wall. On the other hand, in the level VII dated to the EBA II-III⁷⁴, a large building, which S. Alp interprets as "an official building" based on its size and architectural features, was unearthed. The "complex" structure, consisting of a courtyard or hall in the middle and the rooms around it, was interpreted as a "temple of the mother goddess" based on architectural arrangements such as a hearth, altar, niche and cellar, and a group of pottery finds defined as a libation vessel⁷⁵. The settlement of Göltepe is significant in terms of understanding the organization forms among the different social groups in the relations of settlements with each other. Göltepe, located 2 km from the Kestel mine in the Niğde-Çamardı district, is the ore processing workshop and settlement of the Kestel mine in the EBA. The settlement on the hill, which is densely populated and surrounded by a circular wall⁷⁶ is approximately 5 hectares in size, whereas it has been stated that the less populated outer settlement was spread to a 10

⁶⁹ Özgüç, 1963: 34- 45.

⁷⁰ Kulakoğlu, 2017: 219-222; Fig. 6:B, Fig. 3-4; Ezer, 2014: 7, Fig. 4; Özgüç, 1963: 35.

⁷¹ Öztan, 1995: 191.

⁷² Öztan, 2014: 142; Öztan-Arbuckle, 2013: 280.

⁷³ Kamış, 2017: 167.

⁷⁴ Yakar, 1979: 61.

⁷⁵ Alp, 1962: 8.

⁷⁶ Yener, 1992: 278.

hectare- area and could be bigger. K. A. Yener states that the settlement consists of different architectural units. Area A consists of domestic and specialized units, area B consists of public units represented by larger buildings, while area E consists of specialized units. However, it is pointed out that metallurgical activities take place both in smaller sized pit houses and in larger public structures consisting of domestic or industrial areas located on the ridge and terrace⁷⁷.

The settlement organizations in the south of Central Anatolia, which we have focused on so far, provide important information about the social structure, but also it is essential in terms of illuminating the social organizations that developed around these settlements and understanding the socio-political order and the dependent/independent (economic, political) relationship between the communities. However, with very few excavations, this does not seem possible for now. For this reason, the results obtained from the excavations in the region should be supported by systematic survey data. Although detailed information about the Bronze Age settlements in the Konya Plain has not been published yet, the findings show that the EBA settlements are located in the form of large central settlements and smaller peripheral areas close to commercial roads or areas with agricultural potential, and a significant increase in the settlement hierarchy and ranking has been recorded in the Konya Plain with the development of urban life and population growth. J. Mellaart thinks that the number of settlements in Konya Basin increased rapidly in the EBA I and EBA II, compared to the previous periods, and that the cities emerged in the subject period, and that most of the settlements in the plain were small and medium-sized villages and the towns and cities were represented in a less extent. In addition, he suggests that the significant settlements in the characteristics of town and city were commonly seen in the north of Karaman⁷⁸. The fertile lands in the lake regions located between Konya Plain and Isparta must have been preferred by agricultural communities⁷⁹. According to T. Ökse, settlements in the Upper Kızılırmak Region around Sivas, most of which are small in size and where no hierarchy is seen, exhibit a decentralized order⁸⁰. As in other regions, geographical conditions have an important effect on establishing and distributing settlements in the Cappadocia region (Middle Kızılırmak Section). Studies that can shed light on the relationship between settlements in the region in question are limited. During the surveys carried out around Kültepe in Kayseri, it was observed that, unlike many others, the number of EBA III settlements among the settlements dated to EBA I-III is approximately twice that of EBA I-II settlements⁸¹. The fact that Kültepe looks like a center due to its size in the northern region encompassing Kültepe and its surroundings, there are no settlements in an area of approximately 10 km, and the dimensions of those at a further distance are less than 10 ha are remarkable in terms of the organization between the settlements in the subject region. In

⁷⁷ Yener, 2000: 101, 108.

⁷⁸ Mellaart, 1963: 205, 207.

⁷⁹ Yakar, 1985: 210.

⁸⁰ Ökse, 2005: 42.

⁸¹ See fn. 26.

the southwestern and eastern parts of Kayseri, there are small settlements larger than 20 hectares, medium-sized settlements between 10-15 hectares, and smaller-scale settlements less than 5 hectares around these settlements⁸². The surveys in question provide limited information about the organization of the settlements apart from their dimensions. Archaeological surveys in Kayseri give some clues about the settlement systems. The existence of a three-stage production model is discussed between the tin mine and seasonal workshops located in the vicinity of Senir Sirtı on the northern slope of the Erciyes Mountain⁸³, and Kültepe and Teknekayası Höyük, a fortified mining processing settlement approximately 2 km from here and approximately 24 km from Kültepe.

