

Edited by

Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis, Çiğdem Maner, Konstantinos Kopanias

NOSTOI

**Indigenous Culture, Migration and Integration in
the Aegean Islands and Western Anatolia during
the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age**



NOSTOI

INDIGENOUS CULTURE, MIGRATION +
INTEGRATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS + WESTERN
ANATOLIA DURING THE LATE BRONZE + EARLY IRON
AGES

NOSTOI: INDIGENOUS CULTURE, MIGRATION + INTEGRATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS +
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Between the Aegeans and the Hittites
Western Anatolia in the 2nd Millennium BC

PART 1
CHAPTER 3

PETER PAVÚK

Abstract

Western Anatolia played a more or less prominent role in a number of archaeological and historical scenarios over the years, notwithstanding the fact that, despite more than a century of research, we still largely know only the coastal sites. The vast area between the coast and the Anatolian plateau is known only from surveys, with the sole exception of Beycesultan. It is therefore necessary to develop a new chronological periodisation and cultural scheme, appropriate to the fragmentary survey material and lacking stratigraphies. Both will be proposed in this paper.

Using the latest information on Troy, Liman Tepe, Bademgediği Tepe, and Miletus together with firsthand knowledge of material from both East Aegean littoral islands and the West Anatolian inland sites, the article discusses the available settlement structure, makes use of some basic GIS applications, draws eventual cultural boundaries based on pottery distribution, and attempts to compare the thus gained archaeological groupings with the currently valid so-called Hittite political geography for Western Anatolia. Finally, it proposes some lines of thought concerning the identity of the population in the individual archaeologically identifiable cultural groupings.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank, first of all, the organisers for initiating a conference on this topic but also my fellow speakers for creating such a stimulating atmosphere. The text of this paper was prepared partly while holding a post-doctoral fellowship of the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation at the University of Heidelberg, and finished with the help of the Slovak Grant Agency, Project VEGA 1/0331/11. The English has kindly been corrected by Emily Egan and Angela R. Commito. Peter Demján and Andrej Kapcár helped with the illustrations.

THE INTENTION OF THIS PAPER IS TO PRESENT THE FIRST RESULTS OF AN ongoing, long-term project that attempts to understand a rather wide geographical area, reaching from the littoral East Aegean islands to the western limits of the Central Anatolian Plateau, and to define each of its parts both individually and within its wider context. Deriving from the study of pottery and settlement patterns of the aforementioned area, targeting especially the second quarter of the 2nd mill., this paper will attempt to outline various geographic zones, and within these further ceramic groups. Finally, these groups will be matched against the currently accepted version of the “Hittite geography” for Western Anatolia, with surprising correspondences.

From West to East, we have two fixed end points to consider: the Minoans and Mycenaeans in the South-West (SW) Aegean, and the Hittites in Central Anatolia. Leaving the Cyclades aside, there remains a large space in between, covering the East Aegean islands, coastal Western Anatolia, as well as inner Western Anatolia. Each of these areas has seen varying degrees of influence from both the East and the West. Also, each has played a prominent role in archaeological and historical discussions over the years, including those which, unfortunately, viewed history in a very bipolar way: Mycenaeans or Hittites? Truth or dare?¹

Over the many years spent working at Troy,² I was often confronted, sometimes mockingly, sometimes seriously, with the following question: *So, where are the Hittite imports?* The honest answer is: we barely have any (if at all!). Having realized this, and having also learned that Troy was not as “Mycenaean” as Blegen once thought either,³ my research on Troy VI pottery led me to conclude that Troy was simply part of a distinctly North-Western (NW) Anatolian entity. This was in fact not a new discovery, as David French suggested something similar 40 years ago.⁴ But how exactly should one imagine this NW Anatolian entity? And how did it relate to its possible neighbours, be they to the north, south, east, or west?

1 There is quite a considerable bibliography on this topic, targeting especially the coastal zone of Western Anatolia, some of it more descriptive, some more interpretative. Since it is not my intention to be judgmental here, but rather to offer a new perspective, I will refrain from listing full references and will refer only to Seeher 2005, which gave impulse to several ideas expressed in this paper.

2 Here, I would like to thank the late Prof. Manfred O. Korfmann for inviting me to study and publish Troy VI Early and Middle pottery from his excavations. I also appreciate he giving me a free hand in my research, even though I did not exactly follow the line of his arguments in doing so.

3 Blegen et al. 1953, 5–11. But even Blegen (1953, 11) himself, after naming all possible parallels from the Mycenaean world to his findings in late Troy VI (and almost none from the Hittite side) states: “Its domestic idiosyncrasies stand out in all its works and productions.”

4 French 1973, 52; 1977.

The argument that I would like to present here builds on numerous visits to study collections and museums in Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, and Georgia, and also Germany, Austria, and England, as well as visits to many ongoing excavations. By stating this, I wish not only to express my sincere gratitude to the respective persons and institutions who have given me much valued assistance and permissions to see the material, but also to emphasize the “hands-on” approach behind my research.⁵

Chronology, Periodisation, and other Open Wounds

One of the major problems in dealing with Western Anatolia in the 2nd millennium, despite more than a century of research, is the lack of excavated AND published stratified sequences, with Troy and Beycesultan still acting as the two main anchors. But these two sites do not represent the full range of West Anatolian cultures! Whereas the coast has been relatively well excavated,⁶ the vast area between the coast and the Anatolian plateau is known predominantly through surveys.⁷ It is therefore necessary to develop new cultural schemes that are appropriate to both the fragmentary survey material and the lacking stratigraphy of the inland sites.

The other major problem is the lack of good periodisation for ALL of Western Anatolia; a periodisation, which fits not only the coast or a few selected sites, but one that can be meaningfully applied also to the aforementioned survey material. The periodisation currently used by some of our colleagues in Western Anatolia is based largely on the Central Anatolian system, which in turn is based on the Mesopotamian chronology.⁸ The problem is not so much with the absolute dates, in the

5 Finally, financial support for these travels has to be mentioned here as well, stemming over the years mainly from the *Graduierten Kolleg “Anatolien und seine Nachbarn”* at the University of Tübingen, the *TroiaStiftung*, and the Slovak Grant Agency *VEGA*.

6 Troy (Blegen et al. 1951; 1953; 1958; Korfmann 2006; as well as annual reports in *Studia Troica*) followed after a large gap by Larisa on Hermos (Boehlau and Scheffold 1942), Panaztepe (Günel 1999a; Erkanal–Öktü 2008; Çınardalı–Karaaslan 2008), Bayraklı (Akurgal 1950; Bayne 1963 [2000] 61–80), Liman Tepe (Günel 1999b; Erkanal 2008; Votruba, in this volume), Çeşme–Bağlararası (Şahoğlu 2007; in this volume), Kocabaşetepe (Aykurt 2006), Bademgediğitepe (Meriç 2003; 2007; in this volume), Ayasuluk (Büyükkolancı 2008), Kadikalesi (Akdeniz 2006; 2007), Miletus (Niemeier 2007b, with rich previous bibliography), Iasos (Momigliano 2009) and Müsgebi (Boysal 1967), just to name the most well known.

7 Roughly from North to South: Özdoğan 1991; 1993; Cook 1973; Akarca 1978; Aslan et al. 2003; Rose et al. 2007; Mellaart 1955; French 1967; 1969; Efe 1994; 1997; Driehaus 1957; Meriç and Schachner 2000; Meriç 2007, 28, n. 16; 2009; Caymaz 2008; Günel 2003; 2006; Mellaart 1954, esp. 179–80; Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, 243–64; 1965, 74–81; Mellaart and Murray 1995, 99–109.

