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## EARLY ANATOLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH

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This paper examines the status of Anatolia before the period of the Assyrian trade colonies in the light of new excavations and discoveries. Kurt Bittel published the first general survey of the development of local early Anatolian cultures in 1945<sup>1</sup>. In an article dealing with the relations between the Royal Tombs at Alacahöyük, the focus of central Anatolian Early Bronze Age culture, and the Aegean, Machteld Mellink also raised some of the basic problems of Anatolian archaeology<sup>2</sup>. A. Goetze and J. Mellaart studied and discussed the geographical distribution of the various Anatolian cultures of the period c. 4000-2300-2000 B. C.<sup>3</sup> I have been working on some of the relevant problems since 1948<sup>4</sup>. Agreement has been reached on many important problems, but there also are points of difference. The differences do not affect the factual and descriptive side of the evidence; they are purely a matter of interpretation.

I want to emphasize that the results of recent discoveries in Anatolia are accessible to the general reader thanks to the systematic surveys published by M. Mellink<sup>5</sup> and F. Schachermeyr<sup>6</sup>. These interim reports provide information so long as the final publications are outstanding.

<sup>1</sup> Kurt Bittel, *Grundzüge der Vor-und Frühgeschichte Kleinasiens*, Tübingen, 1945, 2. erweiterte Auflage.

<sup>2</sup> Machteld J. Mellink, *The Royal Tombs at Alacahöyük and the Aegean World (The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman)*.

<sup>3</sup> James Mellaart, *Anatolia, C. 4000-2300 B. C. (The Cambridge Ancient History, revised edition of volumes I and II) 1962*, p. 3-50; Albrecht Goetze, *Kleinasien 1957*, p. 17-44.

<sup>4</sup> Tahsin Özgüç, *Die Bestattungsbräuche im vorgeschichtlichen Anatolien*, Ankara 1948.

<sup>5</sup> Machteld J. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor in AJA 59*, p. 231-259; 60, 369-394; 62, 91-104; 63, 73-85; 64, 57-69; 65, 37-52; 67, 173-190.

<sup>6</sup> Fritz Schachermeyr, *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. VI, 1953, p. 221 ff; X, 1957, p. 110 ff. and in *Archäologischer Anzeiger 1962*, p. 309 ff.

In this paper we shall pay special attention to the factual evidence gained by the new excavations. Our knowledge of Central and Northern Anatolia has been chiefly increased by the sites of Kültepe and Horoztepe. Kültepe has given us evidence for all the phases of the Early Bronze Age in Central Anatolia and for the transition to Middle Bronze. We now know that there is no problem of an Alişar III culture or building level; Alişar III does not represent an independent culture and period. The painted Alişar III ware is a class of pottery which gradually developed out of an earlier painted ware belonging to the plain of Kayseri. It was used side by side with monochrome and painted wheelmade wares and gradually diminished in quantity until the flourishing period of the Assyrian colonies. It is not yet possible to connect the so-called Alişar III ware with an ethnic group.

The excavations at Kültepe have made it clear that an important culture existed in this area during the last phase of the Early Bronze Age. In that period, Kültepe had close relations with Northern Syria and Cilicia; these connections even extended to Southern Mesopotamia. This period truly prepared the way for the Assyrian Colony Age. The Assyrians came to an area they knew and were familiar with. For the development of Central Anatolian art, the influence of these southern connections became of much importance. Kültepe has shed light on the question of the origin of Central Anatolian painted pottery, on the date of the alabaster idols, on the existence of temples of megaron type and above all on the monumental architecture of the Early Bronze Age.

Horoztepe, a site north of Tokat, has provided much needed parallels to Alacahöyük, in addition to demonstrating the wealth of the princes of that age, and the advanced level of metallurgy reached in the Northern districts<sup>7</sup>. The late Professor J. Lewy has drawn attention to references in Kültepe texts which mention the site of Niksar, connected with the city of Haburat, as a rich copper-working center of long standing. Horoztepe is very near Niksar<sup>8</sup>. The finds at Horoz-

<sup>7</sup> Tahsin Özgüç-Mahmut Akok, Horoztepe Kazıları-Excavations at Horoztepe, Ankara 1958.

<sup>8</sup> Julius Lewy, Some aspects of commercial life in Assyria and Asia Minor in the Nineteenth pre-Christian century (Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 78/2, 1958, p. 94).

tepe of the last quarter of the third millennium B. C. confirm Lewy's interpretation.

Bronze spearheads appear in Central and North Anatolia during this period. It is very interesting that these weapons show a close affinity to weapon types from the south, as do some types of axes<sup>9</sup>. The bronze spearhead, a very important weapon, developed considerably during the Assyrian Colony Period and even during the phases Karum III-IV and it consistently maintained its southern shapes<sup>10</sup>. Bronze arrowheads, apart from the arrowhead found at Alacahöyük<sup>11</sup>, also make their first appearance in the Colony Period<sup>12</sup>. A bronze battle axe found in Karum level II has its only parallel at Gözlükule<sup>13</sup>. The Anatolian repertoire of weapons stood under strong influence from the south. This influence can be traced from Kültepe to Alacahöyük, Alishar, Mahmatlar, Horoztepe as far as Düdartepe (Samsun).

In this paper I differ from some specialists in stating that the conflagrations which occur at the end of the Early Bronze Age cannot be due to the Hittites. In the Kayseri plain there are signs of violent burning in various levels belonging to the late and middle phases of the Early Bronze Age. The Hittites were a minority when they arrived in Anatolia and remained so for some time afterwards. Since the Central and North Anatolian princes were experienced in the use of all kinds of weapons and lived in rich and fortified cities<sup>14</sup>, they cannot have fallen victims to Hittite invaders who were of a lower level of civilization and small in numbers. The Hittites were too insignificant to be responsible for the simultaneous and ubiquitous destruction and burning of these cities. Also, the citadels, houses and ruins which were left

<sup>9</sup> D. B. Stronach, The development and diffusion of metal types in Early Bronze Age Anatolia (A. St. VII, 1957, p. 113 ff.); Horoztepe, p. 54, note 65; Tahsin Özgüç-Mahmut Akok, Horoztepe buluntuları-Objects from Horoztepe (Belleten 82, p. 216, 218); K. Bittel, Hethiter und Proto-Hattier (Historia I, 1950, p. 273).

<sup>10</sup> Tahsin Özgüç, Kültepe-Kaniş, Assur Ticaret Kolonilerinin merkezinde yapılan yeni araştırmalar (New researches at the center of the Assyrian trade colonies, Ankara 1959, p. 110).

<sup>11</sup> Hamit Koşay, Alacahöyük Kazısı-Les fouilles d'Alacahöyük, Ankara 1951, Pl. 167, Al. E. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Kültepe-Kaniş, p. 109.

<sup>13</sup> Hetty Goldman, Excavations at Gözlükule-Tarsus II, 1956, Pl. 425, 27; Belleten 73, p. 70 (Tahsin Özgüç).