The relationship among the Senir Sirtı mine galleries and Teknekayası Höyük and possibly Kültepe is likened to a three-stage production model reminding us the bond among the Niğde-Kestel tin mine and the Göltepe settlement and other EBA settlements associated with it⁸⁴. In addition, surveys carried out in the region support the existence of a three-layered settlement hierarchy⁸⁵. In the north of Central Anatolia, as stated above, the indicators of social complexity have to be explained by cemetery data. In the EBA cemeteries located in the area between Kızılırmak and Yeşilirmak in the north of Central Anatolia, some similarities between burial styles and burial customs and finds indicate that they may belong to a certain ethnic group⁸⁶, however we also noticed that there is no standardization in these traditions, in our previous study⁸⁷. The diversity in traditions reflects the heterarchic social order in which there is no rigid class distinction yet. As a matter of fact, contrary to the wealthy symbolism that we encounter with exaggerated accumulation in the tombs, no private and official structures belonging to a certain class or a magnificent architecture are documented in the north of Central Anatolia in the EBA. The surveys in the region do not provide sufficient data on the socio-political relations of the Hatti communities. Studies on settlement organization in the said region are limited. According to the studies carried out in the Delice Basin, when the dimensions of the settlements as well as the sheltered structure of the basin, the settlement models and the limitation of agricultural areas are evaluated together⁸⁸, it has been concluded that the number of settlements formed by mixed agricultural communities, which are politically polycentric, economically autonomous, small-scale perhaps organized as tribes or principalities, are high throughout the basin. Being among the few settlements excavated in the region, Resuloğlu exhibits a socio-economic and political structure that is very compatible with the results of the surveys⁸⁹. Another point that emphasizes the difference in organizational forms is the determination of economic differentiation. The

⁸² Kontani-Sudo, vd., 2014: 99-100.

⁸³ Yener-Kulakoğlu, vd., 2015: 600, 604.

⁸⁴ See fn. 56.

⁸⁵ See fn. 57.

⁸⁶ See fn. 5.

⁸⁷ Ünar-Ünar, 2021: 76.

⁸⁸ Arıkan-Yıldırım, 2018: 588.

⁸⁹ Ünar, 2022: 451-452; 509, 529-536.

concentration of raw materials or storage facilities in a household, and the use of seals for movement and allocation of goods, which may indicate control of economic resources, can be essential indicators of the level of material accumulation and commercial and personal property. Although there is evidence of the use of seals in many settlements in Central Anatolia during the subject period, mostly the areas of use and more importantly, the context is unknown. However, the ones defined in the "citadel" and "terrace"⁹⁰ in Alişar and a monumental complex in Kültepe may be important in terms of the elements listed above. During the new period excavations in Kültepe, its relationship with the monumental complex dated to EBA III (in the 13th layer) has been defined, and its stamp and cylinder seals and prints have been unearthed. In addition, it has been stated that a cylinder seal found in the layer 11(a) was found near the palace⁹¹. The large numbers of bullae unearthed in the EBA layers at Kültepe seem to be related to the packages sent from Northern Syria and Mesopotamia⁹². These finds also document the existence of the ruling class in Kültepe, as well as the existence of long-distance trade in the aforementioned period⁹³. Undoubtedly, the seal and seal impressions, of which relations with the monumental structures of administrative nature are revealed, point to a manager's control and supervision of economic resources.

Evaluating the settlements in Central Anatolia within the framework of commercial or exchange activities and communication and interaction, and the size of these relations are important in terms of understanding the size of the socio-economic and political organization. Although it is not possible to explain in detail here, as it is known, especially since the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, there has been a significant increase in the number of luxury consumer goods, prestige and status objects, which are documents of regional or long-distance trade. The quality and quantity of the imported artifacts unearthed in the settlements in the south of Central Anatolia documents that the participation in the trade network in question in the EBA III was much more intense than in the northern regions. This shows that the settlements on the plain are better adapted to commercial activities both at regional and interregional scale. The existence of trade has been proved by imported or local imitation Syrian bottles, metallic pottery, depas and tankard type vessels, quadruple spiral necklace beads, disc-shaped beads, Lunar (Crescentic) earrings, spherical head toggle-pin type pins, Spearheads with bent tang, weapons such as Crescentic axes, foreign seals and prints, various weights used to measure quantities of goods, lead figurines and stone molds, ring-shaped and perforated idols, and precious and semi-precious stones such as lapis lazuli and obsidian⁹⁴. Besides the subject small finds, the Anatolian origin double-handled cup form seen on the Nasiriya stele⁹⁵, which

⁹⁰ von der Osten, 1937: Fig 186.

