VIII. Conclusion

> 'One of the fun things about matryoshkas is the careful way in which they are crafted, such that all the layers fit nicely together. This is the case for the standard evolutionary narrative, which presents a parsimonious explanation of human social origins based on a set of interlocking hypotheses. But, in the end, the narrative is still a story and parsimony does not make it true … there's more than one way to craft a matryoshka.'
> M. Kay Martin[1513]

Introduction

This chapter draws upon the main conclusions of my basic argument that households in non-state sedentary societies[1514] are always embedded in both local domestic as well as regional and inter- or supra-regional mixed economies. Wilk and Rathje's hypothesis[1515] that band and urban societies might emphasize exchange between households and groups whereas agricultural societies and those with mixed economies primarily pool within the households can be only partially supported. Both, pooling within households and exchange between households, have been proven to be an important socio-economic practice at both Platia Magoula Zarkou and Çukuriçi Höyük during the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age.

As I showed in this contribution, items of regional exchange may vary between groups. At times, these could be gendered objects, such as female-produced pottery that could be valued elsewhere, or become an important item of regional barter, gift, and marital exchange. In other cases, ecological circumscription, which could apply to obsidian – restricted to the Aegean islands of Melos, Gyali, and central Anatolia in our case – fostered exchange between groups. In this case, it is not gendered objects but desired, precious objects that trigger exchange between households and groups. These desired objects could also comprise feathers, wild animal fur or teeth, stags, antlers, and other game objects that could be valued for male or female initiations, local festivals, or even for their durable material properties.

I have shown through the case of Çukuriçi Höyük and other sites in the region, that the earliest metalworkers were not necessarily itinerant smiths. Instead, sedentary metalworking was a conspicuous part integrated into heterogenous regional economic and socio-political systems. These included acephalous, great man societies, as evident from Çukuriçi Höyük, as well as chiefdoms with unilineal and possibly conical clan structures, such as at Poliochni, Thermi, and Liman Tepe. These different types of social organizations then coexisted in time and space within the Aegean basin. Although I could not detect any 'extreme households' – those of the landed vs. those of the landless – the chiefly households that could be inferred from other regional contemporary sites, do not find any counterpart at Çukuriçi Höyük. This result suggests that not all metalworking societies were integrated into politically centralized socio-political systems at the dawn of the Early Bronze Age in western Anatolia.

The obvious question, however, remains whether Çukuriçi Höyük was then embedded in some supra-polity, chiefdom social organization, in which case we are not looking at a chiefly

[1513] Martin 2018, 229.

[1514] This is similar to, but different from local groups among most foraging as well as most agricultural state societies.

[1515] Wilk – Rathje 1982.

village site such as the Omarakana in the Trobriand Islands, but some other satellite village embedded in the wider regional system, not led by a chief but by a local headman. If this was the case, then we should ask ourselves which are the markers for chiefdom social organization in villages other than Omarakana, meaning villages that do not host a chief, for which the Omarakana village is not representative. Considering that a redistributive economy is not necessary for the emergence and existence of chiefdoms, can Çukuriçi Höyük be considered as a producing site of metals primarily for a chiefly centre or for long-distance exchange? If metals were the exotica in a wider region, not widely attested as a craft on a regional scale, then was it necessary that the absent elite was in charge of these items' distribution?

To address this question, I followed the classification of context, concentration, scale, and the intensity of metal production at Çukuriçi Höyük at the dawn of the EBA. Regarding context, metal production at Çukuriçi Höyük was associated with domestic architecture, within the same hearths as cooking. Production within a specialist's workshop associated with elite markers, such as seals and stamps, cannot be supported for Çukuriçi Höyük.

Regarding the concentration of metal production at Çukuriçi Höyük, the record neither fits *nucleated production*, meaning production for regional consumption, in which artisans are limited to a particular site within a region, nor *dispersed production*, meaning production for local consumption, as the same type of craft can be identified in each community if we follow the model for craft specialization developed by Costin.[1516] On the contrary, at Çukuriçi Höyük the metalworking that took place within household contexts was produced for both local consumption and regional exchange. Whereas local consumption of metals can be seen from a large amount and widely attested access to arsenical copper at the site, production for regional exchange can be seen from the production of rods for exchange, as well as indirect evidence of weights as an external measure for the commodity exchange of metals. The same principle of production for local and regional consumption has been well documented among the Baruya, who produced salt for both local and regional consumption. Therefore, to develop a model of household-based craft specialization and associate it with a 'chiefdom's satellite' would be erroneous in this case. We cannot expect that non-state local communities solely produced crafts for exclusively local consumption. Both local needs and regional wants created niches for exchange, which linked members of different communities into a meshwork of social relations, not necessarily motivated by the expansion of chiefdoms but instead, primarily by their bottom-up communal interests.

Regarding scale, at Çukuriçi Höyük, it has been shown in Chapter IV that metalworking took place within family production units, as attested through the ethnographic contextualization of local architecture and the agglutination process at the site during EBA 1. The evidence also does not support the existence of workshops of unrelated individuals at Çukuriçi Höyük, since houses at this site were multi-crafting spaces, including the production of metals, textiles, bone tools, as well as other daily activities such as cooking and food consumption. If related individuals produced metals, then it remains likely that men, women, and children were involved in metalworking at Çukuriçi Höyük. This has led to our characterization of this kind of combination across a local settlement between most local households with semi-specialized craft production as *generalized craft integration*.

Regarding the intensity of arsenical copper production, it can be concluded that metalworkers at Çukuriçi Höyük were part-time rather than full-time specialists, in which the line of reasoning is similar to scale. A variety of activities within houses allow for reconstruction of dwelling spaces rather than solely working spaces at Çukuriçi Höyük. Instead of representing workshops for full-time specialists, the evidence supports houses and homes that contained metalworking expertise in a part-time, possibly seasonal manner.

[1516] Costin 1991.

In such a setting, producing metals for local consumption and regional exchange, dwellers at Çukuriçi Höyük could therefore engage in exchange with other sites where metalworking was nucleated and limited, like an island, to one household within the settlement, which could have triggered socio-political centralization at the dawn of the Early Bronze Age. However, in this case, it seems that the island sites were more affected by either ecological, social, or environmental circumscription than, for example, Çukuriçi Höyük. And whereas under circumscription warfare and consequently socio-political centralization is the seemingly inevitable consequence, dwellers at Çukuriçi Höyük left their homes before such homogeneous centralized structures emerged in western Anatolia.

Such variations of degree in economic specialization were neither a unique nor a novel phenomenon within the Aegean. As can be seen from Late Neolithic Thessaly, the emerging centre of specialized pottery production reached long distances, but again not necessarily through a chiefly coercion of polities beyond single village sites. These sites also had direct links reaching Melos, although in a much lower proportion when compared to the EBA 1 western Anatolian sites. As is well known, Late Neolithic potters at Platia Magoula Zarkou gained their fame for grey on grey pottery production, whereas Çukuriçi Höyük reached the same through specialization in metallurgy. Within a dynamic network of interregional connections and economic interactions that always imply social bonds between members of different communities, the available data provide evidence that Çukuriçi Höyük's metalworking society was embedded into the EBA 1 'cultural koine' through a decentralized socio-political formation. It can be said that no overarching hierarchical structure, such as a chiefdom polity, embedded Çukuriçi Höyük into a wider regional organization such as a chiefdom.