<sup>14</sup> Hethiter und Proto-Hattier, p. 272.

in burnt condition have not produced a single object or weapon which would be characteristic of the barbaric Hittites or of their region of origin. Even if this may be due to chance, the differences we see in the following development of a Middle Bronze Age civilization are not those brought about by a foreign tribe, speaking a foreign language and immigrating from far away, burning and destroying everything on its way. On the contrary, we see changes due to a local development under the influence of the South. These changes in my opinion are not due to the Hittites. Basically, the Hittites, apart from their languages and some not too well understood customs, did not bring a civilization to Anatolia as an ethnic group. Their greatest achievement is to have adopted the local culture and to have assimilated it, making it function as their own culture and art, which in itself is a mark of considerable talent. There should be no doubt that my statement above has been written purely from the viewpoint of archaeology. But as was expressed orally by Professor Albrecht Goetze at a meeting of The American Oriental Society in 1963 in examining from this viewpoint the Hittite written documents of a later period, it ought to be possible to adduce certain cultural innovations which are foreign to Anatolia and, at the same time, specifically Hittite. Only thus will the solution of our problem be simplified. For example, the introduction into the discussion of this subject, not only of such an admittedly important parliamentary institution as the *Pankuş* of the Hittites but also of other such institutions or customs which surely exist in the texts, would be all the more helpful. Always bearing in mind the interval of time between the Assyrian Colony Period together with the period immediately following, on one hand, and the period in which the texts adduced were written, on the other, one must attempt to define which group or groups within and outside Anatolia during the relevant centuries will have been responsible for the introduction of each of these innovations.

In this paper I also refer to the excavations at Karaođlan near Ankara. What J. Mellaart wrote about Ahlatlıbel<sup>15</sup>, applies also to Karaođlan. In types of pottery and weapons the site is under the influence of West Anatolia (Pl. X, 2). The influence of the west is strong in the large towns of the Sakarya region. On the other hand,

<sup>15</sup> J. Mellaart, *Anatolia*, p. 38.

the village of Etiyokuşu does not show this influence much. Nonetheless, the technique and the inspiration of Central Anatolia prevails clearly in some outstanding pieces of pottery, in idols and stamp-seals. The stamp-seal is essentially a Central Anatolian creation, as the excavations at Çatalhöyük have confirmed<sup>16</sup>. It did not come in with the southern influence.

New information comes from the site of Yazırhöyük<sup>17</sup> near Sivrihisar, where Late Chalcolithic pottery was found. This helps to show the western diffusion of the Büyükgüllücek culture. So far we have no other investigation of the Chalcolithic period in the Sakarya district; this area deserves further work on the early periods.

Beycesultan, in the upper Menderes valley, represents a corner stone in Anatolian archaeology<sup>18</sup>. It is a West Anatolian city of strong local characteristics. The burnt palace of level V is unique in Anatolia both in its chronological position and in its architecture<sup>19</sup>. Its Cretan connections will be better understood after the final publication. The megara at Beycesultan are among the most important architectural discoveries. This type of building was known during long periods; its connections with Central Anatolia will now be clarified.

The recent great discoveries of J. Mellaart at Hacilar<sup>20</sup> and Çatalhöyük<sup>21</sup> are among the most important not only in Anatolia but also in the Near East. In these two sites two previously unexpected cultures were discovered. An Early Chalcolithic culture characterized by fortified towns, and an Early Neolithic type of town built in units consisting of several houses, are discoveries which have changed our ideas concerning the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures of Anatolia.

<sup>16</sup> James Mellaart, The beginnings of mural painting (*Archaeology* 15/1, 1962, p. 2 ff. and 9).

<sup>17</sup> Raci Temizer, *Yazırhöyük Buluntuları* (V. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 1960, p. 156-164), and J. Mellaart, *Anatolia*, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Seton Lloyd and James Mellaart, *Beycesultan Excavations* (A. St. V, 1955, p. 39 ff; VI, 1956, p. 101 ff; VII, 1957, p. 27 ff; VIII, 1958, p. 93 ff; IX, 1959, p. 35 ff.); X, 1960 (Seton Lloyd) p. 31 ff. and Seton Lloyd-James Mellaart, *Beycesultan*, Vol. I, London 1962.

<sup>19</sup> A. St. VI, 1956, p. 106 ff.

<sup>20</sup> James Mellaart, *Excavations at Hacilar* (A. St. VII, 1958, p. 127 ff; IX, 1959, p. 51 ff; X, 1960, p. 83 ff; XI, 1961, p. 39 ff.).

<sup>21</sup> James Mellaart, *Excavations at Çatalhöyük* (A. St. XII, 1962, p. 41 ff; XIII, 1963, p. 43 ff.).

We now understand that the development of Anatolian cultures was not different from that of other Western Asiatic cultures, and that the village and city life of Anatolia did not start with the Late Chalcolithic Güllücek. The architectural finds at Çatalhöyük, the frescoes and the plastic animal heads decorating the walls, and the stone figurines are on a high level for which Near Eastern Neolithic cultures offer no parallels. The explanation and interpretation of these cultures will require time. If one thing is certain, it is this: each new discovery helps us to understand better the intermediate position of Anatolia between East and West. This article concentrates principally on this point.

Anatolia is a bridge, a high land route between East and West. It is true that the geographical meaning of this bridge has often been exaggerated when it came to solving historical and geographical problems. The south and southeast districts of Anatolia have easily connections with Syria and North Mesopotamia. The Taurus and Antitaurus, instead of acting as impenetrable mountain barriers which would block relations, offer natural thoroughfares and passes which serve to connect Anatolia with the Near East. Thus nature provided a great opportunity for the development and the foreign connections of the Central Anatolian cultures. Through the ages, Anatolia, rich in natural resources, maintained contact with the ancient lands to the south and the southeast via these mountain roads. Thus Anatolia was brought into a position which cannot be studied separately from that of ancient Western Asia.

On the other hand, we have to take into account that Anatolia is a land full of geographical contrasts. It contains wide plains, high mountains, steppes, deep and narrow valleys, small inland plateaus surrounded by mountains, and steep rock formations. This geographical situation had a double effect on the development of Anatolian cultures:

- a.* Regional cultures were formed more easily than elsewhere;
- b.* The continuity of tradition was assured.

For these reasons it is safer not to generalize without first studying the various regional aspects of Anatolian civilization.

If we study the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age periods and omit Cilicia, the Hatay and Southeast Anatolia from the investigation, the large area north of there will have to be analyzed in five regional divisions:

1. East Anatolia
  2. Central Anatolia (the Kızılırmak-Sakarya region)
  3. Konya and the Lake district
  4. West Anatolia
  5. The transitional zone between Central and West Anatolia.
- Even within these districts sub-areas can be distinguished.

1. East Anatolia is the region we know least about<sup>22</sup>. Tilkitepe<sup>23</sup>, Kalecik<sup>24</sup> near Van, Karaz<sup>25</sup>, Pulur<sup>26</sup> close to Erzurum and outside of Anatolia proper, Geoytepe<sup>27</sup> and Trialeti<sup>28</sup> do not yet provide sufficient evidence for a comprehensive archaeological analysis. The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age cultures of these sites display a regional character. Typical traits of East Anatolia are a pottery which is largely monochrome, with relief decoration and fluting on a black surface; bronze weapons, and special shapes of hearths.