⁹¹ Özgüç, 1959: 43-44.

⁹² Kulakoğlu-Öztürk, 2015: [http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/\(19.02.2022\)](http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/(19.02.2022)), Tablo 1, Fig. 4; Öztürk, 2019: 45-66.

⁹³ Öztürk, 2019: 58-60; Öztürk, 2019: 60, 190-191.

⁹⁴ Özgüç, 1986: 31-47; Efe, 2007: 47-64; Şahoğlu, 2019: 115-131; Bachhuber, 2011: 163.

⁹⁵ Mellink, 1963: 106.

is thought to belong to the Akkadian king Naram-Sin period, is another example documenting the connection between Anatolia and distant regions. Along with the settlement models and architectural elements, some predictions can be made about the degree of complex structuring in society through the amount, distribution and control of surplus product, dependent or independent labor organization, prestige goods and elements, and status indicators⁹⁶. Few studies in Central Anatolia⁹⁷ reveal results documenting the amount of surplus production in settlements during the Early Bronze Age and its relationship with socioeconomic and political structure. Due to the limited data in northern Central Anatolia, the evidence that product containment and distribution may have taken place under the control of a centralized structure is currently weak. The Resuloğlu excavations provide limited information regarding the conservation of the product and the organization of redistribution, specific to the settlement. It has been understood that a simple need-oriented redistribution mechanism was operated by means of sealed crop containers in which the seed products were stored in the storage rooms of the houses⁹⁸. Data on the storage and distribution of the product in the south of Central Anatolia are also limited. Since the Copper Age in Alişar, some units related to storage have been encountered in both the "citadel" and the "lower city". In Kültepe, it was stated that the masonry wells, which were stated to be in large numbers on the hill, but for which there was not enough information about their exact number and qualities, should have been used as silos⁹⁹. Although not precisely defined, the storage units were uncovered in complex structures and in common areas since the EBA III may be clues that the storage business was in the hands of both the public and perhaps an elite class that can be defined as the ruling class. However, the evidence for the existence of sealing practices in facilities that appear to serve storage in the immediate vicinity is very limited¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, the cylinder and local stamp seals and prints found in Kültepe present the documents of a commercial activity operating under the roof of the ruling class and the sealing practices of commercial goods under the supervision of the executive¹⁰¹. Since the importance of grain as a means of payment has been known in the subject activity, it is expected that large quantities of grain would have been kept in the warehouses of the palace and other public buildings as a result of the subject exchange. The archeobotanical studies at Kültepe in Central Anatolia have produced some results suggesting the supply of crop production when needed in the urban area of Kültepe in the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC¹⁰². The findings supporting this inference point to a common source and can therefore be considered as an indicator of a centralized distribution system¹⁰³. The central role of Kültepe in the settlement hierarchy (!) in the Early Bronze Age (see. above), makes us think that the results of the

⁹⁶ Ünar-Ünar, 2021: 37-98. Cannon, 2010: 3.

⁹⁷ Ünar, 2020: 225.

⁹⁸ Ünar, 2020: 223, 536.

⁹⁹ Santamaria, 2015: 112, dn. 49.

¹⁰⁰ Goldman, 1956: 238, Fig. 398; Umurtak, 2010: 19-27.

¹⁰¹ See fn. 90-92.

¹⁰² Fairbairn-Wright, 2017: 14-15.

¹⁰³ Hald, 2010: 74-75

archeobotanical studies which have been suggested for the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, could be valid for the EBA. However, it should be underlined that more evidence is needed regarding the central control of Kültepe in its hinterland.