The main contribution in my conclusion is to provide a changing picture of the earliest period of the Bronze Age in western Anatolia which does not equate metalworking societies with an *a priori* centralized socio-political centralization. And although the latter is well known in socio-cultural anthropology, based on multiple ethnographic reports not limited to Africa, the record from Çukuriçi Höyük at the dawn of the Early Bronze Age can now serve as one of the examples of such decentralized, metalworking societies as well.

To comprehend this per se and to allow the material data to speak for themselves, three predispositions require some change. First, we have to chase away those ghosts of the past to finally understand that there is no reason to assume that metalworking societies should be organized into centralized chiefdom constellations. Second, we should detach from those widely shared archaeological interpretations of metalworking, which commonly turn metalworking households into workshops rather than recognizing households as a main locus of part-time specialization and innovation at the dawn of metalworking societies.[1517] Third, we should embrace a notion of a complex social and regional landscape in which different sites may have specialized in the production of different products, without necessarily being subsumed in social and political unification. Ostensibly well-connected regions are commonly interpreted as socio-cultural and political units, but their connectedness does not necessarily imply political unification. It can also unfold through cross- and interregional networks without being 'unified'.

Much in the ethnographic record speaks about such non-unified constellations connected through networks. It is now time to embrace such an alternative framing within archaeology as well.

[1517] A similar concern in connection with early metallurgists has previously been raised elsewhere (Kovacevich 2016, 306).

VIII.1. Households Embedded in Local and Regional Mixed Economies

This research has examined the role of households at the dawn of the Bronze Age in the Aegean basin from socio-cultural anthropological perspectives. The research project was undertaken through collaborative interdisciplinary research between four early-career researchers: two archaeologists, a zooarchaeologist, and me, a socio-cultural anthropologist. The research project relied on a household archaeology approach, through which pottery, small finds, and animal bones were analysed at the two prehistoric sites under investigation: Çukuriçi Höyük (western Anatolia, Turkey) and Platia Magoula Zarkou (Thessaly, Greece). No new ethnographic data were collected for my project through participant observation due to time and space limitations relevant to the archaeological data of this study. Instead, this research exclusively relies on the empirical archaeological data collected and analysed by my research colleagues as well as other scholars, who have dealt with archaeological material from the two sites under investigation. Historical anthropology and historical ethnography were some of the main methods employed in this study. I studied the anthropological literature concerning non-state societies described during the past decade, with and against the grain. These anthropological insights served as an entry point for addressing the prehistoric material, which I examined through the lens of households and their organization to understand the local social organization at each of the two sites under investigation. The primary objective of this research was to understand the role of households at the dawn of the EBA and, consequently, to scrutinize the potential forms of socio-political organization at the two sites respectively, through comparative historical anthropological insights.

To conduct an inquiry into how dwellers at Çukuriçi Höyük and Platia Magoula Zarkou were organized in a more or less hierarchical or 'egalitarian' manner, and to address the research objectives stated above, two sets of research questions guided my research. The first set of questions examined the role of households. These have been addressed by means of a bottom-up, comparative approach to studying archaeological material from the settlements guided by household archaeology, examining the role of households and relations between households on a local, settlement-related scale, rather than comparing whole archaeological cultures through a top-down approach:

- What were the roles of households or of 'householding' in the Early Bronze Age in eastern Mediterranean regions, and how can households be defined?
- Did households in Çukuriçi Höyük and Platia Magoula Zarkou correspond to the core units of a DMP[1518]: i.e., were they primarily self-supporting units based on production for local consumption, or were they more specialized units[1519] primarily geared to production for exchange, and even, to an extent, for tribute as well?
- How can anthropology's insights into 'Bronze Age economics'[1520] be reconciled with answers to these questions?

The results relevant to these research questions showed that households at Çukuriçi Höyük and Platia Magoula Zarkou were of the DMP type, primarily geared for local consumption but simultaneously embedded in regional mixed economies. At both sites under investigation, households always maintained social and economic relations with other households inside their settlements and elsewhere in the region. Although primary subsistence activities were organized within or among households, during the Late Neolithic and the EBA these households and settlements were *a priori* entangled in regional social networks and embedding regional economies. Regional mixed economies at these sites included unevenly distributed centres of

[1518] Sahlins 1972.
[1519] Earle 2002.
[1520] Earle 2002.

craft specialization (Chapters IV and VI) that were integrated into their local settlement and its DMP. These households (and consequently these societies) interacted with others across the wider region, were in some ways interdependent, and developed in relation to one another (Chapters VI and VII). For the reasons stated above, the long-standing perception that the village farming settlement was the basic archaeological reality in the EBA cannot be supported for either the Late Neolithic or the EBA in the Aegean basin. Neither households nor village settlements were self-sufficient, but were simultaneously embedded into regional economies. This is of particular theoretical importance, since if we consider that 'the elementary forms of kinship, politics and religion are all one',[1521] then economics, as a factor embedded into all three of these spheres, certainly supports the regional (and not only the site-specific) coevolution of kinship, politics, and religion in Late Neolithic Thessaly and EBA western Anatolia and Thessaly.

Even though the households examined here were embedded in regional economies, this does not imply that they were primarily geared to production for exchange (Chapter IV). Both farming and craft production were integrated into the DMP rather than being an individual's full-time expertise, conducted by different households respectively (Chapter IV). Pooling within and sharing between households was an important socio-economic practice at each site, which created a meshwork of social relations between dwellers in each location (Chapters VI and VII). Tribute as an economic practice in which a particular household on-site would pool either agricultural, hunted, or crafted goods, including precious or prestige goods, was not observed at either of the two sites. At Çukuriçi Höyük, metalworking was a part of the *generalized craft integration*, in which knowledge of metalworking was widely shared between households, without any inherent political centralization, although this is generally *a priori* associated with metalworking societies (Chapter IV). By contrast, evidence found at Late Neolithic Platia Magoula Zarkou shows it to have been a regional production centre for grey on grey pottery in which potters were organized into *restricted craft integration*, which played an important role in regional economies, marriage transactions, and the negotiation between men and women within what in all likelihood was a patrilineal context (Chapter VI).

At neither of the two sites were any 'extreme households' – those of the landless and those controlling larger areas of land – identified. Instead, pooling within households and exchange between households is evident from the archaeological record, which speaks against Wilk and Rathje's hypothesis that 'in general, band and urban, state-level societies stress *exchange* between households and groups, while predominantly agricultural societies and those with mixed economies *pool within* the household'.[1522] On the contrary, no such stark differences between these types of societies can be observed, as the dwellers at Çukuriçi Höyük and Platia Magoula Zarkou during the Late Neolithic/Late Chalcolithic and the EBA both relied on pooling within households and exchange between households not only on-site, but also with dwellers within or outside the wider region.

These results provided the basis for a bottom-up understanding of household organization in the Aegean basin at the dawn of the Bronze Age, which was subsequently compared against the models of social organization in non-state, tribal societies (Chapter II), guided by the following research questions:

- Which, if any, of the proposed models of social organization: a) a centralized chiefdom (e.g. a chiefdom with a unilineal descent system or a chiefdom with a conical clan structure), or b) a decentralized, acephalous tribal society (e.g. a segmentary lineage system, or a big man or great man society) is appropriate to describe social organization in these settlements at the dawn of the Bronze Age?

[1521] Sahlins 2008, 197.
[1522] Wilk – Rathje 1982, 627, italics mine.

This question was addressed through comparison between the ethnographic and the archaeological data. The answer to this question remains only partial. Through multiple lines of evidence (e.g. local environmental conditions, animal breeding strategies, settlement patterns, the organization of houses, and the distribution of specific craft and other domestic activities at these sites), I was able to construct an argument that these small-scale societies, despite a cosmopolitan spirit that had been developing since the dawn of the Bronze Age, were organized into multiple modes of social organization. An internally connected structural, non-state socio-political heterogeneity thus characterized the 'cultural koine' landscapes in these parts of the EBA Aegean basin.