The western border of this district approaches the Sivas area. Along the natural road in the plains of Elaziz and Malatya, the same mounds will have surface samples of East Anatolian as well as Tell-Halaf and Ubaid pottery<sup>29</sup>; but the stratigraphic position of these cultures will have to be investigated<sup>30</sup>. It is not surprising to find Tell-Halaf, and Ubaid pottery in this region when one knows of the presence of Tell-Halaf pottery at Tilkitepe, Ubaid at Frakdin south of Kültepe<sup>31</sup>. In this context I want to mention another major problem: on the mounds of Eastern Anatolia, which stayed far from the influ-

<sup>22</sup> J. Mellaart, *Anatolia*, p. 41 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Edward O. Reilly, 'Tilkitepe'de ilk kazılar-Tert Excavations at Tilkitepe 1937' (*Türk Tarih-Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* IV, 1940, p. 145-178); Kurt Bittel, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1939, 54, p. 108 ff.; C. A. Burney, *Eastern Anatolia in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age* (A. St. 1958, p. 160 ff.).

<sup>24</sup> Kurt Bittel, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1940, 55/2, p. 58 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Hamit Koşay-Kemal Turfan, *Erzurum-Karaz Kazısı Raporu* (Belleten 23, 1959, p. 349-413); W. Lamb, 'The culture of Northeastern Anatolia and its neighbours' (A. St. IV, 1954, p. 21-23).

<sup>26</sup> Hamit Koşay-Hermann Vary, *Pulur Kazısı-Die Ausgrabungen von Pulur*, Ankara 1964.

<sup>27</sup> Burton T. Brown, *Excavations in Azarbaijan 1948*, London 1951.

<sup>28</sup> B. A. Kuftin, *Archeologiceskie raskopki v Trialeti I*, 1941.

<sup>29</sup> C. A. Burney, *A. St. VIII*, 1958, p. 159 ff.

<sup>30</sup> J. Mellaart, *Anatolia*, p. 41-43.

<sup>31</sup> Tahsin Özgüç, 'Frakdin Kabartması yanındaki prehistorik ev-Das prähistorische Haus beim Felsrelief von Frakdin (Anatolia I, 1956, p. 70).



ence of North Syria and Mesopotamia, no second millennium levels or small finds from the second millennium have so far been identified whether in excavation or surface exploration; on the other hand, their Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age strata are very thick. It would seem to me that the mountainous districts of East Anatolia continued to make and use pottery of Early Bronze Age type into the Middle Bronze Age. We must not indulge in speculation but if this assumption is correct, the Hurrian inhabitants of the Van area must have used a black-burnished, thick-walled type of pottery, different from the wares current in the west and southwest.

Pottery of the closest affinity to Khirbet-Kerak ware is found in the plains of Elaziz and Malatya, more than in the vicinity of Erzurum; from the Malatya-Elaziz region this pottery can be followed step by step along the hüyük all the way to the plain of Antioch, the Amuq. I agree with the scholars who advocate that this pottery type can be used to support a theory of ethnic connections<sup>32</sup>; in the light of the new discoveries the discussion of these matters is not premature.

Neolithic cultures have not been found anywhere in East Anatolia. There are not traces of an earlier culture below the Tell-Halaf levels of Tilkitepe. The black burnished and thick-walled type of coarse pottery of Kalccik, near Van, can not yet be attributed to the Neolithic period.

2. The archaeology and history of Central Anatolia show great progress. In this area, we must distinguish two large sub-districts for the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages:

*a.* The area north of Alacahöyük and the Central Black Sea region; especially in the zone between the Kızılırmak (Halys) and the Yeşilirmak (Iris).

*b.* The area south of Alacahöyük and the plain of Kayseri.

Although each of these two zones represents the same culture in the same period, local characteristics are becoming particularly prominent in the Early Bronze Age.

<sup>32</sup> R. B. K. Amiran, *Israel Expl. Journal* 2, 1952, p. 89-103; S. Hood, *Excavations at Tabara el Arkad* (A. St. I, 1951 p. 118 ff.).

For the Late Chalcolithic culture, good samples are available in Büyükgüllücek<sup>33</sup>, and to some extent at Alacahöyük<sup>34</sup>. A stage of considerable development is shown by the typical Central Anatolian houses of two, three or four rooms; also by the thin-walled, sharply profiled pottery which is predominantly of black and gray, rarely of red colour. The stamp seal is known, idols are made in increasing numbers; there are large copper weapons at Büyükgüllücek<sup>35</sup>; carrings, finger rings, pins and other jewellery are made of copper and lead<sup>36</sup>. This is not a village culture; at least, the individual sites listed above were not mere villages. Although no Central Anatolian culture has been found that would be older than the Late Chalcolithic, we do not have to assume that nomadism lasted longer here and that sedentary life made a late start. The discovery of older cultures on the southern part of the plateau has refuted this theory. There is no reason to postulate separate conditions for Central Anatolia.

Some scholars want to see a connection between Büyükgüllücek and the Southeast Bulgarian culture<sup>37</sup>. New discoveries at Yazırhöyük in the Middle Sakarya region confirm this conclusion. The similarities which have been pointed out do not seem to be a general kind of resemblance due to similar trends in primitive pottery making and decoration. We know that the sites of Alişar and Güllücek did not start at the same time within the Late Chalcolithic period, their regional peculiarities find an explanation in local developments.

The transition from Late Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age is a gradual one. The towns and villages did not suffer conflagrations in this period. Architecture, stamp seals and idols continue without a break. The pot shapes of the Early Bronze Age become simpler because at this stage the use of metal vessels is much increased. On the other hand, towards the end of the Early Bronze Age many ceramic shapes are made in imitation of metal forms such as beak-spouted

<sup>33</sup> Hamit Koşay-Mahmut Akok, *Büyükgüllücek Kazısı-Ausgrabungen von Büyükgüllücek*, Ankara 1957.

<sup>34</sup> Hamit Koşay, *Alacahöyük Hafriyatı 1936-Ausgrabungen von Alacahöyük 1936*, p. 150 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Büyükgüllücek*, p. 47.

<sup>36</sup> *Grundzüge*, p. 24.

<sup>37</sup> J. Mellaart, *Anatolia*, P. 7.

pitchers (Pl. I, 1-2), basket-handled teapots (Pl. I, 3), carinated cups. All of these shapes are the prototypes of the so-called Hittite pottery shapes of the next period.

The geographical range of this culture covers the upper Kızılırmak region in the east, the Sakarya region in the west, the Black Sea area in the north, and reaches as far as Cilicia in the south; but its real core is within the bend of the Halys, in the Kayseri area in the south and in the zone between the Kızılırmak and the Yeşilirmak. This is the region where in later times the great Hittite centers will be located.

In the northern region of Çorum-Amasya-Tokat-Samsun which includes part of the Sivas district, the Early Bronze Age pottery was consistently monochrome, varying in colour from red to brown or black. It was decorated by means of incised lines or notches, or in white on black painted patterns the latter method being known all over early Central and Western Anatolia. In architecture, this region displays characteristics that are typical of the forest region. We now undoubtedly are dealing with a city culture, as is evident from the fortress at Alishar<sup>38</sup>, the temple at Kültepe (Plan 1 ; Fig. 1), and the rich royal graves at Alacahöyük, Horoztepe and Mahmatlar<sup>39</sup>. The common people still were supported by agriculture and animal husbandry, as they had been formerly in the Chalcolithic Age<sup>40</sup>. But the people of the new age had learned two important new techniques: one of them was trade, the other a great progress in metallurgy<sup>41</sup>.