The degree of production and specialization of communities is an essential indicator in understanding their socio-economic and political organization. Evaluating the available evidence in the settlements, some hypothetical data can be revealed. In Central Anatolia, part-time specialist activities and household-based production activities are common in settlements¹⁰⁴. However, the existence of settlements and workshops specialized in metal production, both in the north and south of Central Anatolia, has been documented¹⁰⁵. Data on textile and pottery expertise, apart from metal production, are limited. As a result, the evidence for an economically specialized production of individuals or groups in Central Anatolia, in areas other than mining activities, in a lifestyle completely disconnected from pastoral production, is currently weak. Especially in the complex and advanced organizational level communities under the control of the central government, full-time professional groups that are completely dependent on the center have become widespread. Full-time and dependent economic expertise is seen in a centralized sociopolitical structure, in which a center supplies all the needs of dependent and full-time experts. Although the available evidence supports the dependent production model, especially in the south of Central Anatolia, it has not yet contained data to reveal the relationship between dependent and full-time expertise and surplus production. Evidence for this model, which we expect to encounter in Göltepe, Teknekayası and Erikli Mevkii, is quite limited¹⁰⁶.

Conclusion

In Central Anatolia, the 3rd millennium BC communities' socio-economic and political structure and phenomenon of power, wars and conflicts, defense systems, settlement organizations, livelihood models, social formations (hierarchical? -heterarchic? structure), administrative practices, production and specialization, communication and interaction, activities such as trade or exchange and burial traditions, indicating social complexity and socio-economic differences, have been evaluated through the material cultural remnants and philological documents pointing to social complexity, and it has been understood that the data on hierarchical structuring, especially in political relations, are quite limited. Even though it cannot be generalized definitively, it should be noted that there are some differences between the socio-economic and political organizations of the communities between the north and south of Central Anatolia. The most obvious differences between the south and the north are their livelihood strategies, the existence of different settlement systems and socio-economically different forms of organization. Although the analyzes on population calculations of the settlements and data

¹⁰⁴ Ünar, 2020: 271-369

¹⁰⁵ Yener, 1995: 1519; Yalçın-İpek, 2012: 11-31; Yalçın-Yalçın, vd., 2018: 576; Yener-Kulakoğlu, vd., 2015: 600, 605-606.

¹⁰⁶ Yener, 2000: 83; Ünar, 2022: 22.

from systematic surveys are lacking, as Ö. Çevik states, in the south of Central Anatolia, the distinction between the ruling elite living in more densely populated, fortified settlements and identified by a "down" and "upper" settlement system, although there is no strict separation, and the local people living behind the fortifications is more defined. According to the results of the surveys, especially in the south of large settlements, it is understood that it is concentrated in Konya Plain and Kayseri and its surroundings. The EBA settlements present two interconnected settlement system models, predominantly located near commercial roads, agricultural potential areas, and rather large central settlements near mining sites and smaller settlements at the periphery. For now, only the evidence of dependent production and compatible multi-layered settlement patterns documented in the southern part of Central Anatolia strengthens the idea that similar formations may exist in northern Central Anatolia. Revealing the data for this model also shows a socio-economically dependent relationship between plateau communities and lowland communities, or in other words between local producers and consumers, while the dependence on a politically central figure needs to be understood with more excavation and research data and more solid evidence. As a matter of fact, as stated above, the relations between the center and the countryside in Central Anatolian societies do not reflect a systematic exploitation order. It is observed that this type of settlement systems developed in the region, especially in the mineral deposits and its surroundings. It would not be wrong to consider a similar example within a system as seen in their contemporaries in the south of the mining operation of Derekutuğun in the north of Central Anatolia and the mining settlement of Erikli Mevkii in its immediate vicinity, as well as the more central settlements, perhaps Alaca Höyük, that controlled or regulated the mining activities in the region. At this point, T. Özgüç's assumption that the north of Central Anatolia, especially the Çorum-Amasya-Tokat region was the environment where the mineral resources and workshops were gathered in this period, and that the production took place in the organized workshops under the administration of the local rulers (!) should be mentioned here again. However the state of being "dependent" should also be clarified here. According to the findings pointing to different production patterns and densities in the settlements, it is possible that both dependent and independent experts exist in theory with different organizational forms in the region in question. However, the evidence for full-time and dependent professionals, who are more likely to occur in more rigidly segregated and centralized societies, is currently very weak. The form of organization in Central North Anatolia, which generally consists of kinship communities or communities that are not rigidly separated by class, also indicates that craftsmen may have been organized as kin communities based on blood ties. On the other hand, they are also documents of long distance relations, communication and interaction in terms of specialization in the south of Central Anatolia, especially in the southern regions. In a production model with dependent experts, evidence of a social-political structure in the region in question that also documents a dependent relationship should be

sought. In simple communities, status goods have no tangible owners and are acquired through exchange¹⁰⁷. In addition, there is no or lax control in the production of these goods. In complex societies, this relationship is regulated according to the principle of interdependence and control mechanisms are operated. Especially in the small-scale settlements in the northern and more isolated parts of Anatolia, it is understood that there is no strict central control in the production and acquisition of goods, by looking at the direct or indirect evidence of regional or long-distance relations and goods of prestige and status.