Before proceeding to an examination of these potential imaginary communities or the ideal types of social organization, I emphasize here a key feature that may be self-evident. Because of its importance, however, it is a feature that deserves due emphasis. Almost half a century ago, Colin Renfrew's seminal study of EBA social organization in the Aegean basin argued that the 'basic archaeological reality is the village farming settlement'.[1523] In the archaeological record I studied, however, a 'village farming settlement' cannot be treated as the 'basic archaeological reality'.[1524] This insight does not stem from an anthropological generalization,[1525] but rather from the examination of the pertinent material data, which includes Late Neolithic and EBA sites on the Thessalian plain and sites from the EBA 1/2 period in western Anatolia. In all of the cases examined, the so-called 'village farming societies' did not exclusively rely on local resources, but acquired from afar the objects and raw materials necessary for a society's everyday activities and reproduction, and also for the maintenance of peaceful relations with their neighbours. In these cases, households always maintained social and economic networks within their so-called 'village farming settlements',[1526] as well as across a broader region. Both EBA and Late Neolithic households and villages were *a priori* entangled in regional social networks embedded in regional economies, and therefore cannot be considered as either a bounded basic archaeological reality, nor as politically, socially, or economically autonomous, isolated units.

What exactly do we mean by 'households embedded in local and regional economies'? Was that not the case for all sedentary, non-state societies such as tribes? Was that specific to only a few of them? Well, although both local and regional economies were crucial for their sustainability, the latter point, namely the importance of regional economies, has vanished as a crucial aspect within most discussions about a DMP. In the Aegean, obsidian turned into a possible prestige good during the EBA. However, obsidian was attested on both sides of the Aegean basin, in Thessaly and western Anatolia starting in the Palaeolithic, when the islands between Melos and the seashore were still not inhabited. What does that tell us about households? Does this entail any changes in households or household economies? The idea of households embedded in local and regional economies pushes us to reconsider this important, yet gradual change towards a more sedentary lifestyle. More or less sedentary groups continue to interact with other groups, not only within settlements and in their immediate vicinity but also with those far away. This may serve various purposes – be it access to certain raw materials or desirable foods, marriage exchange and alliance-building, or even to facilitate travelling. As shown in various chapters of this thesis, embarking on such journeys is common to all non-state societies. Yet the purposes and organization of journeys may vary starkly between more or less decentralized or centralized socio-political constellations. In centralized chiefdoms such journeys may often, though not exclusively, have been organized by the chiefs and

[1523] Renfrew 1972, 366.
[1524] Renfrew 1972, 366.
[1525] An autonomous village as a type of social organization was proposed as a stage in social evolution and has been promoted as such within socio-cultural anthropology.
[1526] Renfrew 1972, 366.

their entourage to acquire prestige goods from afar. In decentralized political constellations, embarking on such journeys was not a choice but a necessity. In the latter case, acquiring precious goods that are lacking within the local village or tribal territory, yet indispensable for everyday use or for rites of passage, such as initiations or at marriage, ensured a successful local reproduction. Therefore the productive use of local tribal territory through pooling within households, and those wider regional and interregional interactions based on exchange with groups residing at a distance from one's tribal territory is the twofold basis for the DMP.

Although Sahlins himself understood the importance of regional exchange, this is not reflected in the coining of a term. As he proposed, 'the domestic economy cannot be 'seen' in isolation, uncompromised by the greater institutions to which it is always subordinated'.[1527] Sahlins's term Domestic Mode of Production is probably not the best term for the economic system described above from today's perspective. In its time, however, it was obvious that no 'mode of production' in the western Marxist sense popular at the time had ever existed in any pure form. For the theoretical positions shared by Sahlins it was also clear that there was never any 'production' without 'circulation' including exchange and sharing. By not explicitly giving regional exchange equal importance in its terminology, today the DMP is considered as a particularly domestic system, rather than regional as well. Furthermore and importantly, it is a regional system of mixed economies, as is highlighted in this contribution through both archaeological and ethnographic examples. A better description of households fitting with Sahlins's original description of DMP would be households embedded in domestic/local and interregional economies.

VIII.2. A 'Great Man' Society at Çukuriçi Höyük

Çukuriçi Höyük provides evidence for a comparatively 'egalitarian' society, which may have been organized as either a segmentary lineage system, or a great man or big man society. In addressing the data in question, the first model – the segmentary lineage system – could not be adequately explored, since complex genealogical trees could not be reconstructed in the absence of any convincing evidence. One possible material proxy for the existence of marked genealogies could be the continuous transmission of houses from one generation to the next (Chapter IV), which may have resulted in shallow or deep genealogies. The possibility that at Çukuriçi Höyük – or other regional sites such as Troy – an 'egalitarian ethos' was supported through recognition of common genealogy should remain a possibility, yet this cannot be explored fully due to the lack of either written sources or oral histories. Layers of more than three subsequent generation-based burials at Çukuriçi Höyük and Troy are absent, so no aDNA analyses have been possible to discuss genetic indications for strict unilineality. Therefore, the absence of such burials and bioarchaeological examinations indicates that unilineality was not observed in any strict or rigid sense of the term. Despite the problematic nature of archaeological data in supporting the existence of segmentary lineage systems for these sites, it should be noted that this model of social organization can be compatible with sedentary farmers with a mixed regional economy and the use of metal tools, and should not be discarded *a priori* as a possibility for similar metalworking societies (Chapter IV).

The second model that appears to be suited to some of these EBA 1/2 'egalitarian' sites is the model of big man societies. At Çukuriçi Höyük, however, the evidence is unconvincing for the occurrence of this type, due to the divergent record from caprine and cattle culling profiles. In the ethnographic literature, big man societies are commonly characterized through household-based 'self-sufficiency' and the absence of a redistributive economy; strong competition between households within a village (and also a region); the organization of communal

[1527] Sahlins 1972, 75.

feasts, in which pigs (or in this case: possibly other animals) would be killed communally to facilitate a new cycle of competition between big men; and the development of regional mixed economies. In this case, among big man societies, pigs would not be slaughtered young (for household consumption) but would be reared and fed into adulthood. However, in the culling profiles found at Çukuriçi Höyük, its households do not appear to comply with such practices. By contrast, the dwellers at Çukuriçi Höyük slaughtered both sheep and goats at a young age, even below 6 months old. This indicates that the intentional increase of 'wealth' stored in caprines was not a primary stimulus for competition between households on-site. Another line of evidence against the presence of a big man society at Çukuriçi Höyük during EBA 1 can be inferred from the rather restricted regional networks of obsidian and other imported goods. Whereas Troy and Demircihöyük were integrated into both the Melian and central Anatolian obsidian networks, dwellers at Çukuriçi Höyük relied heavily on Melian obsidian throughout EBA 1 (Chapter VII). This indicates that reliance on and the expansion of trading networks or alliances in all directions does not appear to have been the case for Çukuriçi Höyük, though it is typical for big man societies.