8 Aykurt 2006, 118, Tab. 1; Mellink 1965, 118–23. The latter paper is in fact the only

sense of High, Middle, or Low chronology, but rather with the periodisation itself and with the question of what should be meaningfully termed MBA and LBA, and how to subdivide it. Whereas defining the beginning of the LBA after 1500 BC may be reasonable in Mesopotamia for historical reasons, it becomes slightly illogical already for Central Anatolia and definitely impractical for Western Anatolia. It is namely the 17th c.⁹ that witnesses major changes (at least in terms of pottery), leading to material culture that remains in use until the 13th c. or even later with slight developments, but without any signs of disruption. A full discussion of the aforementioned issues is the topic of a different paper, in preparation, and I would like to stress here the following points only:

Traditionally, the MBA started around 2000 or 1900 BC and incorporated both the Colony Period and the Old Hittite Period in Central Anatolia.¹⁰ As for Western Anatolia, the MBA was less coherent and used to be defined not through its content but rather as something that followed a typologically tightly-knit horizon of Troy V, Poliochni Bruno, Samos V, Aphrodisias 1, and Beycesultan VII–VI, termed EBA IIIb.¹¹ Admittedly, the label MBA did not really work at Troy¹² but became fully accepted for Beycesultan¹³ to such an extent that even today, if one mentions the MBA in SW Anatolia, most people think immediately of Beycesultan V and IV and would almost automatically place it in the early part of the 2nd mill. However, new research at Troy has re-dated Troy V and moved it completely to the 2nd mill., with Troy VI starting only around 1750.¹⁴ And when we move Troy V into the 2nd mill., one has also to move the typologically related Beycesultan VI and VII as well! This was recognised also by Efe, who has placed Troy V variably either to W. Orthmann's

one where Mellink explains her 2nd mill. periodisation in more detail. The third edition of Ehrich's *Old World Chronologies* (Mellink 1992) does not contain a proper 2nd mill. subchapter for Anatolia.

- 9 This paper uses High Aegean chronology combined with Middle Anatolian. On the short Anatolian chronology, this period of change would rather be the 16th c. BC. Cf. also Schachner 2009.
- 10 Mellink 1956, 54–5; Mellink 1965, 118–21, chronological table on p. 126; Gunter 1991, 108 Tab. 2.
- 11 Mellaart in Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, 258–260, see also the chronological table on p. 264; Mellaart 1957, 74–8; Mellaart 1970; Podzuweit 1979, Beilage 26; Parzinger 1993, Beilage 5. Parzinger did not label it EB IIIb, but still included it in his last EBA horizon 15, which however embraced also MM IA on Crete.
- 12 Blegen (1953, 15) sensed that something is not completely right, but did not see any way out and decided to stick to his own labels instead, such as Early, Middle and Late Troy VI. This is even more striking, since his excavations at Korakou played such a major role in the definition of MBA on the Greek mainland (Blegen 1921).
- 13 Lloyd and Mellaart 1965.
- 14 Korfmann and Krommer 1993; Blum 2006; Pavúk 2007b, updated in Pavúk (2014).

		Aegean High Chronology	Liman Tepe	Troia	Demirci hüyük	Boğazköy BK	Kültepe Middle Chronology	Gordion	Beyce sultan	Miletus	Kreta High Chronology
1200		LH IIIB	II:2	VIIa		III	Empire Period	9-5 (=YHSS 8)	Ib	VI	
1300	LB 2B	LH IIIA	II:3	VIIg-h		IVa			II		LM IIIB
1400	LB 2A	LH IIB	Disturbed	VIIe-f	Surf.	IVb	Middle Hittite	11-10	III	V	LM IIIA
1500	LB 1B	LH IIA		VIIId	5	IVc	Old Hittite	c	IVa	IVb	LM II
1600	LB 1A	LH I	III:1-2	VIIb/c	4	IVc		13-12 e	IVb	IVa	LM IB
1700	MB 2	MH III	III:3	VIIa	2 / 3	Hiatus	la	m	IVc		LM IA
1800	MB 1	MH II	III:4		1	IVd	lb	e	V		MM III
1900	?		IV:4	V	Bahçehisar ??	a IVb c	II II (no tablets)	16-14 t e 18-17 r y	VI VII	III	MM II MM IB

FIG. 1 Synchronisation of Aegean, West Anatolian and Central Anatolian sequences, including a new proposal for West Anatolian periodisation.

Übergangsperiode, or directly to the MBA, but his uneasiness with this issue was well expressed by his changing opinion on the placement of the Beycesultan sequence against Troy IV and V.¹⁵ The issue is no doubt complex and there are still too many missing links between Troy and Beycesultan, as well as between these two sites and the inland Eskişehir region, given the wide distances. Problematic, also, is the transition to the LBA, signalled traditionally through the occurrence of Mycenaean pottery decorated in LH IIIA style on the coast. Such pottery, however, has only rarely penetrated further inland and the development of local wares and shapes shows completely different dynamics, even on the coast! In short: we need a periodisation independent of the Aegean, as well as of Central Anatolia and Mesopotamia.

The chart in FIG. 1 illustrates the proposed new synchronisation of the various settlement sequences, reflecting not only the re-dating of Troy V but also various other typological aspects.¹⁶ The gray areas indicate levels that have been considered

15 Efe 1988, fig. 98; 1994, 20 Tab. 2; Efe and İlaslı 1997, 600 fig. 2; Efe and Türkteki 2005, 136 fig. 10. See also Şahoğlu 2005, 344 fig. 2. For the term *Übergangsperiode* see Orthmann 1963a, 9–10 pl. 99; 1963b, 47–51.

16 An in-depth explanation of the individual synchronisms will be offered in the above-mentioned separate paper being currently prepared on West Anatolian periodisation and chronology in the 2nd mill.

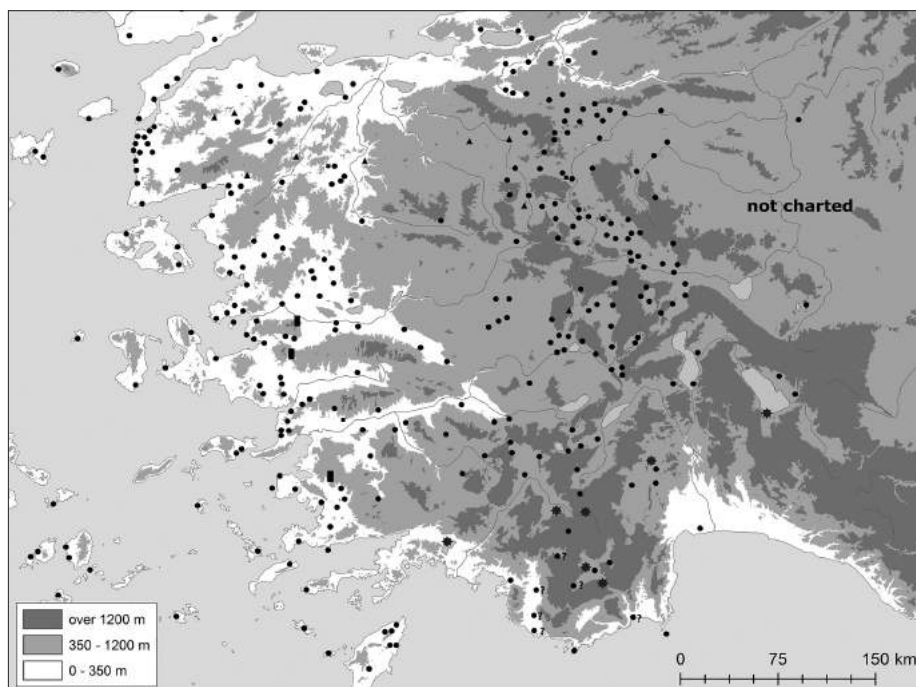


Fig. 2 Map of known West Anatolian sites dating to the LB 1 (ca. 1700-1450 B.C.E.).

Included are also the following: known rock-carvings (squares), identified copper mines exploited already in the Bronze Age (triangles, based upon Begemann et al. 2003), as well as drillings of lake sediments (stars, based upon Eastwood et al. 1998).