There is no doubt about the existence of an administrative structure while considering monumental city walls and architecture, upper and lower settlement systems, public buildings, administrative buildings, complex spatial organizations, workshops, large-scale storage activities, sealing applications, prestige and status objects and the density of their applications and three dependent settlement systems etc., especially in the south of Central Anatolia. On the other hand, in a text about the actions of Naramsin, among the cities that rebelled against him and their kings, there are those known to be in Central Anatolia, one of which is in the Kızılırmak Curve¹⁰⁸. However, the findings that will clarify how the aforementioned "kings" or "local rulers" are organized in socio-economic and political terms are quite weak for now. There has been an increase in the number of evidences that can be associated with an "authority" or "elite" class in the settlements in the region, especially since EBA II. It is very difficult to find the evidence in the south of Central Anatolia, in the north. The reason for this is that the excavation strategies, which generally concentrate on cemeteries in the region in question, are insufficient to explain the settlement organizations. Although there is no doubt about the existence of an "elite" class (!) defined by the "exaggerated accumulation" in the tombs in Central North Anatolia, there is currently evidence for a looser political structure compared to the communities in the south. Moreover, there is currently little evidence documenting a socio-economically dependent relationship in which production and product containment and distribution may have been under the control of a centralized structure. Considering the density of the finds in settlements and cemeteries that shed light on cultural relations in Central Anatolia, their quality and what kind of goods they are, it has been seen that especially in the northern parts of Central Anatolia, activities such as exchange or trade are carried out between settlements that are close to each other, and it has been understood that there must be specialized settlements and workshops that supply things like raw materials to the subject settlements. Lehner and Yener state that it is very difficult to come to a conclusion that the production and distribution of status items is systematically controlled without texts (see. above). According to the written sources, Yener who states that the elites had a limited control over the commercial activities from the beginning of the MBA, expresses that Mesopotamian and Anatolian merchants actively participated in commercial control in the competition of commercial coalition and palace

¹⁰⁷ Sahlins, 1988: 185.

¹⁰⁸ Yiğit, 2000: 23.

bureaucracies¹⁰⁹. This type of socio-economic structure expresses the state of being "dependant" in a control system based on "resolving" relations and "mutual agreements" or "competition" and draws an appearance compatible with the characteristics of the heterarchic society organization defined by J. C. White. Considering the direct or indirect evidence of regional or long-distance relations, especially in the small-scale settlements in the northern and more isolated parts of Anatolia, the existence of a social environment mediated by settlements based on economic resources or pastoral communities can be considered in this part of Central Anatolia. Considering that the finds with influence from Western Anatolia, Northern Syria-Mesopotamia are seen more commonly in the southern part of Central Anatolia, it is understood that the communities in the northern regions must have acquired goods, technologies or ideas in the distance, most probably indirectly through the center or centers located in the south of Central Anatolia, or the settlements with which these centers are in contact, or through various pastoral groups. Thus, as stated above, the presence of foreign traders in Kültepe during this period is known. In this sense, such an economic model that could be possible for the EBA is a prototype of the commercial system seen in Anatolia during the Colonial Age. In this form of organization, leaders or elites should have given priority to economic activities such as trade and carried out these activities in a system based on agreement and competition. As a matter of fact, *since the second half of the EBA, that the social construction of privileged status manifested itself with welfare rituals and exaggerated accumulation, and the use of welfare rituals and associated prestige objects and symbols in funeral ceremonies for the "elite" or "leaders"*¹¹⁰, is a characteristic of welfare societies rather than a centralized social environment. As a matter of fact, contrary to the rich symbolism that we encounter with exaggerated accumulation in the tombs, no private and official structures belonging to a certain class or a magnificent architecture are documented in the north of Central Anatolia during the Early Bronze Age. As mentioned above, in addition to the geographical environment that greatly affects the economic models, it is understood that the social structure consisting of communities and institutions that have not yet been comprehended to be separated by a rigid system requires the continuation of mixed economic models. This type of economic model is also very compatible with the fragmented political image of the region. In conclusion, aside from the excavations and lack of data in the settlements in Central Anatolia, it is understood that the evidence for central and hierarchical structuring, especially in power relations, is insufficient.