At Çukuriçi Höyük, the presence of a variety of great man social organization,[1528] which is compatible with the archaeological notion of a 'heterarchical' social organization[1529] (see Chapter II), appears to have been much more likely during EBA 1. During the Bronze Age, the site was located on fertile alluvial plains, which provided fresh water and a supply of clay for producing handmade pottery locally. The most common EBA 1 ceramic assemblage comprised food preparation wares including tripod cooking pots with a capacity of approximately 4 litres, which shows that daily meal preparations at the site took place in small groups, with a maximum of 6–8 people in each. Dwellers at the site grew domestic plants, such as pulses and cereals, and also collected wild plants and nuts. They herded domestic animals, predominantly sheep and goats, yet they also hunted wild animals and collected maritime resources. With regard to crafts, at Çukuriçi Höyük metallurgy was well integrated into the DMP, a type I addressed as a *generalized craft integration* (Chapter IV). Unlike previous studies, which claimed that metalworking societies must necessarily be centralized with metallurgists as 'attached specialists' working for the elite, the record at Çukuriçi Höyük shows that (arsenic) copper smelting can be integrated into the DMP without utilization of the plough and without the presence of centralized local political structures. Neither the archaeobotanical nor the zooarchaeological record at Çukuriçi Höyük supports the use of the plough at the site: therefore rain-fed horticulture, most likely without the use of an ard or plough, remained human labour-intensive. As observed from other ethnographic cases, it is very likely that metalworking at Çukuriçi Höyük was a seasonal craft – not performed by itinerant smiths, but by the dwellers themselves. Moreover, metalworking was not performed outside the living quarters, but took place at the same hearths where the food was prepared, alongside the women and children, within the house. This implies that at Çukuriçi Höyük metalworking cannot be interpreted as an exclusively male craft or area of expertise, but rather as a craft that cut across the gender and age of household members at the site.

While some authors have previously argued that the basic archaeological socio-economic unit was necessarily a village, this was unquestionably not the case at Çukuriçi Höyük. At this site, dwellers could barter their locally produced arsenic copper objects for wool, which was only produced locally in small quantities. Therefore, the exchange of commodity items such as metals, wool, and obsidian from the Cycladic island of Melos was inherently integrated into mixed regional economies, which linked the single sites into dense exchange networks that extended into other parts of the Near East and to the Thessalian plain. Furthermore, although

[1528] Godelier 1986a.
[1529] Horejs 2016b, Cveček – Horejs 2021.

the metric technology of Near Eastern weights was adopted at Çukuriçi Höyük during EBA 1, this innovation did not immediately lead to materially evident changes in either settlement organization or diet, nor did it lead to the expansion of the settlement or the intensification of trading links to the East. Instead, dwellers at Çukuriçi Höyük maintained stronger links to the Aegean world, which may have been one of the reasons why dwellers abandoned the site before EBA 2 (Chapter VII). Without evidence for political centralization, yet with strong evidence for both regional and long-distance supra-regional exchange, the EBA 1 dwellers at Çukuriçi Höyük share multiple structural similarities with the Baruya, the great man society documented for the Papua New Guinea highland fringe. The long-established anthropological concept of a great man social organization is therefore compatible with the archaeological proposal that Çukuriçi Höyük was organized heterarchically,[1530] similar to what archaeologists would describe as 'house societies', but without the permanent 'houses' or the 'elites' competing on-site or within a region (see Chapter IV).

In considering the emergence of material inequalities between households regarding the amount of obsidian accessible to them and their level of metal production, I agree with Kouka:[1531] early chiefdoms may have emerged in the eastern Aegean islands and western Anatolia during EBA 1, before the visible material differences between upper and lower towns became the norm during EBA 2.[1532] In light of Kouka's analysis of household organization on eastern Aegean island sites[1533] and the collaborative analyses of households at Çukuriçi Höyük,[1534] the site of Çukuriçi Höyük does not, however, seem to fit fully into the unifying concept of an eastern Aegean EBA 1 'cultural koine'. Unlike other sites, where metalworking was clustered with a concentration of imported goods, this key material difference between households could not be observed at Çukuriçi Höyük; therefore, this does not necessarily comply locally with a chiefdom form of social organization during the EBA, which would be expected from sites in the EBA 1 eastern Aegean 'cultural koine'.[1535]

Regarding the anthropological and archaeological literature (Chapter II), the EBA 1 eastern Aegean island sites – including Bakla Tepe and Liman Tepe – may have been organized into *chiefdoms with unilineal descent, without a conical clan structure*, although unilineal genealogies could not be reconstructed. Why chiefdoms with unilineal descent? The available record for these sites does not support a more 'egalitarian' on-site organization such as a segmentary lineage system, great man or big man society. In none of the latter cases of ideal types, were material social inequalities between different households within a single village site inherited. Instead, inheritance of any crucial position of power or centralized office was discouraged, which is not fully compatible with evidence from some of the coastal eastern Aegean and western Anatolian sites. There, metalworking households were restricted to a single or a few households per site, which also contained more abundant clusters of foreign objects such as Melian obsidian or foreign pottery, over multiple occupation horizons. This seems to point towards a distinct, fixed, spatial and social status of metalworking households at these sites, yet without class differences between them, most likely indicating the emergence of *chiefdoms with unilineal descent*, resembling the material record documented at the chiefly village of Omarakana at Kiriwina[1536] or any patrilineal counterpart to that. It could also indicate *chiefdoms with a conical clan*, such as the Tikopia,[1537] rather than those forms

[1530] Horejs 2016b, Cveček – Horejs 2021.
[1531] Kouka 2002; Kouka 2016a.
[1532] Şahoğlu 2005; Şahoğlu 2008.
[1533] Kouka 2002.
[1534] Röcklinger 2015; Horejs et al. 2017; Cveček 2020; Emra et al. 2020; Cveček – Horejs 2021; Cveček – Emra 2021.
[1535] Kouka 2002; Kouka 2016a.
[1536] Malinowski 1922; Malinowski 1929.
[1537] Firth 1959; Firth 1983.

of conical clan chiefdoms described in Hawaii.[1538] These households containing metalworkers and traders were previously interpreted as the households or the seats of chiefs who emerged during the EBA 1 period at coastal western Anatolian sites.[1539] This material evidence provides support for the emergence of unilineal descent group chiefdoms, most likely patrilineal, as the dwellers at each of these sites also relied on large domestic animals for subsistence on the eastern Aegean islands and at coastal western Anatolian sites during EBA 1. As these sites were part of the eastern Aegean EBA 1 'cultural koine', this suggests that different models of social organization coexisted in space and time at the dawn of the EBA 1 in the Aegean basin (Fig. 40).