The evidence for trade is found in the wide distribution of certain objects in various districts. In metallurgy, all kinds of metal were now expertly used: gold, silver, copper, bronze, electrum and even iron. The techniques of casting and hammering were both in use. This is well demonstrated by finds from Alacahöyük, Horoztepe, Mahmatlar, Kayapınar<sup>42</sup>, and even Polatlı<sup>43</sup>. I suggest that in Central and North-

<sup>38</sup> OIP 28 (H. H. von der Osten) p. 118 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Hamit Koşay-Mahmut Akok, A Treasure from Mahmatlar near Amasya (Belleten 55, p. 48 ff.).

<sup>40</sup> Grundzüge, p. 26.

<sup>41</sup> M. J. Mellink, The Royal Tombs At Alacahöyük, p. 47, ff. 57.

<sup>42</sup> Raci Temizer, Kayapınar Höyüğü Buluntuları (Belleten, 73, 1954, p. 325 ff.).

<sup>43</sup> Seton Lloyd and Nuri Gökçe, Excavations at Polatlı (A. St. I, 1951, p. 60 ff.).

east Anatolia metallurgy had by now become as important as agriculture.

The metal industry and especially the metal trade were probably under direct control of the local kings. The large workshops must be in East and Northeast Anatolia. Indeed, if we did not know about this development of metal working in early Anatolia, it would have been rather difficult to understand the significance of the trade in the Assyrian Colony Period. The large workshops discovered in the Karum that is the Assyrian merchant quarter, at Kültepe, the large moulds which are set in a fixed position for use, the variety of moulds made with great care for all kinds of objects, all of these Karum finds are very similar to those used during the Early Bronze Age. As for metal figurines, conventional and schematized though they may be in style, the development of the craft of metal working improved the artistic ability of the Anatolian people. Clearly, all this activity in metal working was the product of a large organization; this period in particular must have seen the establishment of a class of metalworkers-smiths.

The country was divided in small districts and provinces, ruled by independent princes<sup>41</sup>. This system is not essentially different from the administrative system we know from the Assyrian Colony Period. How these princes established relations of a friendly or hostile nature, we do not know. The conflagrations which are especially noticeable in the southern and northern cities can be taken as evidence that mutual relations were not always of an amicable nature.

With regard to social structure, we can compare Alişar and Kültepe, Alacahöyük and Horoztepe, Düdartepe and Kayapınar as pairs of very similar small provincial capitals or large cities. The Hittite Empire undoubtedly was gradually developed out of this system. This evolution in Central Anatolia is accelerated from the middle phase of the Early Bronze Age on. We must assume that external relations had some influence on this. In the final three centuries of the Early Bronze Age the Anatolian-North Syrian-Cilician relations were very strong in area **b** and especially in the region south of the Kızılırmak. In the final phase of the Early Bronze Age, this district and first of all Kültepe introduced the fast wheel for pottery making

<sup>41</sup> Grundzüge, p. 26 ff.

as a result of these contacts, either from Cilicia or from a North Syrian district. The use of the wheel at Troy is not earlier than at Kültepe. Other changes in Central Anatolia also were a result of these external relations. The people of this period transmitted the knowledge of the potter's wheel to the Hittites. The origin of the relations with Cilicia lies in the Early Bronze II period. In Early Bronze III, relations were intensified and continued undiminished into the Middle Bronze Age.

The southern part of central Anatolia has three important characteristics which are absent from the north:

*a.* A class of alabaster idols, many of which develop into shapes which deserve the name of statuettes; the majority represent females sitting on thrones (Pl. III, 1-2). The alabaster idols are an exclusive peculiarity of Kültepe (Pl. II, 1-2). They do not occur elsewhere and do not appear in later periods<sup>15</sup>. In this period we have cist-graves in stone, pot-and earth graves, and especially round tombs in stone divided into two compartments by a partition wall, one of which contains burial gifts, including alabaster idols, the other the skeleton. The round tombs in stone are peculiar to Kültepe; no parallels to them have been found elsewhere (Pl. VI, 1-2).

*b.* This district had a polychrome class of pottery in addition to the monochrome ware (Pl. I, 1-2). This is the pottery which the excavator of Alişar called *Intermediate ware* (Pl. I, 3; VIII, 1; IX, 2)<sup>16</sup>. The period in which this ware appears at Kültepe has three independent building levels, *a*, *b*, and *c*, of which *a* is the youngest; each one of them represents a fully developed city. Alabaster idols appear in level *b*, and *c* (Pl. II, 1-2) a temple of megaron plan in level *b* (Plan 1; Fig. 1; Pl. IV, 1; V, 1), depas-goblets in levels *b* and *a*, red-cross bowls in *a*, Syrian bottles in *a*, the earlier kind of the Syrian imported pottery in levels *c* and *b*. Painted pottery of the early kind of Alişar III ware appears in the final building level (*a*) of this period (Pl. VIII, 2; IX, 1), but in small quantities, and their clay differs from the real Alişar III pottery. This level is followed by a level which is the counterpart on the Hüyük of Karum level IV. This superimposed level has painted Alişar

<sup>15</sup> Nimet Özgüç, Kültepe kazılarında bulunan mermer idol ve heykelcikler-Marble idols and statuettes from the excavations at Kültepe (Belleten 81, 1957, p. 71 ff.).

<sup>16</sup> OIP 28, p. 236 ff.

III ware of developed shapes and in abundant quantity. This goes to prove that there is no independent Alişar III culture. The pottery of Alişar III must have been developed out of the third phase of Early Bronze III (Pl. VIII, 1; IX, 2). The shapes of the Alişar III vessels are partly old, partly connected with the Middle Bronze Age wares. The diffusion of Alişar III ware to the West started out fairly strong (for instance, at Hashüyük and Hacı Bektaş), but further on did not amount to much (sherds only from Karaoğlan, Polatlı, for example). To the north, it is strongly represented up to Alişar, but not beyond. The painted ware of the Early Bronze Age III, a local product of the Kültepe region, appears in small quantities in the first phase (*c*) of the Early Bronze Age III. It developed out of the local painted ware. Painted pottery has old roots in this region of Anatolia.

A tomb in level *c* of this Intermediate culture proved to contain objects utterly foreign to Central Anatolia, in the shape of a gold earring and a decorated disc (Pl. VII, 1-2). These items have counterparts in the finds from Tell-Brak and the royal tombs at Ur<sup>47</sup>. The new finds confirm the evidence for metal trade which was also suggested by the similarities between daggers from Alacahöyük and Ur<sup>48</sup>.

*c*. The large burnt building of megaron type is similar to its contemporary counterpart at Beycesultan<sup>49</sup>. The size of the Kültepe megaron approaches that of the largest Megaron of Troy II. It was excavated in 1956. This large building, probably a temple, was built of mud-brick on stone foundations and coated with white plaster. This major building shows a plan hitherto unknown in Central Anatolia (Plan; 1, Fig. 1; Pl. IV, 1; V, 1). In the middle of a large room lies a round hearth, surrounded by four posts supporting the roof. Smaller rooms are grouped around this central hall. North of this hall and portico are four smaller rooms; the eastern one measures 6 × 4.70 m.; the western one, 4.50 × 2.50; the room in the middle is 6 × 4.70 m. The room on the eastern side of the smallest room is destroyed. South of the porch there are two well preserved rooms. A great part

<sup>47</sup> M. E. L. Mallowan, *Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar* (Iraq IX/1, 1947, Pl. 36, 11, 28).

<sup>48</sup> Grundzüge, p. 28.