MBA at the respective sites. If my proposal is not completely wrong, the chart makes clear that it is highest time to redefine the whole concept of what we designate as the MBA and when the LBA starts. As for the latter one, I would like to propose to start the West Anatolian LBA earlier than usually proposed, namely with the horizon Troy VIIb/c – Liman Tepe III-1/2 – Beycesultan IVc. This is not because it accidentally coincides with the beginning of the LBA in the Aegean, but because it is in this horizon that inland Western Anatolia witnesses an almost sudden occurrence of Anatolian Grey Ware (represented by a range of two-handled ribbed bowls) accompanied by new shapes of red and plain ware (especially diagnostic are carinated bowls with upright shoulders), which all clearly postdate the Troy V repertoire. A second reason for using this horizon is the fact that it is typologically quite well understood and can be dated to around 1600 or 1700 BC (depending on the absolute chronology used), using the better dated sequences at Troy and Liman Tepe.¹⁷ In contrast, we have

¹⁷ Pavúk 2014; Günel 1999b.

almost no idea what happens archaeologically in inland Western Anatolia later on, after ca. 1450 BC. This reasoning is further corroborated by the fact that material culture in Central Anatolia shows no obvious break around 1450 BC, the traditional beginning of the LBA, but rather a century or two earlier.¹⁸

Second Millennium Settlements: The State of Art

I have tried to collect most of the known sites dating to around the middle of the 2nd mill. as shown on the map here (Fig. 2). The identified copper mines exploited already in prehistory are also included.¹⁹ Likewise, plotted are drillings of lake sediments of relevance for our discussion.²⁰ At some point, I stopped collecting further sites as I found out that my Trojan colleague, Ralf Becks, has a project specially designed for this purpose, and there was no point in doing the work twice.²¹ Nevertheless, by then I had collected enough sites to have some representative results, presented already in April 2008 at the so-called *Verbandstagung* in Mannheim, on which I would like to further elaborate here.²²

Due to problems with chronology and periodisation (described above), I did not attempt to produce separate maps for the individual stages, such as the proposed MBA 1, MBA 2, LBA 1, or LBA 2. I have rather targeted the single period I knew the best and that is LBA 1 in my terminology. One would have to go and take almost every single sherd in hand in order to fine-tune the usually rather general dates given in the preliminary reports. Lastly, there is also the problem of our lack of knowledge concerning the definition of local wares and shapes for the inland West Anatolian LBA 2.

Given the sketchy character of the finds (described below), I was likewise aware of quite palpable limits of any spatial analysis resulting from such a collection of sites. There seemed to be more limitations than possibilities. Some regions (valleys) are better surveyed but others are not, and we are certainly missing many sites with a potential central function. One could at most take a single, better surveyed and, understood region and make a more detailed analysis there. Another aspect, which I have completely “ignored” (admittedly, mainly due time reasons), is the size of the settlement and any conclusion one might draw from such information.

18 Schoop 2011, 242 n. 2; Mielke 2006, fig. 6; Schachner 2009.

19 Begemann et al. 2003, fig. 8.

20 Eastwood et al. 1998, fig. 1.

21 See Becks, in this volume. It was a happy coincidence that without any coordination our two papers overlapped only slightly and complement each other quite well.

22 Being still preliminary, I decided not to submit the paper to print then, but the proceedings of the conference itself have already appeared as Horejs and Kienlin 2010.

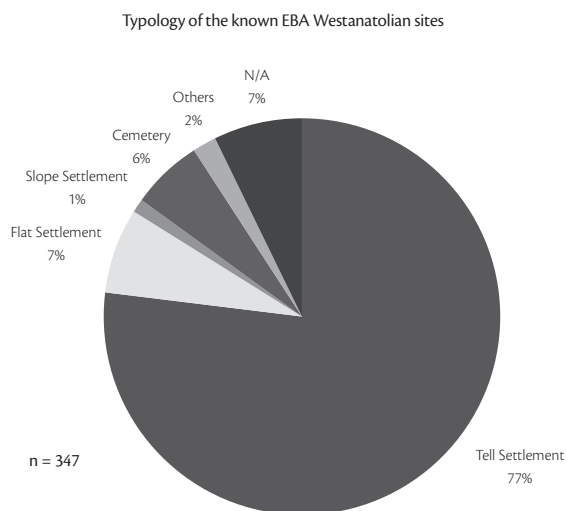


FIG. 3 Typology of the known EBA West Anatolian sites (based upon Harmankaya and Erdoğan 2002).

Since many of the sites are tells settled more or less continuously ever since the EBA, we do not know whether the observable size of the tell is one gained already at some point during the EBA, or whether it is attained only during the 2nd mill. In other words: the size of a tell does not necessary tell us anything about the size of the settled space in the LBA.

Having mentioned continuous occupation on many of the tells, this is one of the aspects which one can and should investigate further in the future: Which of the tells show continuity; which show settlement breaks; which of the tells start only at some point in time; which of the tells get abandoned at some other point? This type of analysis is possible even at the current state of research and is being proposed here for future research.

Before proceeding any further, we should dwell briefly upon two aspects: 1. the character of the known settlements; and 2. the geomorphological changes. There are no statistics for the 2nd mill., but extrapolating from the EBA data collected by the TAY-Project,²³ it is possible to say that the overwhelming majority of the known sites can be classified as tell-settlements (FIG. 3). This may indeed be the case, but I rather suspect that it instead reflects the extensive collection strategies of the conducted surveys, whose low resolution would simply not recognise flat, short-termed settlements or hill-top refuges. The second aspect concerns post-glacial geomorphological changes. Strong alluvial sedimentation on the western coast has long been acknowledged and is well researched. Less understood, on the

23 Harmankaya and Erdoğan 2002, available also online under <http://www.tayproject.org>. See also Beck, in this volume.

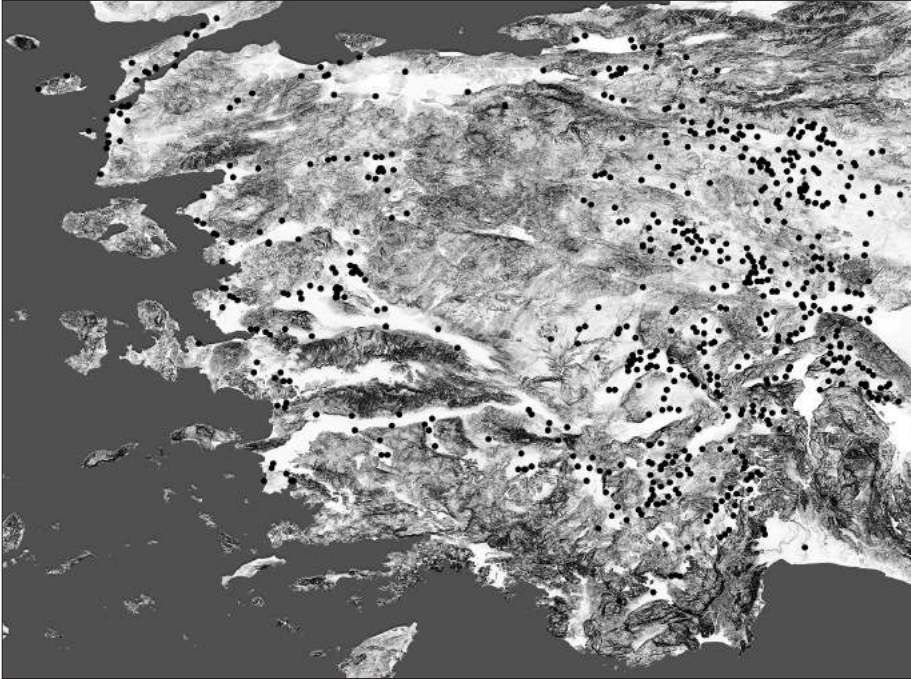


FIG. 4 West Anatolian sites superimposed on a GIS-generated map reflecting slope degree, rather than simple elevation. Darker colour indicates steeper slope.

contrary, is the region south of the Marmara Sea, where the alluvial processes did not necessary change the coastline, but certainly led to an intense loss of inland sites from both the Prehistoric and Classical periods.²⁴