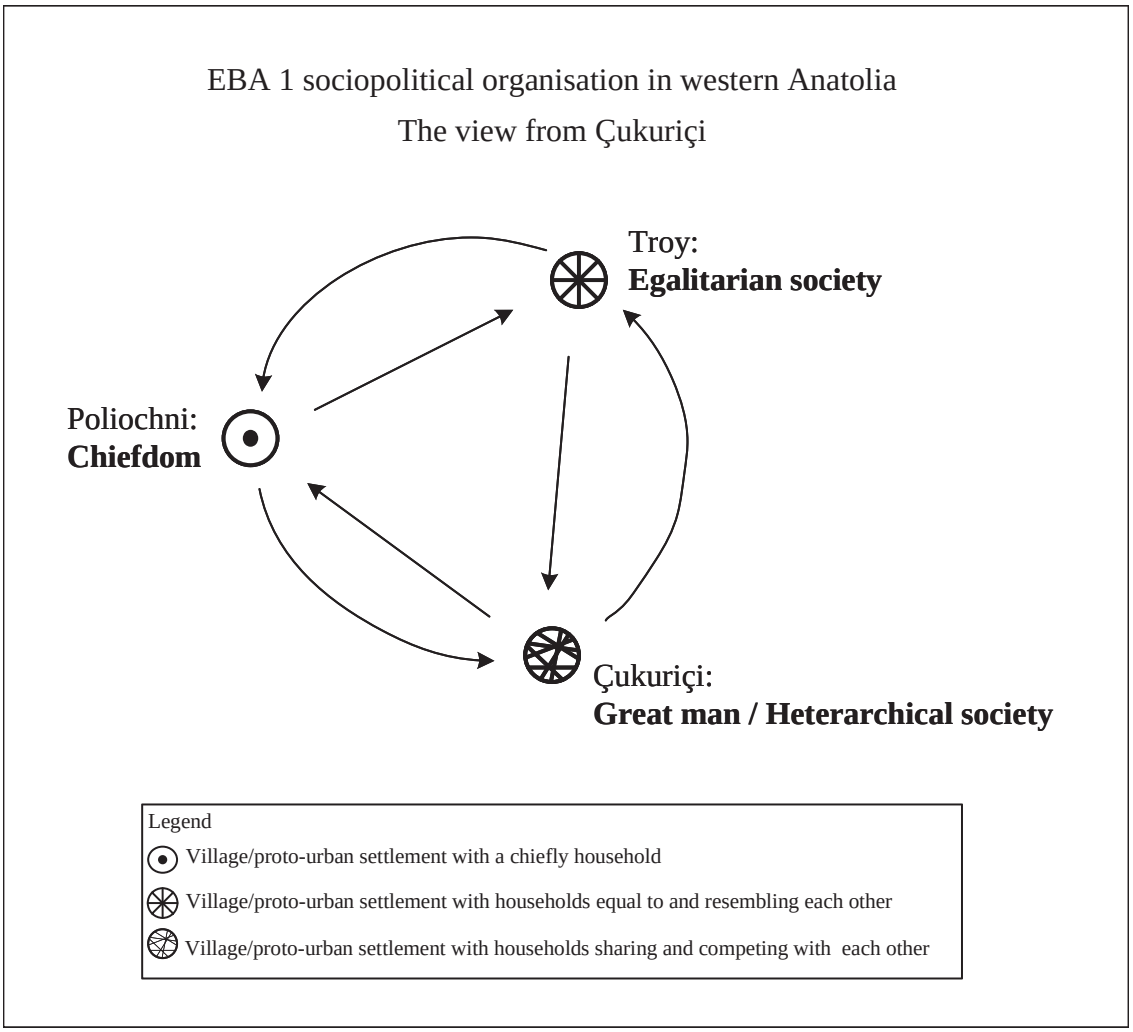

Fig. 40 Different models of socio-political organization that coexisted and codepended on each other during the EBA 1 in western Anatolia (for Poliochni Blue see Kouka 2002; Kouka 2016a; Kouka 2016b; for Troy I see Ivanova 2013; Ivanova 2016)

[1538] Sahlins 1958; Earle 1978; Earle 1998b.
[1539] Kouka 2016a.

VIII.3. A 'Big Man' Society at Platia Magoula Zarkou

At Platia Magoula Zarkou, the archaeological record provides inherently different results from those observed at Çukuriçi Höyük. Dramatic changes in the course of the Pineios River brought a shift from floodplain cultivation during the Middle Neolithic to agriculture based on rain-fed mixed farming without a plough during the Late Neolithic, and with a plough during the EBA. Unlike at Çukuriçi Höyük, where goats predominated in the zooarchaeological record, dwellers at Platia Magoula Zarkou mainly herded sheep and produced wool during EBA 2, which they may have exchanged for other non-locally available goods. A segment of dwellers at Platia Magoula Zarkou may have practised transhumance, as two different ecological niches existed nearby. Like at Çukuriçi Höyük and other regionals sites, dwellers at Platia Magoula Zarkou also hunted wild animals and raised domestic crops, but they had much less access to non-local goods such as Melian obsidian, regional resources of chocolate flint, and even metals, since only a single copper pearl was identified at the site. Therefore, it is likely that spheres of exchange existed during the Late Neolithic and EBA at Platia Magoula Zarkou and in Thessaly more widely. The locally produced grey on grey pottery at Platia Magoula Zarkou could thus only be converted and exchanged for stone tools in exceptional cases, as stone tools and pottery belonged to different spheres of exchange. Thus, although pottery could be exchanged for other subsistence goods that were locally and regionally available, stone tools such as Melian obsidian and chocolate chert could only be exchanged for other rare (and therefore precious) objects.

Moreover, EBA dwellers at Platia Magoula Zarkou may have been agro-pastoralists rather than simply a typical sedentary farming community. In this case, the stone tools would only occasionally have been used for the cultivation of crops, and the main subsistence would derive from animals, secondary animal products, and locally produced pottery. The culling profiles at Platia Magoula Zarkou stand in stark contrast to those at Çukuriçi Höyük. On the one hand, this provided evidence that during EBA 2 sheep herding and wool production intensified; but on the other hand, it also shows that sheep rather than goats reproduced better than other animals. Goats were nevertheless irreplaceable as they served as the 'brain' in the herd of sheep, which can be widely observed from ethnographic descriptions. During the Late Neolithic, when Platia Magoula Zarkou was a pottery production centre, it appears more likely that, along with domestic animals and animal products, pottery was bartered for crops and other organic goods, but rarely converted into stone tools – which is often the case in ethnographically documented agro-pastoral communities. The evidence examined for Late Neolithic Platia Magoula Zarkou (Chapter VI) supports a multicentric regional economy during the Late Neolithic and EBA, in which local and abundant grey on grey pots were included in different exchange spheres from foreign and rare obsidian and flint stone tools.

Concerning the five models of social organization under scrutiny and their possible relevance at Platia Magoula Zarkou, the evidence under consideration does not support a detailed on-site understanding of the household organization, as only one room was recovered from the site. The animal bone analysis from that one room at Platia Magoula Zarkou, however, largely corresponds to the results at other regional sites. It is especially important that at Platia Magoula Zarkou during EBA 2, sheep and goats were killed at an older age than during the Neolithic: however, the slaughter rate was nowhere close to the mortality rates that can be observed from ethnographically documented pastoral societies. Therefore, the record at Platia Magoula Zarkou supports a sedentary, rain-fed mixed farming agro-pastoral community (with possible transhumance), utilization of the plough, and a specialization in wool production (Chapter V). In comparison to the Late Neolithic record, when dwellers at Platia Magoula Zarkou specialized in pottery production, it appears that the growing importance of sheep during EBA 2 coincided with the longer lifespan of sheep, and therefore access to secondary products such as wool. In comparison with contemporaneous western Anatolian EBA 2 sites, where cattle significantly increased in importance in comparison to sheep and goats, the

emergence of a 'cattle culture' cannot be observed at Platia Magoula Zarkou. In western Anatolia, the so-called EBA 2 cattle culture coincided with widely attested chiefdoms, visible through two-part settlement patterns, and the hoarding of metals and other prestige objects in specific central households within sites. The same, however, cannot be confirmed for Platia Magoula Zarkou. Therefore it seems that during EBA 2, dwellers in western Anatolia and the hinterland Thessalian plain sites lived rather parallel realities, in some way linked through the leaking networks of Melian obsidian, which continued to play a significant role in regional economies even as bronze (rather than solely copper) tools gained in importance.