<sup>49</sup> Seton Lloyd, *The Dawn of Civilization*, London 1961, p. 183, Fig. 4, and M. J. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor* (AJA 62, 1958, p. 93; 67, p. 175).

of the porch and the smaller rooms on the southern side of the main room are in ruins. They were badly destroyed by the monumental Hittite buildings. The whitewashed brick benches, –sleeping-platforms–, are ranged against the base of the eastern wall of the large main room and its porch. The well preserved steps and doorframes can still be seen. On the floors of the hall and the smaller rooms alabaster idols (Pl. III, 1-2), depata, imported Cilician pottery and clay figurines (Pl. X, 1) were discovered. Another building from the final (third) level of this culture has dimensions approaching those of Hittite Empire buildings. It is evident that in the area of Kayseri monumental buildings were being erected in the final stage of the Early Bronze Age.

This period shows some, although not strong, trade relations between Central Anatolia and West Anatolia. The evidence consists of depas-vessels, tankards (Pl. X, 3), red-cross bowls, red vases of Troy II type, some forms of idols and some types of weapons; but the megaron, larger than its counterparts, is a more significant contribution.

In the northern part of Central Anatolia several sites have become known for tombs with rich equipment. Alacahöyük, Horoztepe, and to some extent, Mahmatlar. These tombs cover a considerable span of time. At least two or three generations of local Anatolian rulers were buried in them. The tombs belong to different building levels. The tomb gifts are incredibly rich<sup>50</sup>; the famous treasures of Troy II are a small collection by comparison. To judge by the nature of the tomb gifts, the people buried in these tombs were kings and queens, but may also have been priests and priestesses of the state. The majority of the burial offerings was made of gold, silver, electrum and bronze; next come carnelian, amber, iron and pottery. The classes of objects are jewelery, vessels, symbols (statuettes of bulls, and human figurines) sistra, sun-discs and weapons. Four kinds of animals are connected with the burial rites: cows (skulls and forelegs of cows are often found over the burials), sheep and goats belong to the funeral meal; dogs are buried outside the tomb as separate and complete burials, to accompany the king to the hereafter. Horse burial was unknown. Each tomb resembles a larger or smaller Early Bronze Age room and is reserved for a single burial.

<sup>50</sup> T. Özgüç, *Bestattungsbräuche*, p. 54 ff, 90 ff.

The civilization to which these rulers belong is the well known Central Anatolian civilization of the Early Bronze Age. Due to the special wealth of the rulers we have a selection of objects here made of precious metal and precious stone, but parallels for the metal vessels, the idols, and some of the weapon types can be found on every Hüyük in less precious materials such as terracotta, stone and the cheaper metals. The long sword of Alacahöyük which was without parallel in Anatolia now has counterparts in new finds from the Tokat-Amasya district<sup>51</sup>. At this time the Trojan and Mesopotamian rulers did not know the use of this important weapon<sup>52</sup>. The iron dagger with its sharp blade and crescent shaped, gold covered hilt has not yet been paralleled in Anatolia<sup>53</sup>. Nor has any iron been found in the period immediately following that of the tombs; but it is beyond doubt that iron was worked in the final and perhaps also in the middle stage of the Early Bronze Age.

In spite of conflagrations, the transition from this period to the Middle Bronze Age is continuous and gradual throughout. I want to give some striking illustrations of this: the monochrome and polychrome Hittite pottery is developed from the Early Bronze Age III pottery (Pl. I, 1-3) used in the same region<sup>54</sup>. The rich ceramic development of the Colony Period has two reasons: 1. the wheel, which had previously been known only in the plain of Kayseri, now becomes known in the whole of Central Anatolia; 2. The close contacts with North Syria, Cilicia and North Mesopotamia make new shapes known in Central Anatolia and enrich the repertoire of Hittite pottery.

In Central Anatolia there is a Hittite city or a Hittite village on every Early Bronze Age city or village. The intervening burnt level did not prevent the Hittites from settling on these Hüyüks. We can go further. We undoubtedly have to attribute a religious meaning to the sun discs from Alacahöyük and Horoztepe, to the statuettes of bulls, and deer the figurine of the mother nursing her child, the nude female

<sup>51</sup> Horoztepe, p. 58, note 67.

<sup>52</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop, *Daggers and swords in Western Asia* (Iraq 8, 1946, p. 1 ff.); and N. K. Sanders, *The first Aegean swords and their ancestry* (AJA 65, 1961, p. 18 ff.); M. J. Mellink, *The Royal Tombs at Alacahöyük*, p. 49 ff.

<sup>53</sup> H. Koşay, *Alacahöyük 1937-1939*, Pl. 182, 4.

<sup>54</sup> Grundzüge, p. 48, 50; Tahsin-Nimet Özgüç, *Kultepe Kazısı 1949-Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, Ankara 1953, p. 208 ff.



statuette, or the sistra. The eagle perched on top of the sistra later on becomes one of the most popular motifs. Each one of the earlier objects is the prototype of cults well known in the Assyrian Colony Period or the Hittite Age, such as the cult of the sun, deer, bull, or the mother-goddess<sup>55</sup>. The two periods, the Hittite period and the middle and late stages of the Early Bronze Age are tied together by the Kültepe seals of the native style, by many of the rhyta and the figurines of goddesses. Without drawing any major conclusions, it should be said that the spearhead of Anitta, King of Kuşşara<sup>56</sup>, is a type of weapon that was very popular with the kings of Alacahöyük and Horoztepe. The so-called spiral beads of Alacahöyük<sup>57</sup> are also found as tomb-gifts with the wife of a native merchant in Karum level II<sup>58</sup>.

If I had enough space I could give many more examples of the similarities in meaning and form which connect the two periods. On the other hand, as K. Bittel pointed out, there is no similarity in style between the Hittite and Early Bronze Age figures in metal, such as the statuettes of bulls and deer<sup>59</sup>. But before the objects from the Colony Period are completely published this point should not be unduly emphasized. The true connection undoubtedly lies in the religious beliefs, meaning and concept. The tombs of Alacahöyük and Horoztepe belong to pre-Hittite kings<sup>60</sup>; the culture and art of that site to the indigenous population. The fact that some elements of the Early Bronze Age culture continue in the same region into Hittite times should not be interpreted as indication that Indo-European-speaking Hittites were present in the Early Bronze Age<sup>61</sup>. The similarity between some objects from Caucasian tombs and those from Alacahöyük and Horoztepe also is not the result of a direct and ethnic connection<sup>62</sup>. These relations have been rather exaggerated from the beginning; now the objects from Anatolia are increasing in

<sup>55</sup> Grundzüge, p. 29; Hethiter und Proto-Hattier, p. 273.

<sup>56</sup> Tahsin Özgüç, Anitta Hançeri-The dagger of Anitta (Belleten 77, p. 29-33).

<sup>57</sup> M. J. Mellink, The Royal Tombs at Alacahöyük, p. 51.

<sup>58</sup> Horoztepe, p. 58, note 68.

<sup>59</sup> Grundzüge p. 29-30.

<sup>60</sup> Hethiter und Proto-Hattier, p. 272 ff.

<sup>61</sup> H. Th. Bossert, Meine Sonne (Orientalia 26/2, 1957, p. 103); Henry Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient 1954, p. 114-117.

<sup>62</sup> Horoztepe, p. 59, note 73-74.