There is, however, one more region lacking in occupation, but it certainly cannot be explained by alluvial changes: the hilly area south of Bursa and east of the Balıkesir basin. At first, I thought this to be due to insufficient research but it seems now that this is not the case. Looking at the site distribution map, the same gap occurs also in the EBA and, for that matter, also in the Neolithic and in the EIA.²⁵ Turan Efe also considers this area as unsettled in the EBA.²⁶ Using GIS I tried to see how the known settlements align with the slope degree, and indeed there was a nice negative correlation (Fig. 4).²⁷ Equally, comparison with a simple

24 Rapp and Kraft 1994, fig. 4.1; Rose et al. 2007, 104–5.

25 See the respective TAY vols. 2 and 6.

26 Efe 2006, fig. 1; Efe and Ay Efe 2007, fig. 1-3. See also comments in Seeher (2005, 40-2).

27 I would like to thank my colleagues, Peter Jablonbka and Peter Demján, for their help with GIS applications.

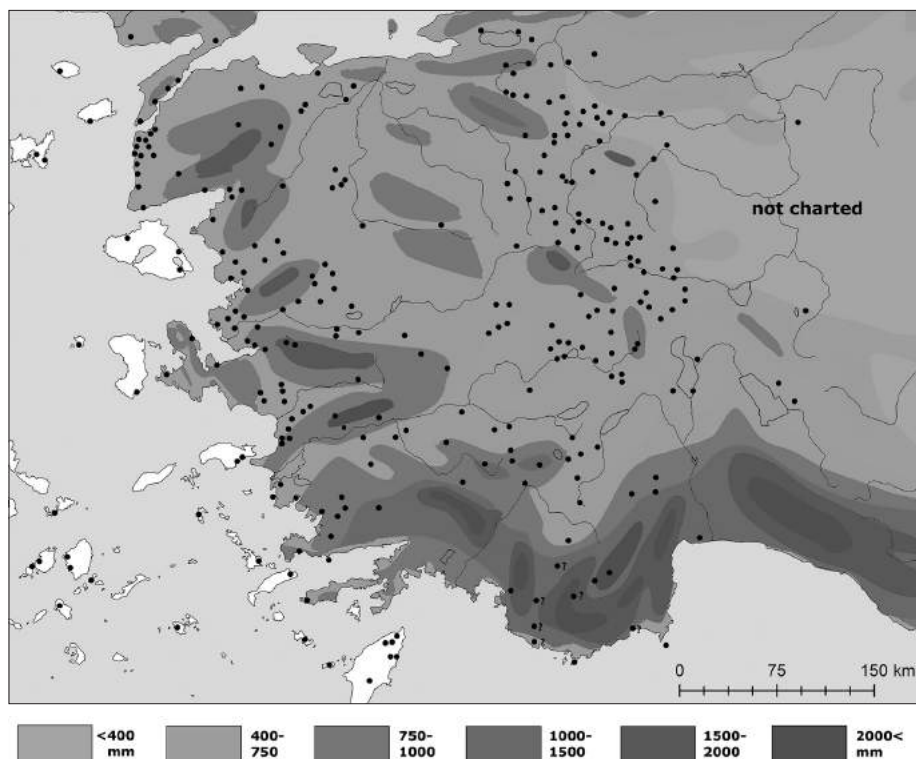


FIG. 5. West Anatolian sites superimposed on a map showing annual precipitations (redrawn from *Altın İlköğretim Orta Atlas*, 2002).

map²⁸ of annual precipitation showed that it is mainly the areas with rich rain-falls that tend to be less occupied (FIG. 5). Nevertheless, this area might have been inhabited at least seasonally by pastoral communities, which would have left few archaeologically recognisable remains.

Discussion of this settlement gap brings us also to the question of overland communication routes between the coastal areas and the Central Anatolian plateau (FIG. 6). There are not that many! We can gain some insight through the routes taken by Roman roads,²⁹ but even those are sparse in this case. Nicholas Bayne has provided a good summary of this issue:³⁰ One prehistoric route of communication certainly went south of the Marmara Sea, going through the

28 Taken for time reasons from a school atlas (*Altın İlköğretim Orta Atlas*, İstanbul 2002).

29 French 1988.

30 Bayne 1963 (2000), 4. See also French 1998, esp. fig. 8.

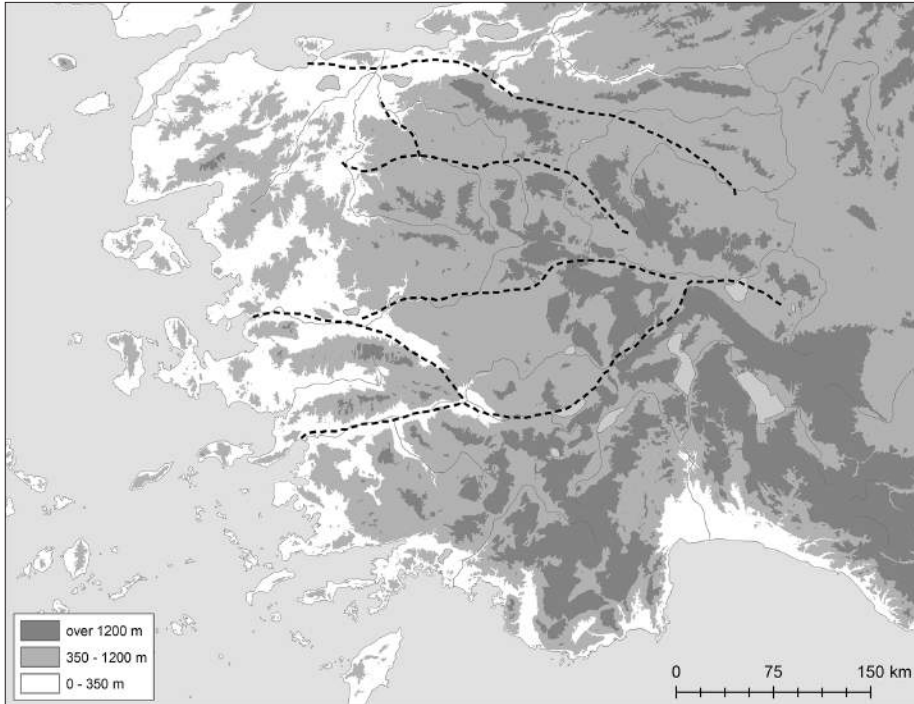


FIG. 6 Possible communication routes between Western Anatolia and Central Anatolian Plateau.

İnegöl–Region, ascending up through the Bilecik pass, passing by Demircihüyük, and finally reaching the Plateau around modern–day Eskişehir. This was also the Persian Royal Road. There is then a railway leading from Balıkesir to Kütahya, but its present route would have been too treacherous in pre–modern times. This leaves us with the next possibility of a communication route as far south as the rivers Hermos and Meander, where the Alaşehir pass connects the two valleys before joining with a road up the Meander Valley, through the lakes, and again to the plateau. This was, for example, the road taken by Xerxes when he marched against Greeks, and very likely also by Mursili I when he raided Western Anatolia, and/or Mursili II when he destroyed Millawanda. David Hawkins kindly pointed out to me that there might have been also a direct route from the Hermos valley, using one of the more northerly passes around the modern–day Uşak and leading then towards modern Afyon.³¹

31 Discussion after my paper during the conference.

Cultural Zones and Ceramic Groups

Having specified what we have and what we do not have, let us now move on to the question of cultural zones and ceramic groups. Claudia Glatz has recently published a very stimulating paper on Central Anatolia, which stressed quite well that the sphere of direct Hittite influence westwards ends at the border of the Central Anatolian plateau.³² She has likewise postulated some kind of gap west of the plateau, and designates Western Anatolia as a possible “vener of political control (?) (sic.)” Let us now have a closer look at what really happens west of the plateau (Fig. 7).