At Late Neolithic Platia Magoula Zarkou, the house model provides valuable evidence of not only emic perceptions but also symbolic reality during this period. The dwellers certainly distinguished between male and female, junior and senior members of the household; however, we cannot assume that the larger size of the female figurines corresponds to any higher socio-political power of women relative to men.[1540] Instead, I argue that women could be more powerful within the house rather than outside of it, which is compatible with many versions of a patrilineal society. Considering the ethnographic record, the Late Neolithic record, and the Bronze Age record, there are similarities with Melanesian big man societies – such as involvement in far-reaching exchange networks, and the competitive production of pottery between households on-site as well as across the broader region. As I showed in Chapter VI, the house model does not support the necessary existence of matrilineal societies in which women played a central role both inside and outside the house. Instead, the Late Neolithic house model at Platia Magoula Zarkou may be interpreted as an example of women seeing themselves and being appreciated by others as the 'centre of the house' complementary to and embedded within a patrilineal, male-dominated society. At the same time, the house model may represent a precious object which was neither gifted nor bartered, but buried underground: and therefore transmitted. The ritual context within which the house model at Late Neolithic Platia Magoula Zarkou was deposited in an open space may further indicate that the object represented the inverse of the reality on the ground, or a so-called 'anti-structure',[1541] common in rites of passage, which could include the burying of an old house, or the foundation of a new one.

VIII.4. Limitations

As with any study, this one is not without its limitations. The primary literature reviewed for this research mainly comprises English- and German-language sources. The former was of greater importance for the anthropological literature, whereas the latter was of crucial importance for regional comparisons with the Thessalian sites of Pevkakia and Argissa Magoula, which were excavated and published by German-speaking scholars. A majority of sources for the western Anatolian sites were published in English, but Turkish and Italian sources are also important. These were partially considered but, due to my lack of proficiency in either Turkish or Italian, there were some drawbacks. More research and publications are needed, particularly for EBA 1 at sites such as Liman Tepe and Bakla Tepe in Izmir. At these two crucial sites for comparison, which are potentially regional centres, the EBA 1 layers have been excavated but await detailed and comprehensive publications that could contribute to a better understanding of regional western Anatolian developments at the dawn of the Bronze Age.

Another empirical limitation concerns the unavailability of the EBA 1 burial ground at Çukuriçi and the EBA 2 burial ground at Platia Magoula Zarkou, which could complement the study of households. Although social inequalities during EBA 2 were recorded in both

[1540] That Aegean Neolithic imagery was not dominated by female figurines and that gender may not have been a prominent structuring principle, see Nanoglou 2010.

[1541] Turner 2009 [1969].

settlements and burial grounds in western Anatolia (Chapter IV), and household archaeology therefore remains particularly valuable in discussing social hierarchies and inequalities through lived experiences, the complementary analysis of both settlements and burial grounds from the same site could further highlight differences in reflections of social hierarchies and inequalities between the contexts of the living and those of the dead. As this was not available at the two sites I investigated, apart from for the Late Neolithic period at Platia Magoula Zarkou, I draw some comparative insights from sites that provided this evidence: however, these comparisons should be approached with caution and not understood as definitive.

The final, and conceivably the most important, limitation of this research is the 'bird's eye view' of the archaeological finds which was presented in this book. As I drew upon previously analysed data, I engage little with how the objects were recovered and how they were typologically, statistically, or qualitatively analysed. This area of my research remains in the hands of archaeologists and specialists in a particular body of finds and analysis thereof. From the start of this interdisciplinary project, this was also my intention. The greatest challenge in my research was, rather than analysing archaeological data myself, finding potential anthropological contextualizations of prehistoric material through comparative approaches in which historical anthropology provided a central point of reference. I have not centred my research on a specific type of material (e.g. stone tools, pottery, architecture, animal bones, etc.) but extracted the most important insights from these individual bodies of analyses, with the accompanying intention of not missing the forest for the trees. If the reader is interested in trees only, then this book will not be satisfactory, apart from the reference list for the original archaeological sources. By contrast, if the reader is interested in a larger cross-cultural framework to contextualize and understand non-state societies at the dawn of EBA 1 in the Aegean basin with and not without socio-cultural anthropology, this book will be of great value.

VIII.5. Recommendations for Further Studies

Several possible recommendations for future research can be derived from my studies. From the outset, it was taken into account that differences within a household cannot be observed due to the methodological approach undertaken, namely the household archaeology approach, which considers households as the smallest socio-economic units that can be detected archaeologically for more or less sedentary societies. Yet, with state-of-the-art methods of analysis, including chemical analysis of soil from settlement floors, isotope analysis and the ancient DNA (aDNA) recovered from human bones (which was not available at either Çukuriçi Höyük and Platia Magoula Zarkou and other regional sites), differences within households rather than only between households[1542] may be better understood in the future. Even within 'egalitarian' acephalous tribes, such as the great man societies documented in Melanesia, men and women were unequal. Social inequalities within these households were not only reflected in decision-making powers (e.g. male or female leading roles within a household) but also in material forms, since women and men (and seniors, adults and children) within the same household consumed different food and followed gender- and age-based food taboos. These social and material differences are impossible to identify through the available zooarchaeological record, however, though it is likely that this was also the case in prehistory (Chapter VII). Therefore, for the sites where human bones are available, isotope analysis should be carefully examined

[1542] A recently published paper on dietary habits based on isotope analyses of human bones showed that during the EBA in Anatolia there was a general degree of homogeneity in dietary habits at intra- and inter-site and regional levels, with diets being predominantly terrestrial C3 based (Irvine et al. 2019). These results correspond to conclusions stemming from our research, yet with isotope analysis it should be possible to address not only intra- and inter-site (dis)similarities, but also differences between groups of persons based on gender and age.

not only by comparing a person's ratio to the site's average ratios, but also concerning the gender and age of the persons examined.

Therefore, in future research, I see a possible and important socio-cultural anthropological contribution to the study of social inequalities within households. These largely new and innovative analyses have a strong potential for a better and more critical contextualization through grounded ethnographic realities rather than by only equating genes with languages, or as a necessary (and only) indicator of kinship or a person's descent and background. Through the integration of socio-cultural anthropologists into interdisciplinary research teams dealing with ancient genetics and isotope analyses, the current uniform – and well-circulated ground-breaking results in the media – that 'foreign' individuals were either buried away from their natal homes or that they were married outside of their places of origin, should come as no surprise. As I showed in the literature review, socio-cultural anthropologists were aware that tribal communities were neither genetically nor culturally or ethnically coherent (although some ethnographers have portrayed them as such), and many non-state societies maintained mechanisms through which they could integrate non-related individuals into their households.[1543] Therefore, these insights should be further addressed alongside scholars dealing with ancient genetics. From the ethnographic record as well as through those prehistoric accounts I dealt with in my study, these either acephalous or centralized imagined communities had fluid boundaries and territories. Not only did they need to sustain links and networks beyond their local village settlement, but they also relied on a meshwork of regional economies for reproduction. Only through such networks could the ostensibly locally grounded groups have established lasting relations between human and non-human actors.

Alternatively, as mentioned above, a large body of new strontium analyses interprets different amounts of strontium present in bone samples as an indicator of a person's foreign origin. Taking ethnographic data into the account, however, it could well be that these individuals grew up in the same place, even within the same household, but may have maintained different diets throughout their lives (Chapter VII). Whether this was also the case in prehistory could be examined through these new methods. Within interdisciplinary teams, I see a socio-cultural anthropologist not only as an important contributor for the contextualization and critical interpretation of these finds, but also as a key member for generating well-informed and ethnographically-grounded hypotheses that could be tested against the bioarchaeological data, potentially leading to new theoretical and empirical results.