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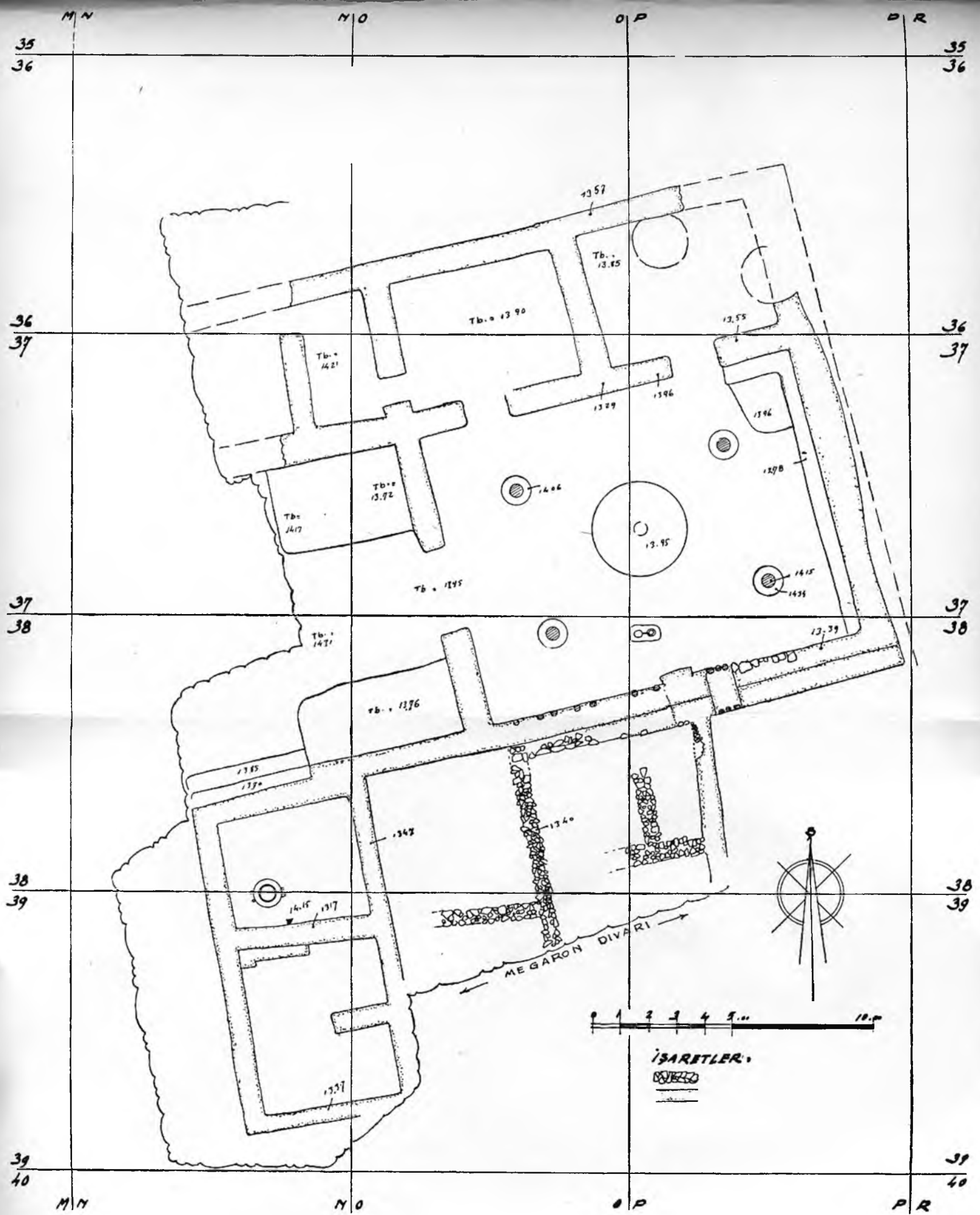
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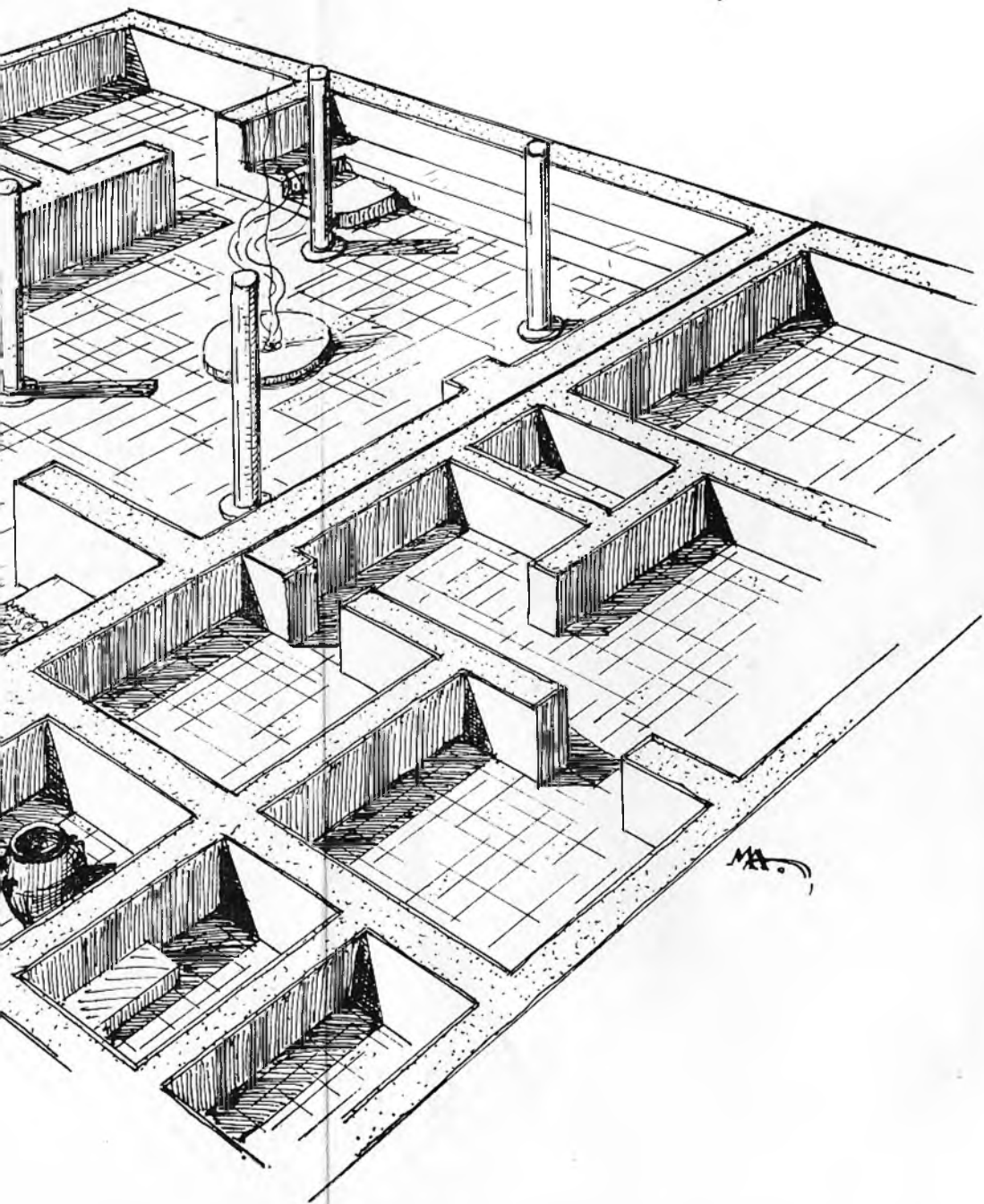
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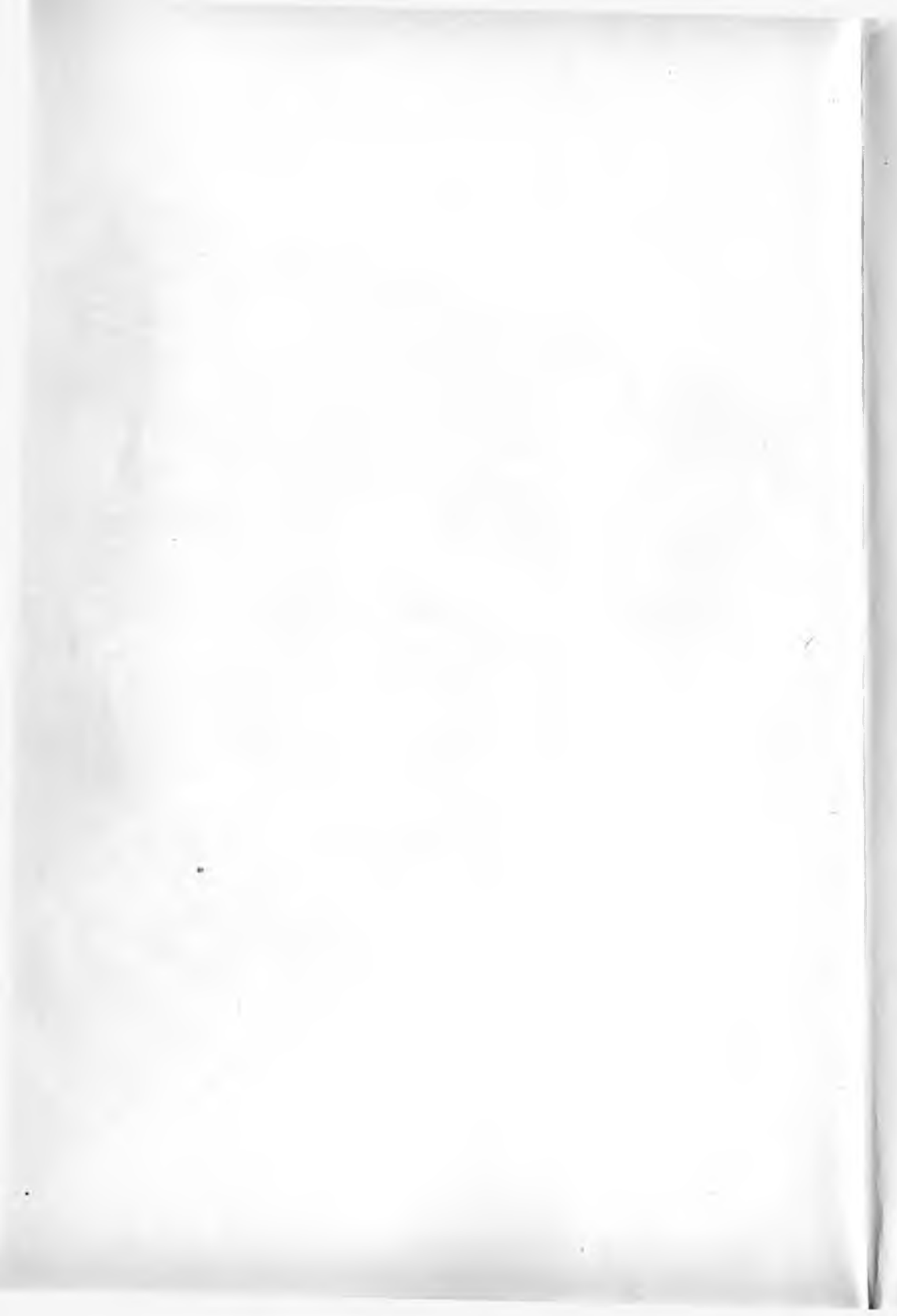