Inner Western Anatolia

West of the plateau comes first a rather rugged landscape, still at relatively high altitudes, but with broad valleys facilitating good settlement conditions.³³ The zone runs north–south, from the İznik Lake down to the Lake District, and comprises three major pottery groups. Important sites of the central group (central purely in geographical sense) are the long known but unexcavated tell–settlements of Tavşanlı and Köprüören,³⁴ the published survey material from Bahçehisar,³⁵ or the only excavated and published site of Demircihüyük and its cemetery at Sariket.³⁶ A very promising new site is Seyitömer Höyük, north of Kütahya, currently being excavated by Dumlupınar University Kütahya in the course of total rescue excavations due to coal mining operations.³⁷

It is hard to sketch any brief definition of this group, as it remains largely unpublished and Demircihüyük does not cover the whole sequence. Possibly, it does not even fully represent the area, due to its rather lateral position, almost on the border of the plateau. From the chronological point of view (using the evidence from sites other than Demircihüyük), the end of the EBA and the transition to the MBA, called *Übergangsperiode* by T. Efe (following W. Orthmann), seems to be quite well known.³⁸ Rather, the problem is that what has been termed MBA at Demircihüyük is very likely only the end of it, and the site represents mostly LBA 1 instead (in my opinion). The question therefore emerges, what is then the proper (earlier) MBA in

32 Glatz 2009, esp. fig. 10.

33 One of the westernmost known sites, still on the plateau, is the currently excavated and studied site of Küllüoba, which is clearly already outside this zone.

34 Mellaart 1960, 150–1. Note however, that many of the other therein expressed opinions are largely outdated by now!

35 Efe 1994.

36 Kull 1988; Seeher 2000.

37 Bilgen 2008. For annual preliminary reports see the *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*.

38 Orthmann 1963a, 9–10 Pl. 99; 1963b, 47–51. The local finds are mostly unpublished but see Efe and Türkteki (2005) for similar finds from the nearby Küllüoba. A major contribution to our knowledge will also be Sari 2011, once published.

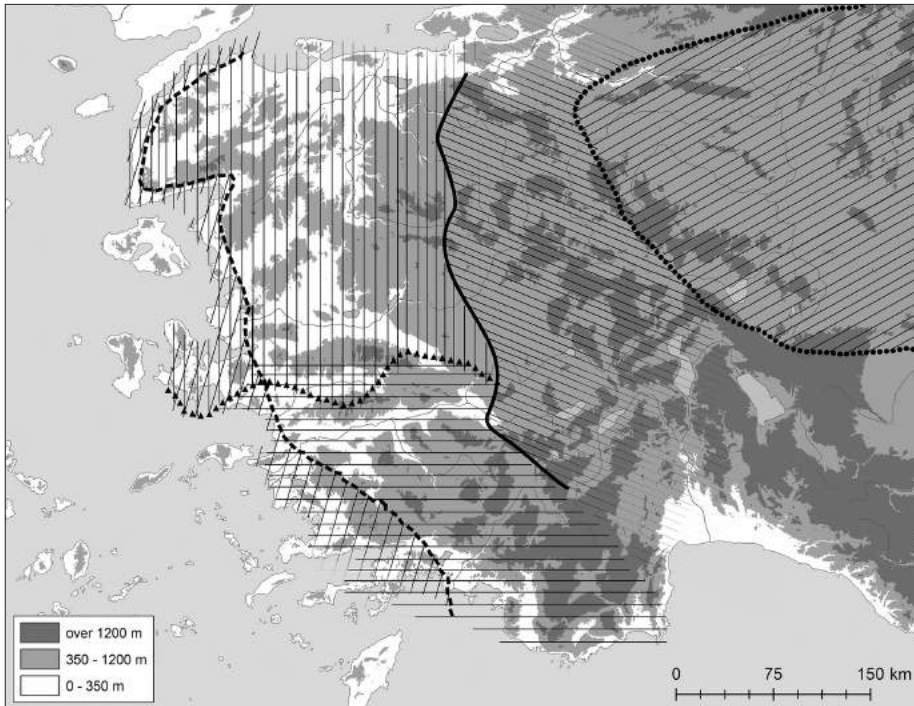


FIG. 7 Approximate delimitations of cultural zones in Western Anatolia: Central Anatolia, Inland Western Anatolia, North-Western Anatolia, and South-Western Anatolia, with the Kaystros Valley assuming a transitional position between the latter two. The coastal zone sets itself apart as yet another sub-zone.

this area? I do not claim to have a straightforward answer to this, but I would rather suggest to move some of Efe's *Übergangsperiode* (as defined by him for the Inner Western Anatolia) into the early 2nd mill. and complement it by surface finds from Bahçehisar,³⁹ which seem to me to be typologically somewhere between the *Übergangsperiode* and the Demircihüyük material. Almost unknown, on the contrary, is the local LBA 2, which must have run largely parallel to the Hittite Empire Period, flourishing literally next door. It is possibly no coincidence that C. Glatz postulates a decrease of LBA sites in this area, as opposed to their numbers in the MBA.⁴⁰ In terms of local ceramic production, there seems to be a lot of continuity and a relatively high degree of conservatism, with slow gradual changes. Typical seems to be at first mainly handmade pottery, with a specific type of radial pattern–burnishing,

39 Efe 1994, fig. 9–26.

40 Glatz 2009, 132 fig. 5.

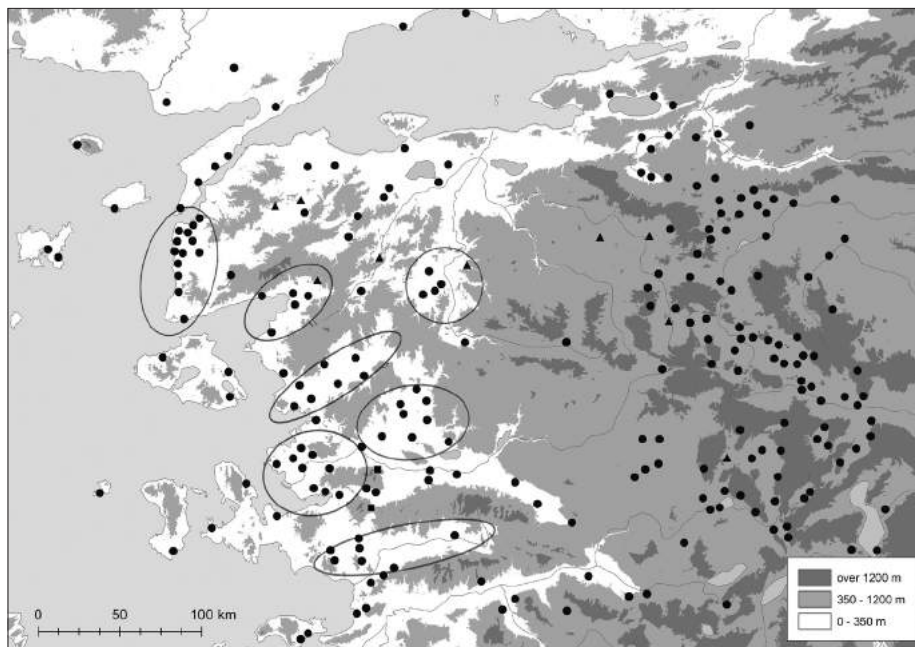


Fig. 8 Settlement chambers in North-Western Anatolia.

giving a metallic look to the vessels. In the LBA the burnishing seems to be waning, in favour of plain or wash types of pottery, which by now seem to be, if not completely wheel-made, then certainly at least partly wheel-produced/finished.⁴¹

Loosely affiliated, but belonging already to a different ceramic group, is the area northwards, at lower altitudes, around the İznik Lake. It is best known in the MBA through the so-called İnegöl Grey Ware. The later (LBA) development of the local pottery styles is so far unclear/unknown, but seems to be dominated by continued use of pattern-burnishing on grey and orange wares. Recorded are radial motives, cross-hatching, but also irregular zig-zag lines.⁴² Going in the other direction, southwards, would bring us to the third ceramic group, occupied by known sites such as Beycesultan and Kusura.⁴³ This group shows links to the north, but belongs already to a larger group of SW Anatolian “cultures”, and as one of the few also shows direct influences from Central Anatolia (in LB 2). It will be thus discussed below, with South-Western (SW) Anatolia.

41 Kull 1988, 104–9. For the introduction of the potter’s wheel and its cultural importance in general see the most recent research of Murat Türkteki (2010).