Another important future contribution stemming from a close collaboration between prehistoric archaeologists and socio-cultural anthropologists can be identified in terms of re-opening 'old debates' such as the role of matrilineality in Old World prehistory. I highlighted the importance of such debates by discussing the interpretations of the house model at Platia Magoula Zarkou (Chapter VI). I showed that contextualization and interpretation *with* rather than *without* socio-cultural anthropology may yield some fruitful results. The re-opening of 'old debates' would be timely, since a recent study of aDNA and isotope analyses supported kinship-based social inequality in Bronze Age Central Europe.[1544] If compared to my extensive review of the models of non-state tribal societies (Chapter II), in which I showed the importance of kinship ideology in non-state societies for the emergence of inequalities between social groups, the latest research outcomes are neither ground-breaking nor surprising, but complementary. Even so, the aDNA analyses are crucial as (alongside the archaeological contextualization) they provide empirical evidence for the existence of such kinship-based

[1543] This was a common practice among great man and big man societies. They managed to establish peaceful relations on the boundaries of their communities not only through barter and commodity exchange, but also through marrying some persons outside their tribal territory and marrying others in. These marriage alliances then led to an intensive gift and commodity exchange of precious goods that could not be found locally within their tribal territory.

[1544] Mittnik et al. 2019.

inequalities millennia ago, which are crucial for the advancement of theory building and the translation of the ideal types of social organization between socio-cultural anthropology and prehistoric archaeology. Therefore, I imagine future collaboration between geneticists, isotope specialists, and socio-cultural anthropologists, in which the role of the socio-cultural anthropologists should be to critically assess and comparatively address the outcomes of genetic and isotope analyses against the ethnographic record. This interdisciplinary scientific practice could be crucial for the advancement of the understanding of non-state social inequalities, political economies, and the relations between as well as within their households as the key conjunctures in which domestic and regional economies collided.

Concerning the study of settlement patterns in prehistory, I have shown that more data should be collected for studying the emergence of a particular settlement, rather than only comparing the completed and static images of regional settlement patterns to each other (Chapter IV). As I showed through ethnographic analogies, the settlement patterns usually follow a local, internal logic, which structures not only marriage and transmission practices but also houses, including their construction, maintenance, and transmission. Prehistoric archaeologists could also study not only single but also groups of houses as processes with a (con-) structural logic, as a proxy for social relations between household groups. A specific focus on conducting diachronic material studies of the village and semi-urban spaces[1545] should also be encouraged among socio-cultural anthropologists and ethnoarchaeologists. The latter two groups of scholars should preferably not only focus on documenting static settlement plans, but also track and trace their development through either diachronic material studies or extensive oral histories. Through a site-based diachronic reconstruction of architecture and social relations underlying settlement patterns, it is possible to address the internal logic, processes, and reasons behind the development of a particular settlement pattern, which could then be utilized for the further contextualization of prehistoric realities.

Before this study, I could barely imagine that there was a research gap in the utilization of anthropological literature on the big man and great man societies for understanding European prehistory.[1546] Apart from Timothy Earle and a few others who inspired my work, I was hard-pressed to name other prehistoric archaeologists who analytically utilize ethnographic sources to understand Bronze Age social realities.[1547] However, a majority of scholars who utilize the household archaeology approach for understanding social organization during the Bronze Age in the Aegean basin argue for either the existence of chiefdoms at one extreme, or more 'egalitarian' societies at the other. As I have argued in this book, however, being an 'egalitarian' sedentary farming community is an ideological construct rather than a lived reality that has been documented ethnographically. Therefore, at sites where a largely homogeneous settlement organization is complemented with homogeneous diets between different households and the absence of a central building, more research focus should be given to understanding differences within, rather than only between, households and among genders and generations, rather than understanding a household as a homogeneous, balanced and well-meaning unit.

[1545] See Kramer 1982; Horne 1994.

[1546] In the 1990s, Andrew Sherratt famously argued that the European Neolithic period resembles 20th-century Papua New Guinea as documented by socio-cultural anthropologists, whereas Iron Age Europe resembles early medieval societies and the time of Islamic and early Western contact. The period in between, the Bronze Age, was, according to him, the most ambiguous, and posed the question of whether Bronze Age societies were autonomous like the Neolithic ones, or fundamentally affected by trading activities (Sherratt 1993, 3). For a recent interest in the big man model of social organization applicable to Neolithic rondel builders of Neolithic Europe, see an important recent edited volume entitled *Big men or Chiefs? Rondel builders of Neolithic Europe*, see Řídký et al. 2019.

[1547] Rare exceptions include discussions of the sacred in pre-pottery Neolithic Göbekli Tepe (see Dietrich – Notroff 2015) and Lévi-Strauss's concept of house societies (Chesson 2003; González-Ruibal 2005; Düring – Marciniak 2006; Cultraro 2007; Gillespie 2007; Brami et al. 2016).

VIII.6. Why Studying Early Bronze Age Small-Scale Societies Matters

This study should be of interest to scholars concerned with developments during the earliest centuries of the Bronze Age in the Aegean basin, in particular those archaeologists interested in socio-political organization and household archaeology. Within this field, the current study questions and refutes one of the long-standing interpretations of Bronze Age societies, which claims that all these metalworking groups were necessarily stratified into distinct status groups or emergent classes. By contrast, this study has questioned the extent to which metal production ever substantially influenced the pre-existing modes of subsistence and the making of regional alliances, to truly understand the 'metal shift'. Without doubt, at the dawn of the Bronze Age metalworking was integrated into multiple socio-political systems, including acephalous, great man and big man societies, as well as chiefdoms with unilineal descent and possibly conical clan structures, coexisting in time and space within the Aegean basin. It was also suggested that a loose correspondence may be established between the anthropological concepts of great man societies and the archaeological notion of heterarchy, which was addressed in detail through the notion of house societies within both socio-cultural anthropology and prehistoric archaeology (Chapters II and IV). Similarly, the archaeological notion of a 'cultural koine' (which itself derived from linguistics) may be brought into some loose correspondence with anthropological terminology such as, for instance, 'macro-cultural' zones, regions, 'landscapes' and 'socioscapes', which may be closely interconnected economically, yet are not necessarily fully integrated into one and the same socio-political organization (Chapter IV). The concept of 'cultural koine' therefore remains useful in view of insights on regional and wider economies in this study. However, it must include a possibility of heterogeneous socio-political constellations coexisting within the 'cultural koine'.

Within the field of socio-cultural anthropology, the current study provides an updated review of tribal societies as imagined communities (Chapter II), and extends the application of anthropological theoretical models – other than those of chiefdoms and segmentary lineage systems – to prehistoric data. Moreover, it brings back the category of tribe into the theoretical toolkit, which in this refined form argues for tribes as imagined communities, built from the bottom up, yet as a rather heterogeneous category (Chapter II). Tribal organization as considered in this study can vary in terms of the degree of centralization, as well as regarding the extent to which kinship and genealogy play a role in its emergence. Empirically, this study demonstrates that different modes of social organization coexisted not only in time but also in space.

The evidence analysed for Çukuriçi Höyük and Platia Magoula Zarkou in comparison to each other as well as to other regional sites does not support a coherent and cross-regionally applicable social organization model during EBA 1 or EBA 2 in the Aegean basin. By analysing household organization at Çukuriçi Höyük and Platia Magoula Zarkou, the outcomes of this research show that societies across the Aegean basin at the dawn of the Bronze Age, and even before it, were not politically or economically homogenous. These were small-scale societies on the periphery, in contrast to the urban civilisations to the east and the south. The peripheral small-scale Aegean societies were organized in different tribal political constellations, which in some cases already varied in degree and in other cases in kind during EBA 1.