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¹¹⁰ Ünar- Ünar, 2021: 85.

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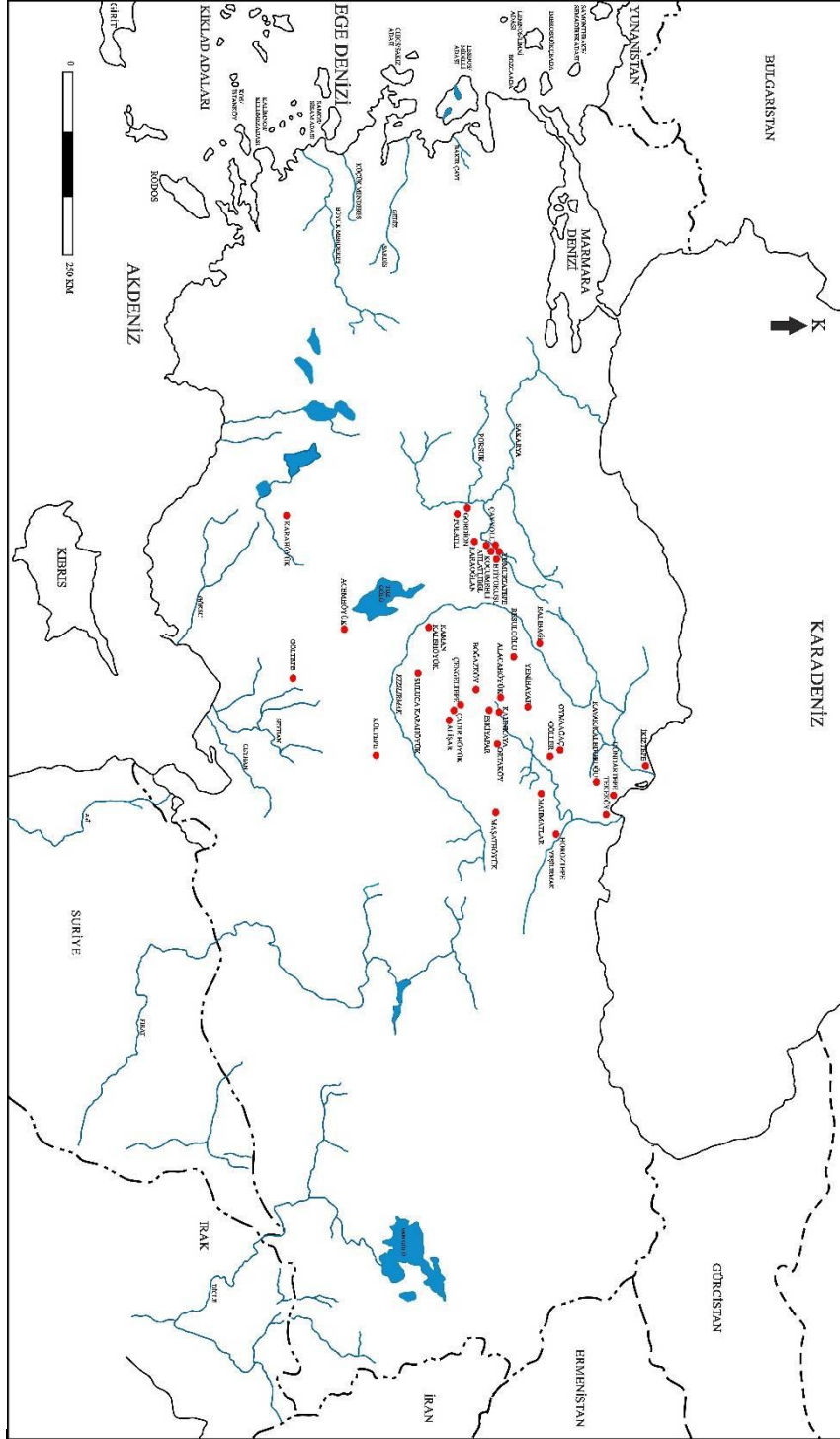


Fig. 1: Map of Central Anatolia, with Early Bronze Age major sites and cemeteries (Ünar 2020, Map 4)