42 French 1967, 61–4; Özdoğan 1993; Pavlović 1993.

43 Lloyd and Mellaart 1962; 1965; Lamb 1937.

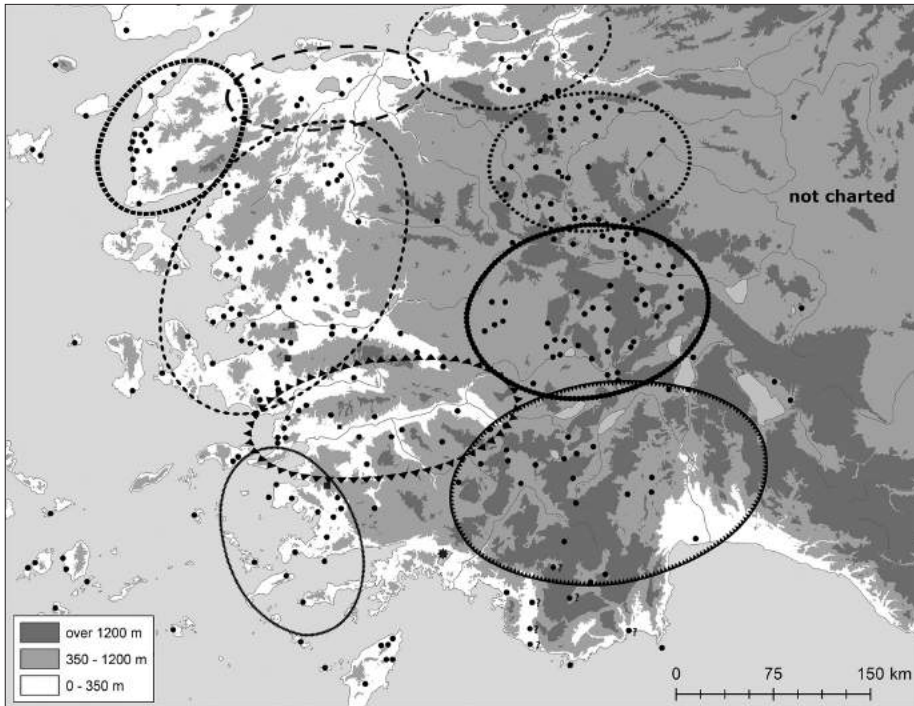


FIG. 9 Approximate borders of the West Anatolian ceramic groups.

North-Western Anatolia

Crossing the above postulated gap westwards, we encounter a different kind of landscape, defined mainly through deep river valleys running east–west and thus facilitating communication between the inland and the coast, flanked by numerous sites. However, such valleys, complemented by a few basins, are separated from each other by numerous elongated mountain ranges, some of which reach considerable heights. Such natural conditions led to the emergence of what one might call *Siedlungskammern* (settlement chambers),⁴⁴ which seem to have maintained contacts with each other, but at the same time witnessed also a certain degree of isolation (FIG. 8). As a result, many of the coastal innovations did not penetrate further inland, and it seems that a certain degree of isolation was in fact wished for by the inlanders. More on this aspect below.

This Western Anatolia proper, as I am inclined to term it, further subdivides into two major zones: a northern one and a southern one, with an overlap in the

44 Noticed also by Schachner in his Postscript to Bayne (1963 [2000], 306), referring to findings of Özdoğan 1993, 157–60.

Kaystros river valley. The most diagnostic pottery of the northern part, commonly called also North–Western (NW) Anatolia, is Anatolian Grey Ware, along with other wheel–made reddish and beige wares, either burnished or plain.⁴⁵ Looking at the inland finds, these show likewise a surprising conservatism and not much typological development. We have some idea about the MBA (represented mainly by Troy V–type pottery); we have a very good idea of the LB 1 proposed here; but, almost no idea about the LB 2. The latter, I think, is just a matter of definition and the result of a lack of good contexts. With all the information about Assuwa and the Seha River Land from the Hittite documents, dating to 14th–13th centuries,⁴⁶ it is impossible that inland NW Anatolia was not settled in this period. In any case, for LB 1, two major ceramic groups are recognisable: one in the Troad, stretching possibly also to the southern Marmara region,⁴⁷ and one between Edremit bay and the Izmir region.⁴⁸ They are related but also show slight differences, both in terms of wares and shapes. A sub–group on its own seems to exist in the Balıkesir basin (Fig. 9).

To make things worse, the coastal zone seems to show completely different dynamics. On one hand, it is clearly part of the NW Anatolian ceramic province, with rich occurrence of Anatolian Grey Ware; on the other, it shows influences from the Aegean, as early as MH III but especially in the LH IIIA period. Maybe because of the larger stimuli from the more easily accessible Aegean Sea, the coastal regions show a more dynamic development, visible especially in changing pottery shapes. One of the other specifics of the coastal zone is a higher occurrence of the Mycenaean pottery.⁴⁹ It is thus important to remember that while Troy can very well serve as a general yardstick for cultural developments in parts of NW Anatolia, one cannot expect all of its elements to appear also further inland. In fact, many of them appear only on the coast. The same applies also for Panaztepe, Liman Tepe, and Çeşme–Bağlararası.

45 Bayne 1963 (2000); French 1969; 1973; Schachner 1994/95; Pavúk 2002a; 2002b; 2007a; 2010.

46 See for example Hawkins 1998, as well as Hawkins in this volume.

47 Edincik–Bardağçitepe, situated in the centre of the Southern Marmara coast, shows signs of both the Troad group and the Iznik Group, so the border of the two groups run possibly somewhere here. Özdoğan 1993, 157 Fig. 1: 9–10, 2: 11, 12, 14. Important contribution will be full publication of the M. Özdoğan’s survey (Schachner, forthcoming).

48 Important new information is likely to emerge from the ongoing surveys in the Sardis area, especially the site of Kaymakçı. For preliminary reports see Roosevelt and Luke 2010, 7–8 map. 1 Fig. 11–12; Roosevelt 2011, 56–57 Fig. 1–3.

49 Mee 1978 is no longer up to date, but still a useful summary.

Interface

In 1998, Penelope Mountjoy defined the concept of the Upper and Lower Interface.⁵⁰ The Lower Interface consists of Rhodes, the SW Anatolian coast, and the Dodecanese Islands. Not only was Mycenaean material culture more present in this area, but it was also preceded by some kind of Minoan influence as early as the MBA, culminating in the LM I Period. The Upper Interface extended all the way up to Troy and was a more loosely defined area both geographically and culturally, unified mostly by the sparse occurrence of Mycenaean finds. Interestingly, this division applies not only to Mycenaean pottery but also to other aspects of local cultures,⁵¹ and there was definitely a cultural border somewhere between Ephesos and Miletos.⁵² From a chronological standpoint, there are three major periods visible on the coast: LH I and II (corresponding to the above-proposed West Anatolian LB 1), LH IIIA and B (corresponding to West Anatolian LB 2), and finally LH IIIC, which in Western Anatolia can be seen either as LB 3 or possibly as the EIA.

Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier has dealt with similar issues, and the main difference between the two approaches is how the Mycenaean material is interpreted.⁵³ Whereas Mountjoy spoke only about systematic acculturation, Niemeier was keener to see signs of colonisation, especially in the case of Miletos. Whereas, for the Lower Interface, several scenarios are imaginable, partly changing over the centuries, the Upper Interface, in my opinion, allows only for general Mycenaean influence, free of any colonisation concepts. Similar issues, and especially the concept of hybridity, are discussed elsewhere in this volume, in relation to the *littoral islands*, which constitute a loose ceramic group on their own.⁵⁴

South-Western Anatolia

Moving to SW Anatolia one has to stress that, compared to NW Anatolia, the area functioned in quite a different way geographically. Whereas communication routes in the north always ran east-west along the deep river valleys, the Meander

50 Mountjoy 1998.

51 The Upper Interface is, for example, almost identical with the distribution of Anatolian Grey Ware on the West Anatolian coast.