Among socio-cultural anthropologists, the present study should be of interest to those who value the academic legacy of Marshall Sahlins and Maurice Godelier. This study benefited greatly from their work and aimed at rebuilding the argument around the neo- and post-materialist legacies from late 20th-century socio-cultural anthropology, which remain influential. Secondarily, the study was also influenced by the work of Jack Goody, who had a particular interest in the *longue durée* emergence of social inequality and structural similarities within Eurasia. As such, this study provides a complementary picture to Goody's work, in that it highlights the coexistence of different modes of living across the Aegean basin at the dawn of the EBA.

Although these small-scale societies in the Aegean basin appear to stand in stark contrast to the Near East, they shared important similarities: village sites and households in the Aegean basin, like urban centres in the Near East, were by no-means self-sufficient – and therefore needed to maintain regional alliances and to develop transmission strategies for their reproduction. Their histories did not develop in a vacuum, detached from other villages or urban sites, but through interaction with and a level of interdependence on one another. Although societies in the Near East have been commonly understood as the 'revolutionizers', different types of transformation occurred simultaneously within the Aegean basin at the dawn of the 3rd millennium BC. This potentially indicates the strong likelihood of multiple temporalities also existing in prehistory. Studying these societies should matter a great deal to both socio-cultural anthropologists and prehistoric archaeologists for conducting further comparative and multi-scalar analyses into the multiplicity of temporalities at the dawn of the Early Bronze Age. These small-scale Late Neolithic and Bronze Age societies have a power in highlighting local, regional, and supra-regional socio-political diversities that more often than not were embedded (prior to institutionalized centralized socio-political figures) into acephalous, household-based, regional and wider economies. Therefore, it is of key importance to look beyond the 'success' sites such as Troy, at other regional and contemporaneous sites, unable to reproduce themselves as a society beyond EBA 1, such as Çukuriçi Höyük. Only by studying the 'Urban Revolution' through local and regional perspectives, without inferring socio-political constellations for the whole region or period based on one site, can we draw more comprehensive conclusions and a less biased picture of local histories.

On the home page of the American Anthropological Association (AAA), anthropology is defined as 'the study of humans, past and present. To understand the full sweep and complexity of cultures across all of human history, anthropology draws and builds upon knowledge from the social and biological sciences as well as the humanities and physical sciences.'[1548] If that is what defines anthropology today, then studying small-scale societies in the past and present, through various pools of knowledge, including archaeological material and ethnographic observations among others, should remain key to understanding a wide range of solutions to human problems. These human problems commonly originated through dwelling in a diversity of multi-species landscapes that can be addressed through multidisciplinary approaches, including the natural and social sciences, which is a key feature of four-field anthropology in its broadest sense. The contribution here is just a reminder of what anthropology can be and can do if ethnography and the materiality of things, qualitative and quantitative interpretations of objects, local and wider settings are taken as equal and complementary rather than competing sources of knowledge.

Another question is whether we should consider four-field anthropology as a comparative or non-comparative family of disciplines. What do we do with the knowledge scholars generate within archaeology and anthropology respectively? Shall we study societies exclusively on their own to understand them in their self-ascribed set of meaning only or also through comparison? What is the benefit of this comparison, if we choose the latter option? I believe that if we choose comparison across time and space, the materiality and the social have a stronger potential to collide and provide new insights. For example, if we study settlement patterns through archaeological evidence, compare them within the region as a basis of archaeological approaches, we can draw conclusions limited to strictly contemporaneous and, in *stricto sensu*, comparable sites. But if we open this up to include anthropological insights too, then it will become more obvious that settlement patterns are not the only reflections of settlement organization. On the contrary, settlement patterns can be understood as codes for kinship and wider social organization. It was already well documented by Raymond Firth and Jack Goody that changes in dwelling places also constitute changes in the composition of domestic groups,

[1548] AAA 2021.

or more recently that domestic and communal architecture is in itself a code of kinship.[1549] Hence we should think of settlement patterns not only as the material remains to be studied through natural science methods, but also through qualitative analyses and cross-cultural interpretations, complemented by ethnographic insights.

The above are the main benefits of bringing socio-cultural anthropological insights into archaeological interpretations. But what about the other way around? How may socio-cultural anthropologists benefit from archaeology? First, we should establish an agreement among socio-cultural anthropologists that generating a multiplicity of ethnographic accounts does not always lead to theoretical advancements. That implies that among anthropologists, equal weight should be accorded to historical anthropological insights as to conclusions based on participant observation. As I have shown in this book, concepts such as specified versions of the DMP can be further explored through archaeological evidence. For example, from Çukuriçi Höyük and Platia Magoula Zarkou it is obvious that not only did the Baruya and other PNG societies rely on regional exchange for reproduction but so did Aegean prehistoric societies. But why is this significant? Because anthropologists themselves have for decades taken the village as the main unit of analysis while only in exceptional cases looking at the wider regional contexts in which these villages were embedded. And whereas in anthropology today we know that more often than not villages were not self-reproducing entities, this can now also be explored through the archaeological evidence.

But how do these insights advance knowledge within socio-cultural anthropology? For example, in this contribution, I looked at the interpretation of craft organization within archaeology. I took one of the most popular models to interpret craft organization in archaeology, namely Costin's model, in which she distinguished between two types of craft specialists: independent and attached specialists. Following her categories of context, concentration, scale, and intensity of production, her categories turned out not to align completely with craft integration in non-state, sedentary societies. By reassessing Costin's model through ethnographic cases, I was able to extend her model, which now distinguishes between restricted and generalized integration among independent specialists. This is an example of how to generate new theories and concepts that could travel beyond time and space, which could further stimulate conversations between socio-cultural anthropologists and prehistoric archaeologists regarding the organization of craft and political economies. These models, in their revised form, can then be re-explored through participant observation, archaeological excavations, and comparative methods.

In the preface to *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, James Scott made the following statement that has resonated with me ever since:

> 'First, there is nothing original here. I repeat, there is not a single idea here that originates with me. What I surely have done is to see a kind of immanent order or argument in a good many of the sources I canvassed and to draw that argument out to see how far it would take me. The creative aspect, if there was any, was to make out this gestalt and to connect the dots.'[1550]

That may be sufficient for a political scientist, which is Scott's academic qualification, but is such an approach not too derivative for a socio-cultural anthropologist? In my case deprivation from 'Amongitis' (as Leach famously labelled the professional habit of always referring to one's own ethnographic experience 'among' the so-and-so) was the consequence of not conducting any long-term fieldwork far from or close to home, by following people and participating in their everyday activities. In turn, I have tried to immerse myself by reading between the lines in multiple ethnographic reports, not limited to a particular geographic region.

[1549] Heady – Szołtysek 2017.
[1550] Scott 2009, xi.

Moreover, by immersing myself in the Early Bronze Age and parts of Neolithic Aegean times, I have, similarly to Scott, tried to connect the dots by tracing common features that formed past and more recent sedentary, non-state societies there. If we consider both archaeological data and ethnographic observations as dots, similar to Scott's approach outlined above, then only by connecting these dots can we speak of *Gestalt* (configuration), an organized overall form being more than just the sum of its parts.[1551] Is it not *Gestalt* – 'full sweep and complexity of cultures across all of human history'[1552] – that socio-cultural anthropology continues to be interested in? And can we ever address *Gestalt*, including similarity and difference, proximity and remoteness, if not through comparison?

[1551] *Gestalt* in its original philosophical connotation refers to the characteristics of a whole that depends on the specific configuration of its parts (von Ehrenfels 1890).

[1552] AAA 2021.