Plan. 1  
Kültçepe, Plan of the Temple



Fig. 1 — Kültepe,  
Isometric Restoration of the  
Temple





numbers, but the number of parallels with the Maikop-Kuban finds is not growing. This resemblance is about of the same nature as the similarities between some of the weapons and jewelery of Troy II and those of Alacahöyük. In each case the resemblances are due to trade and, in my opinion, not to migrations. The tombs of Alacahöyük are not unique in Anatolia; Mahmatlar, Horoztepe and scattered other finds prove the general wealth, the strength of the technical and artistic traditions and the identity of religious beliefs. Alacahöyük and Horoztepe did not have much strategic importance; they are wealthy and prosperous places which will provide the sources for the Anatolian-Mesopotamian trade which is to start a little later. Their military strength never exceeded that of Troy II.

3. In the Lake District and the area south of Konya, J. Mellaart has discovered two major new cultures<sup>63</sup>, Early Chalcolithic and Neolithic. The tradition of these two cultures does not extend to the Sakarya and Kızılırmak districts, but the Early Chalcolithic of Hacilar continues its existence at Beycesultan. This is an important point; thus we understand that the tradition of Hacilar continues in southwestern Anatolia without a break until the Late Bronze Age. Indeed, the Early Chalcolithic of Hacilar represents an advanced stage of culture, with its polychrome pottery, its figurines, its fortress and well constructed houses. The Late Neolithic which uses monochrome and painted pottery and especially the Early Neolithic of Çatalhöyük with its developed architecture, its wall paintings with a variety of themes, its most interesting stone and clay figurines represent a truly unique culture. The Aceramic Neolithic of Hacilar possesses its counterparts in the Near East. I should say that our most important assignment now is to study these two cultures thoroughly and to follow their diffusion step by step. However, it is not too early to speculate on far-flung external connections. This much can be stated, these two cultures are properly Anatolian. It is probable, as the excavator has said, that the roots of these cultures will go back to the finds in the caves along the shores near Antalya.

<sup>63</sup> See notes 20-21 and James Mellaart, *Çatalhöyük Excavations 1961* (Archäologischer Anzeiger 1961, p. 1-11).

4. West Anatolia in this period, in line with its geographical position, was turned to the countries in the West<sup>64</sup>. Its long houses and meğara are entirely different from the types of houses built in Central Anatolia. New investigations, however, have shown that the meğaron also became known in Central Anatolia in this period. The meğara at Beycesultan may have provided the intermediate links between East and West. In the Early Bronze Age, the citadels of Troy II, the large meğara (temples or palaces) and the treasures represent a true city culture. But it should be pointed out that this tremendous development occurred at the same time on the Plateau. The living conditions, social structure, the palace inventories were about the same in each region.

The entire country was dotted with cities, towns and villages. It was formerly held that a large difference existed between the extramural burial customs of the Troy-Yortan region and the intramural graves of Central Anatolia. Now we know that on the northern part of the Plateau extramural burials were the rule. Thus some of our established archaeological notions were changed by new discoveries.