52 Ephesos is a problematic spot. Several small contexts have been published over the years, especially from the Ayasuluk Hill (most recent summary in Büyükkolancı 2007), but we still lack a proper sequence and knowledge of how they all relate to each other. We need more finds and more contextual information to be able to assign Ephesos to a proper cultural framework. For brief remarks on local and imported LBA pottery see Kerschner (2006, 367–8 Fig. 5–7). Further useful observations can be found in Horejs (2008, 119–24).

53 Niemeier 2005, 2007a, and 2009 are good and most recent summaries of his opinions.

54 Girella and Pavúk, in this volume.

valley is the last of these links. Farther south, the coast becomes isolated from the hinterland by a continuous mountain range starting with Mount Latmos, and any communication within the hinterland follows the southern tributaries of the Meander, which ran north–south.⁵⁵ Only a few sites in the hinterland show signs of coastal influence and even these, such as Stratonikeia or Çine–Tepecik, seem to date very late in the 2nd mill.⁵⁶ It seems, therefore, that the coastal area of SW Anatolia developed its own material culture characterised by pinkish fabrics, often with whitish wash, imitating first Minoan and, later, Mycenaean shapes.⁵⁷ This ware exists not only on the coast but also penetrates farther inland along the river Meander. It has been reported as far away as Kavaklı Kahve on the middle Meander, and seems to have been exported also to Bademgediği Tepe in the Kaystros valley.⁵⁸ It would be useful to compare the shapes of this “Milesian” ware on the coast with those found farther inland. One would also need chemical analyses to tell how much of it is imported or produced locally.

The situation changes as we go farther east. The next excavated and published site, Aphrodisias,⁵⁹ belongs already to a different ceramic group, standing possibly for much of central Meander valley as well. However, more research needs to be done to find out to what extent 2nd mill. Aphrodisias also represents all of the other southern tributaries of the Meander, or whether each of them shows some specifics. Çine–Tepecik aside,⁶⁰ there seems to be another major site also at Medet, known however from surveys only.⁶¹ In chronological terms, Joukovsky’s MBA seems to correspond to our MBA 2 and possibly also some of our LBA 1.⁶² Rather problematic

55 Marchese 1986; Günel 2006;

56 Günel 2010; Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1968; Birmingham 1964, 30–1. See also Mountjoy, in this volume. See also Carstens 2008 for the LBA cemeteries in general.

57 Miletos: Kaiser 2005; 2009; Zurbach 2011; Kaiser and Zurbach, in this volume; Techiussa: Voigtlander 1986, 622 fig. 22–4, well illustrated esp. in Voigtlander 2004, pl. 67:3; Iasos: Momigliano 2009, 130–1 fig. 17–8. I would like to thank Ivonne Kaiser and Julien Zurbach for the numerous discussions of related matters we have had over the years.

58 Mellaart in Lloyd and Mellaart 1965, 76–7; Meriç 2003, 89; Meriç, in this volume.

59 Kadish 1971; Marchese 1976; Joukovsky 1986.

60 Günel 2010.

61 Marchese 1986, 77.

62 Likely, MBA is also one of the uppermost deposits in Pekmez trench 2, Level IVa, dated by Joukovsky still to her BA4 (=EBA 3): Joukovsky (1986, 74, 175, Tab. 5, as well as p. 572 fig. 412). This was interestingly recognised already by Kadish (1971, 123, Ill. 1), who published the original trench report. See especially the bead–rim bowl on her fig. 1 (illustrated also in Joukovsky 1986, 572 fig. 412: 5), as well as the footed vessel in fig. 2 (bottom right) on pl. 25 (not illustrated in Joukovsky 1986).

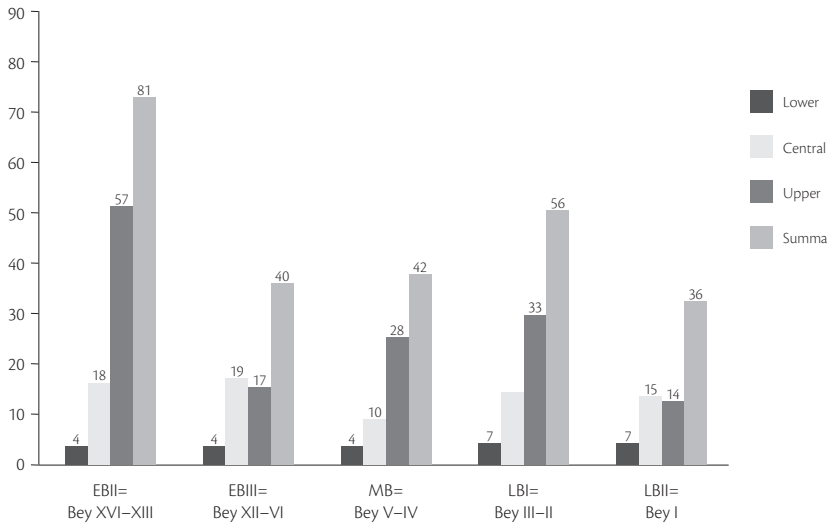


FIG. 10 Known sites in the Lower, Central, and Upper Meander Valley during the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE (based upon Akdeniz 2002, 5-6).

is the relative date of her LBA levels at Aphrodisias, which supposedly followed a settlement gap of several hundred years.⁶³ The striking similarity between the motifs of the local LBA painted pottery and its shapes, especially the teapots,⁶⁴ and those of the South-East Aegean LOD and DOL pottery in the Dodekanese and the SW Anatolian coast,⁶⁵ makes one wonder, if these are really separated by a couple hundred years, as the current state of research would suggest: the former dating according to Joukowsky to ca. the 13th c., and the latter to the 17th-16th c. BC.

Finally, we land at Beycesultan again, which lies even farther inland and represents a related yet distinct group.⁶⁶ It is possibly due to its strategic position in the upper Meander valley, but Beycesultan (or this ceramic group in general) seems to be radiating and accepting influences to and from all possible directions. Strong Beycesultan-type influences are visible in the Kaystros valley,⁶⁷ but were postulated also as far north as Demircihüyük (and are likewise visible in the as yet

63 Joukowsky 1986, 174-6 Tab. 6, Tab. 139.

64 Joukowsky 1986, 682-96 fig. 487-90 *passim*. For further interesting observations see also Marchese (1978), who however calls them Mycenaean influenced, which they are most likely not.

65 Momigliano 2007; Vitale 2006.

66 Lloyd and Mellaart 1965; Mellaart and Murray 1995. See esp. Map 3 in Mellaart and Murray 1995.

67 Meriç 2003, 88-90.

unpublished Seyitömer finds). İnegöl Grey Ware imports/influences were in turn postulated for Beycesultan itself.⁶⁸ It seems, thus, that there was regular contact between the areas on the outer borders of the later Hittite sphere, communicating through the already-mentioned broad valleys, many of which have a north-south orientation. But Beycesultan seems to have had contacts also with Central Anatolia, as it shows true Central Anatolian shapes and techniques during our LBA 2. These are likely to be connected to some Hittite influence, but pottery in local tradition makes up 80 percent, and the interpretation cannot be as straightforward as some would wish.⁶⁹

Speaking of the Central and Upper Meander valley (referred to further as MV), one has to dwell briefly on the statistics published by E. Akdeniz, who tried to collect all known prehistoric sites in the Meander valley, working mostly with survey finds by D. French, J. Mellaart, Ş. Tül, and himself.⁷⁰ The 129 sites were divided both chronologically and geographically, and it came out that the Lower MV yielded systematically fewer sites than the other two parts (only 13 all together), which however is likely due to the heavy alluvial changes of the landscape. The numbers for the Middle and Upper MV seem to be more realistic and amount to 40 and 76, respectively, showing that throughout prehistory the upper part of the valley was the most densely settled (FIG. 10). The chronological subdivisions are not explained, but Akdeniz very likely followed the traditional chronology of J. Mellaart.⁷¹ The best represented period is his EB II, with Upper MV showing three times more sites than the Central MV. The EB III sees a sudden drop in the number of Upper MV sites, equalling now those of the Central MV, which remained largely unchanged. The 2nd mill. then sees only a slight rise in the number of sites for the Lower and Central MV, but again relatively high numbers for the Upper MV, peaking around the period of Beycesultan III and II, but declining again at the end of the millennium.⁷² I think that these changes in the number of sites in the Central and Upper MV throughout time are not just the result of varying survey intensity in these regions, but, in fact, they seem to reflect something deeper, very likely

68 Kull 1988, 131–2; Mellaart in Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, 258 fig. P68:2. I would like to thank Prof. Nejat Bilgen for allowing me to see the Seyitömer material and to Prof. Efe for discussing it with me.