MESOPOTAMIA	ANATOLIA		ANATOLIA														
	PERIOD	PERIOD	KULTEPE MOOUND	KARUM KARIUM	ALISAR MOOUND	TEBASAL TEBASAL	ACEMHOYUK MOOUND	KAMAN KALEHOYUK	ALACA HOYUK	ÇAYYÖLÜ	GENÇLİTEPE	ÇADIRHOYUK	RESLİOĞLU				
c. 2000 BC	ISIN-LARSA UR III POST AKADDIAN AKADDIAN	ERANHA TRANSITIONAL (c. 2000)	9	III	5M	11T	V	IV a	4	↕			↕	1	↕		
		EARLY BRONZE AGE II (c. 2500-2400- 2050-2000)	10	IV	↕	↕	VI	IV b	5	Çayyolu II	4			↕	1a	↕	
			11		6M	↕	VII		6	YUMURTATEPE	5			↕	2	↕	II
c. 2600- 2350 BC	EARLY DYNASTIES	EARLY BRONZE AGE II (c. 2700-2500)	12		7M	12T	IX		↕	↕	6		↕	↕	↕		
			13		↕	↕			↕	↕	7		↕	3	↕		
			14		8M	13T	X		↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	II
c. 2750- 2600 BC	II		15		↕	↕			↕	↕			↕	↕	↕		
			16		↕	↕			↕	↕			↕	↕	↕		
			17		11M	14T	XII		8	Çayyolu III	↕			↕	↕	↕	II b
c. 3100- 2900 BC	GENDET NASR TRUK	EARLY BRONZE AGE I (c. 3000-2700)	18		12M				9	↕			↕	↕	↕		
					↕	↕			↕	↕			↕	↕	↕		
					14M				12	Çayyolu IV	↕			↕	↕	↕	II a2
					19M			↕	↕			↕	↕	↕			
								15?	↕			↕	↕	↕			
																II a1	

Fig. 2: Chronological table of main well-stratified sites in EBA Anatolia, with site relative chronology and approximate absolute dates for Central Anatolia (Adapted Ünar 2020, Table 1)

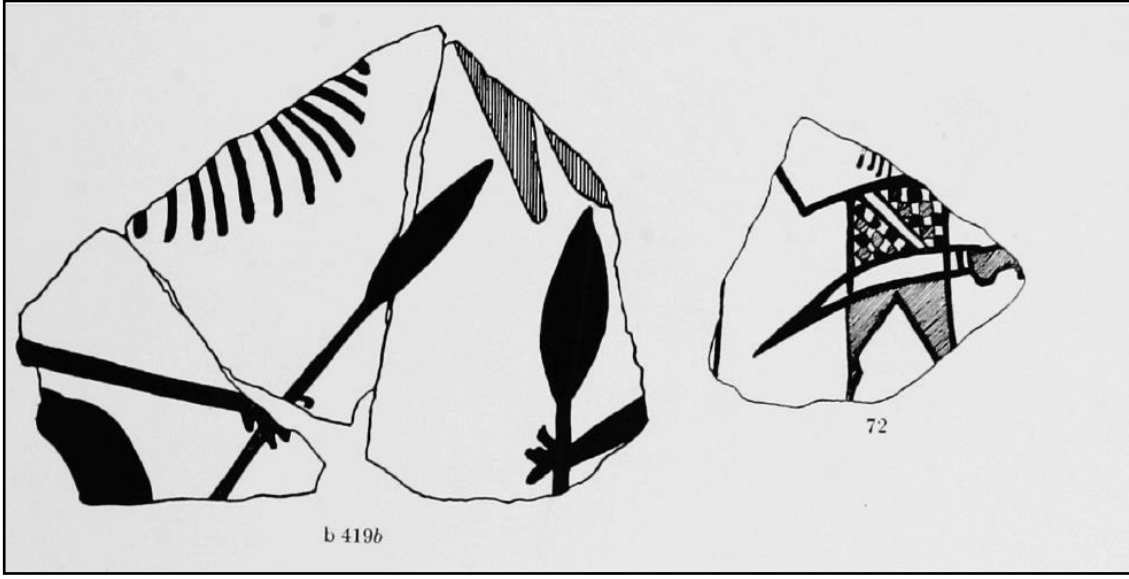


Fig. 3: Alışar III pottery sherds depicted a warrior holding a spear in one hand and a sword in the other (Schmidt 1933, Pl. XXVII/V/b419a, 72)