In the second half of the Early Bronze Age, Troy has a strong influence on Cilicia<sup>65</sup>, at least in the category of pottery, a connection stronger than that with the Kızılırmak district. It is still under discussion whether these relations went by land or by sea. On the other hand, there are no Cilician finds from Troy or its vicinity; but in the region south of the Kızılırmak imports from Cilicia and the Amuq play an important role<sup>66</sup>. And whereas in the Middle Bronze Age there are no connections between Western Anatolia and Cilicia, those between Central Anatolia and Cilicia have become much stronger.

The Early Bronze Age cultures of Western Anatolia have to be subdivided in regional types according to their special local fea-

<sup>64</sup> Kurt Bittel, *Kleinasatische Studien*, Istanbul 1942, p. 127 ff; *Grundzüge*, p. 30 ff; M. J. Mellink, *The Royal Tombs at Alacahöyük*, p. 57.

<sup>65</sup> Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlükule-Tarsus*, Vol. II, 1956, p. 131 ff.; John Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin*, Oxford, 1953, p. 186 ff.; *Grundzüge*, p. 33 and J. Mellaart (*A. St.* IV, 1954, p. 179, 180); Kurt Bittel, *Zur Chronologie der anatolischen Frühkulturen* (Reinecke Festschrift, Mainz 1950, p. 16 ff.).

<sup>66</sup> Discovered by the author and not yet published.



tures<sup>67</sup>. Regional cultures were favored by such geographical features as the mountains, river valleys and plains of this district. Although the cultures of the Plateau and Western Anatolia each went down in a huge conflagration, there is no major change in the following cultures. Western Anatolia has its own native culture, in spite of foreign influences and relations, it continues in its own characteristic ways for centuries.

Trade relations were established with the Plateau, and thus we find some Central Anatolian objects in Western Anatolia. A lead figurine from Troy proves that these relations continued in a minor way in the Assyrian Colony period<sup>68</sup>. But in Central Anatolia history started early; with the influence from Syria and Mesopotamia, art and religion developed rapidly. However in Troy VI the old regional civilization was continued in about the same slow tempo, as in Troy I or II.

The burning of Troy II took place before that of Alacahöyük, Karaoğlan and Dündartepe. But in the period of the destruction of Troy II there are also major conflagrations at Kültepe. These destruction levels do not bring about a major change at Kültepe either. But there are burnt destruction levels in all of central Anatolia at about the same time. Are the Hittites responsible for the second series of destructions? In my opinion this is impossible, it is open to speculation; but I must confess that archaeology does not help us very much on that problem.

5. As Kurt Bittel stressed in 1942, in the transitional zone between the Plateau and Western Anatolia, we see influences from both these districts<sup>69</sup>. Systematic excavations<sup>70</sup> here have shown when these influences from east and west increased and became strong and when they diminished and became weak. The general region can be divided in two parts!

<sup>67</sup> Grundzüge, p. 31 ff; *Kleinasiatischer Studien*, p. 127-200; Kurt Bittel, *Ein Gräberfeld der Yortan-Kultur bei Babaköy* (AfO XIII, p. 20 ff.); A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*, p. 19 ff.

<sup>68</sup> Hubert Schmidt, *Trojanischer Altertümer*, Berlin 1902, p. 255, No. 6446.

<sup>69</sup> *Kleinasiatische Studien*, p. 192.

<sup>70</sup> Kurt Bittel und Heinz Otto, *Demirci-Hüyük*, Berlin 1939; Winifred Lamb, *Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar I-II* (*Archaeologia* 86-87, 1937-1938, p. 1 ff and 217 ff.); Winifred Lamb, *Anatolian Studies presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, p. 132, 139.

- a.* The district of Bithynia and Phrygia in the northwest<sup>71</sup>,  
*b.* The Phrygian-Pisidian district in the south west<sup>72</sup>.

In both areas the influence from the Plateau is evident. The mounds of district *a* excavated until now, however, were not inhabited in the Middle Bronze Age (Bozhöyük, Demircihöyük). These places show a strong influence of the culture from the bend of the Kızılırmak, and an even stronger one from the Ankara-Sakarya region (Ahlatlıbel, and especially Karaoğlan). The Bithynian group has features in common with the southeast Balkan cultures; but the influence of Northwest Anatolia and Troy is stronger than any other<sup>73</sup>. The same can be said about the second district (*b*); except that here the local traits are stronger. There is much fluted pottery, Pisidia has curious beaked pitchers<sup>74</sup>, at Kusura we find hearths with horn-like projections and the use of stamp seals<sup>75</sup>. The cemetery at Kusura most resembles Troy I, Kusura B shows an increase in influences from the Plateau, and level C uses the same kind of Early Hittite pottery which is typical of the Middle Bronze Age at Kültepe<sup>76</sup>. The houses are not of the megaron type. All these features are understandable in the transitional setting of the district.

Beycesultan lies further to the west and for that reason represents a more Western Anatolian culture. It shows relations with Troy, Yortan, Kusura, Polatlı and Ahlatlıbel. At the end of the third millennium and in the second millennium Beycesultan has certain affinities to the Plateau. The presence of Hittite pottery shapes seems very important to me; but their technique are different. These pieces at Beycesultan are dated to a much later period than would be expected on the basis of parallels from the Plateau.

The cultures of Eastern, Central and Western Anatolia developed independently from each other but they each represent an Anatolian culture. Foreign influences, mutual relations and invasions did not change the independent course of these cultures. In each of them,

<sup>71</sup> Grundzüge, p. 34.

<sup>72</sup> Grundzüge, p. 35 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Demirci-Hüyük, p. 29-30.

<sup>74</sup> Kleinasiatische Studien, p. 176 ff.

<sup>75</sup> Kusura I, 1937, p. 12, 30, Pl. V, 3-4, 6-8 and Winifred Lamb, Some Early Anatolian Shrines (A. St. VI, 1956 p. 87 ff.).

<sup>76</sup> Kusura I, 1937, p. 23 ff. 54 ff. and II, 1938, p. 237 ff.

the Anatolian characteristics always remained dominant. However great the individual local differences, when one observes these cultures from a distance it becomes clear how thoroughly Anatolian they were. The new discoveries in Anatolia of the last half of the third millennium B. C. confirm K. Bittel's interpretations<sup>77</sup>.

Having divided Anatolia into geographical districts, I have wanted to put it together again as one unit. I have offered you some old and some newly gained facts and problems. The greatest problem in Central Anatolia is the transition from the third to the second millennium. The sites of Boğazköy and Kültepe have recently provided us with much new knowledge which will enable us to solve a major part of these problems.

In this article I have tried to integrate the Early Anatolian cultures and to correlate the archaeological finds with ethnic groups. Also I have tried to explain what is meant by native, indigenous Anatolian culture, that is, what are the individual Anatolian characteristics which link the eastern and western parts of the country. I have, in addition, tried to point out what are the particular characteristics of the local cultures specific to the various regions into which Anatolia is naturally divided. And I have tried to find the roots of the Hittite culture as they have been revealed by recent discoveries. I have tried to describe the earliest Anatolian contacts with North Syria and Mesopotamia, that is those which preceded the Assyrian Colony Period.

In my passages on Kültepe I did not explain only the results of the Kültepe excavations, but tried to show the problems involved with Early Bronze Age and the earlier phase of Anatolian History. I must confess that without the Kültepe excavations, it is impossible to reconstruct Anatolian history.

Ankara

Tahsin ÖZGÜÇ

<sup>77</sup> Grundzüge, p. 36 ff.