69 For a new summary of evidence see again Glatz (2009, 130–1 Fig. 3).

70 Akdeniz 2002, with further references. His data was unfortunately misquoted in Thompson (2007, 91–2 tab. 2, fig. 2) and it is thus necessary to discuss them here again.

71 EB II = Beycesultan XVI–XIII, EB III = Beycesultan XII–VI, MB = Beycesultan V–IV, LB I = Beycesultan III–II, LB II = Beycesultan I.

72 Akdeniz 2002, 5–6 fig. 1–2. Note, that his LB I was omitted from the graphics and that the column for LBA in his fig. 2 corresponds to LB II only.

different settlement strategies. These, in turn, may be related to slightly differing natural conditions in the Upper MV, as opposed to the Central and Lower MV, but it is also possible that it is not a complete coincidence, and that the Lower, Central, and Upper MV belong to three different pottery groups, respectively.

The last region to be mentioned here, and possibly yet another ceramic group, is a surprisingly well-settled hilly area around and south of the lakes, known however, again almost exclusively from surveys.⁷³ This one also shows quite strong typological links with the Beycesultan type of pottery.⁷⁴ Its southern coast is almost unsettled, an observation repeatedly pointed out by J. Mellaart, but that might be the result of the existence of very deep valleys with steep slopes and very likely extremely strong denudation.⁷⁵ Be it as it may, one should bear in mind the interesting results of the palynological research conducted using sediments from several of the SW Anatolian lakes, which suggest that this part of Western Anatolia underwent not long before the Thera eruption an opening of the landscape, indicated by a sudden increase of plants of the *Artemisia* genus in pollen diagrams, plants usually taken as indicators of un-wooded landscape. Even bigger changes occurred later on, with the introduction of several cultivated plants. The dating of this latter phenomenon is insecure so far but would point to a date around 1200 BC or slightly earlier, and one speaks of a Beyşehir occupation phase.⁷⁶ Equally interesting drilling in the Köyceğiz Lake (southern Caria) shows the occurrence of cultivated plants already around 1600 BC, despite an almost total absence of any settlements anywhere nearby. This would be another argument against the original theory of Mellaart that the southern coast is totally unsettled in the 2nd mill.⁷⁷

Correlation with the Political Geography

Having mentioned the existence of ceramic groups, let us take a closer look at their distribution. Interestingly, the identified copper mines are usually located on the borders of these groups, and we can only guess as to who was controlling them, and how. In chronological terms, these groups fall under what I term West Anatolian LB 1, but seem to have had a longer duration, and some of them are even traceable into the EBA!⁷⁸ The fact that there is possibly more behind these pottery

73 Discussed in more detail by N. Momigliano and B. Aksoy in this volume.

74 Bademağacı Höyük: Umurtak 2003.

75 Mellink 1995.

76 Eastwood et al. 1998; Eastwood et al. 1999.

77 Mellaart 1968, 187 Map. 1.

78 Kılıç, 2008; Efe and Ay Efe 2007, fig. 1–3; Basedow 2002.

groups than just the pottery itself is further revealed when we look at the most recent reconstructions of West Anatolian political geography by David Hawkins and Frank Starke, based on largely Hittite sources.⁷⁹ These two reconstructions differ in certain details but agree on many others, and the long-lasting discussion concerning the southern or northern location of Millawanda and other related sites seems to be finally settled.⁸⁰ Hawkins and Starke both place Wilusa somewhere in the far northwest, which would fit with our Troad group. The group between Edremit and Izmir could go roughly with the Seha-River Land, and the mixed character of the Kaystros valley, including the Meander valley, would possibly go well with Mira or Arzawa Proper. This last group, however, needs further elaboration.⁸¹ Moving to the east, the İznik Group fits surprisingly well in the reconstructed area of Masa; the Tavşanlı Group fits Haballa; and the Beycesultan Group fits Walma. The coastal SW Anatolia group is unclear, but would possibly fit some kingdom including the Dodekanese islands, which some have suggested to be at least partially identified with Ahhiyawa.⁸² Finally, the inland group south of the lakes would very well fit with Lukka Land.

Now, is this a coincidence? Possibly not, but the argument certainly needs further elaboration. It is important to stress that whereas both experts of the Hittite geography undoubtedly had a general knowledge of the West Anatolian archaeological landscape, neither of them had available for use the detailed information concerning possible ceramic groupings we have now. So, from that point of view, the overlap of the pottery groups with the reconstructed political geography in Western Anatolia is not caused by their intentional placement of countries where one would have expected differing archaeological cultures. Thus, if we play with the idea that it is NOT a coincidence, one will have to ask many questions concerning the identity of the users and producers of our pottery groups and how this may relate to the emergence of any early states or chiefdoms in Western Anatolia. This is even more of interest, since it is becoming increasingly clear that there is also a large degree of regional continuity from the EBA, and it is thus legitimate to wonder about some deeper roots behind the country names, which resurface in Hittite documents only in the 14th–13th centuries BC.

79 Hawkins 1998; Starke 2001, fig. 41. See also Hawkins, in this volume.

80 Jewell (1974, 353–81 maps 20–31) is a good summary of the various earlier attempts.

81 See also similar but slightly different cultural borders suggested for this region in Schachner and Meriç (2000, 96–7 fig. 4).

82 Personally, I am not sure about such identification, but it should still be mentioned here. For further related references, see discussion in Mountjoy 1998 and Hope Simpson 2003.

Conclusions

To sum up, we have a number of cultural groups which, at the moment, are identifiable only by their material culture, largely pottery. But in principle, there are three vertical zones: The islands, Western Anatolia proper (including the coast), and inner Western Anatolia. It is all of these that will have to be taken into account when trying to define how “Hittite” or “Mycenaean” Troy, or any other site in this area, was. The short answer is that they are neither Hittite nor Mycenaean, but simply West Anatolian. One could even see them as some type of buffer zone between the two. The identified settlement gap south of Bursa, in fact, further supports this notion. Therefore, one has to be careful about maps of the Hittite empire in the 13th c., such as the ones published by F. Starke, which show the Hittite empire reaching all the way west, including Troy (Wilusa).⁸³ This may indeed reflect the 13th c. political reality, but certainly not the cultural one!

What this means in ethnic terms is beyond my current expertise, but we have to expect a lot of curiosity, emulation, and experimentation on the border of these worlds – a mode of interaction which fits well with Mountjoy’s concept of the Interface, with all of its positives and negatives. In order not to re-invent the wheel, I prefer to quote from a recent article on ethnicity in Western Anatolia by Naoise Mac Sweeney, who has, in my opinion, got it just right:⁸⁴

Archaeology has rehabilitated the concept of ethnicity over the last decade, embracing a theoretically sensitive model of it as both socially constructed and socially constructing, as flexible, embodied and hybridised. The success of this model has been such that group identities are often assumed to be ethnic without investigation. Group identity, however, can relate to many types of perceived commonality and we must learn to look beyond ethnicity, viewing it as only one amongst many potentially salient social factors. [...] Neither peripheral nor ‘between’, neither Greek nor Near Eastern, Western Anatolia emerges as a region of independent communities and autonomous groups.

Postscript

An important addition to our knowledge of Western Anatolia has appeared since the submission of the present paper in 2011 and needs to be acknowledged here, especially since it independently arrived at similar conclusions:

83 Latacz and Starke 2006, fig. 2.

84 Mac Sweeney 2009, 101, 122.

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